









THE
GENUINE WORKS
OF
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS,
THE
LEARNED AND AUTHENTIC JEWISH HISTORIAN,
AND CELEBRATED WARRIOR.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GREEK, ACCORDING TO
HAVERCAMP'S ACCURATE EDITION.

WITH COPIOUS NOTES, & PROPER OBSERVATIONS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME II.

CONTAINING THE LAST NINE BOOKS

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, WITH THE LIFE
OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

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THE
WORKS
OF
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS,
CONTAINING
THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

BOOK XII.

Containing the Interval of an hundred and seventy
years.

[FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT, TO
THE DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABEUS.]

CHAPTER I.

*How Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, took Jerusalem and Judea
by deceit and treachery, and carried many of the Jews
thence, and planted them in Egypt.*

§ 1. NOW when Alexander, king of Macedon, had put an
end to the dominion of the Persians, and had settled
the affairs in Judea after the forementioned manner, he ended
his life. And as his government fell among many, Antigonus
obtained Asia, Seleucus Babylon; and of the other nations
which were there, Lyfimachus governed the Hellespont, and
Cassander possessed Macedonia; as did Ptolemy the son of
Lagus seize upon Egypt. And while these princes ambi-
tiously strove one against another, every one for his own prin-
cipality, it came to pass that there were continual wars, and
those lasting wars too; and the cities were sufferers, and lost
a great many of their inhabitants in these times of distress, in
so much that all Syria, by the means of Ptolemy the son of
Lagus, underwent the reverse of that denomination of Sa-
viour, which he then had. He also seized upon Jerusalem,
and for that end made use of deceit and treachery; for as he
came into the city on a Sabbath day, as if he would offer sac-

rifice, he, without any trouble, gained the city, while the Jews did not oppose him, for they did not suspect him to be their enemy; and he gained it thus, because they were free from suspicion of him, and because on that day they were at rest and quietness; and when he had gained it, he ruled over it in a cruel manner. Nay, Agatharchides of Cnidus, who wrote the acts of Alexander's successors, reproaches us with superstition, as if we, by it, had lost our liberty; where he says thus: "There is a nation called the *nation* of the *Jews*, who inhabit a city strong and great, named Jerusalem. These men took no care, but let it come into the hands of Ptolemy, as not willing to take arms, and thereby they submitted to be under an hard master, by reason of their unseasonable superstition." This is what Agatharchides relates of our nation. But when Ptolemy had taken a great many captives, both from the mountainous parts of Judea, and from the places about Jerusalem and Samaria, and the places near mount Gerizzim, he led them all into* Egypt, and settled them there. And as he knew that the people of Jerusalem were† most faithful in the observation of oaths and covenants; and this from the answer they made to Alexander, when he sent an embassy to them, after he had beaten Darius in battle, to he distributed many of them into garrisons; and at Alexandria gave them equal privileges of citizens with the Macedonians themselves; and required of them to take their oaths, that they would keep their fidelity to the posterity of those who committed these places to their care. Nay there were not a few other Jews, who, of their own accord, went into Egypt, as invited by the goodness of the soil, and by the liberality of Ptolemy. However, there were disorders among their posterity, with relation to the Samaritans, on account of their resolution to preserve that conduct of life which was delivered to them by their forefathers, and they thereupon contended one with another; while those of Jerusalem said, that their temple was holy, and resolved to send their sacrifices thither; but the Samaritans were resolved that they should be sent to mount Gerizzim.

* The great number of these Jews and Samaritans that were formerly carried into Egypt by Alexander, and now by Ptolemy the son of Lagus, appear afterwards, in the vast multitude who, as we shall see presently, were soon ransomed by Philadelphus, and by him made free, before he sent for the seventy-two interpreters: In the many garrisons, and other soldiers of that nation in Egypt: In the famous settlement of Jews, and the number of their synagogues at Alexandria, long afterward; and in the vehement contention between the Jews and Samaritans under Philometer, about the place appointed for public worship in the law of Moses; whether at the Jewish temple of Jerusalem, or at the Samaritan temple at Gerizzim; of all which our author treats hereafter. And as to the Samaritans carried into Egypt under the same princes, Scaliger supposes, that those who have a great synagogue at Cairo, as also those whom the Arabic geographer speaks of, as having seized on an island in the Red Sea, are remains of them at this very day, as the notes here inform us.

† Of the sacredness of oaths among the Jews in the Old Testament, see Scripture Politics, p. 54, 65.

CHAPTER II.

How Ptolemy Philadelphus procured the laws of the Jews to be translated into the Greek Tongue ; and set many captives free ; and dedicated many gifts to God.

§ 1. **W**HEN Alexander had reigned twelve years, and after him Ptolemy Soter forty years, Philadelphus then took the kingdom of Egypt, and held it forty years within one. He procured the* law to be interpreted ; and set free those that were come from Jerusalem into Egypt, and were in slavery there, who were an hundred and twenty thousand. The occasion was this : Demetrius Phalerius, who was library keeper to the king, was now endeavoring, if it were possible, to gather together all the books that were in the habitable earth, and buying whatsoever was any where valuable or agreeable to the king's inclination (who was very earnestly set upon collecting of books) to which inclination of his Demetrius was zealously subservient. And when once Ptolemy asked him, How many ten thousands of books he had collected ? He replied, That he had already about twenty times ten thousand, but that in a little time, he should have fifty times ten thousand. But he said, he had been informed, that there were many books of laws among the Jews, worthy of inquiring after, and worthy of the king's library, but which being written in characters and in a dialect of their own, will cause no small pains in getting them translated into the Greek tongue ; that the character, in which they are written seems to be like to that which is the proper character of the Syrians, and that its sound, when pronounced, is like theirs also ; and that this sound appears to be peculiar to themselves. Wherefore he said, that nothing hindered why they might not get those books to be translated also, for while nothing is wanting that is necessary for that purpose, we may have their books also in this library. So the king thought that Demetrius was very zealous to procure him abundance of books, and that he suggested what was exceeding proper for him to do ; and therefore he wrote to the Jewish High Priest, that he should act accordingly.

* Of the translation of the other parts of the Old Testament by seventy Egyptian Jews, in the reigns of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, and Philadelphus ; as also of the translation of the Pentateuch by seventytwo Jerusalem Jews, in the seventh year of Philadelphus at Alexandria as given us an account of by Aristæus, and thence by Philo and Josephus, with a vindication of Aristæus' history, see the Appendix to Lit. Accompl. of Proph. at large, p. 117—152.

2. Now there was one Aristeus, who was among the king's most intimate friends, and on account of his modesty very acceptable to him. This Aristeus resolved frequently, and that before now, to petition the king, that he would set all the captive Jews in his kingdom free; and he thought this to be a convenient opportunity for the making that petition. So he discoursed, in the first place, with the captains of the king's guards, Sosibius of Tarentum, and Andreas; and persuaded them to assist him in what he was going to intercede with the king for. Accordingly Aristeus embraced the same opinion with those that have been before mentioned; and went to the king, and made the following speech to him: "It is not fit for us, O king, to overlook things hastily, or to deceive ourselves, but to lay the truth open: For since we have determined not only to get the laws of the Jews transcribed, but interpreted also, for thy satisfaction, by what means can we do this, while so many of the Jews are now slaves in thy kingdom? Do thou then what will be agreeable to thy magnanimity, and to thy good nature: Free them from the miserable condition they are in, because that God, who supporteth thy kingdom, was the author of their laws, as I have learned by particular inquiry; for both these people, and we also, worship the same God, the framer of all things. We call him, and that truly by the name of Ζεύς [or life, or Jupiter] because he breaths life into all men. Wherefore do thou restore these men to their own country; and this do to the honor of God, because these men pay a peculiarly excellent worship to him. And know this farther, that though I be not of kin to them by birth, nor one of the same country with them, yet do I desire these favors to be done them, since all men are the workmanship of God, and I am sensible that he is well pleased with those that do good. I do therefore put up this petition to thee, to do good to them."

3. When Aristeus was saying thus, the king looked upon him with a cheerful and joyful countenance, and said, "How many ten thousands dost thou suppose there are of such as want to be made free?" To which Andreas replied, as he stood bye, and said, "A few more than ten times ten thousand." The king made answer, "And is this a small gift that thou askest, Aristeus?" But Sosibius, and the rest that stood bye, said, That "he ought to offer such a thank offering as was worthy of his greatness of soul, to that God who had given him his kingdom." With this answer he was much pleased; and gave order, that when they paid the soldiers their wages, they should lay down [an* hundred and] twenty

* Although this number 120 drachmæ [of Alexandria, or 60 Jewish shekels] be here three times repeated, and that in all Josephus's copies Greek and Latin, yet since all the copies, of Aristeus, whence Josephus took his relation,

drachmæ for every one of the slaves. And he promised to publish a magnificent decree, about what they requested, which should confirm what Aristeus had proposed, and especially what God willed should be done; whereby he said he would not only set those free who had been led away captive by his father, and his army, but those who were in his kingdom before and those also, if any such there were, who had been brought away since. And when they said, that their redemption money would amount to above four hundred talents, he granted it. A copy of which decree I have determined to preserve, that the magnanimity of this king may be made known. Its contents were as follows: "Let all those who were soldiers under our father, and who, when they overran Syria and Phœnicia, and laid waste Judea, took the Jews captives, and made them slaves, and brought them into our cities, and into this country, and then sold them; as also all those that were in my kingdom before them: And if there be any that have been lately brought thither, be made free by those that possess them; and let them accept of [an hundred and] twenty drachmæ for every slave. And let the soldiers receive this redemption money with their pay, but the rest out of the king's treasury: For I suppose that they were made captives without our father's consent, and against equity; and that their country was harrassed by the insolence of the soldiers, and that, by removing them into Egypt, the soldiers have made a great profit by them. Out of regard therefore to justice, and out of pity to those that have been tyrannized over, contrary to equity, I enjoin those that have such Jews in their service to set them at liberty, upon the receipt of the before mentioned sum; and that no one use any deceit about them, but obey what is here commanded. And I will, that they give in their names within three days after the publication of this edict, to such as are appointed to execute the same, and to produce the slaves before them also, for I think it will be for the advantage of my affairs: And let every one that will inform against those that do not obey this decree; and I will, that their estates be confiscated into the king's treasury." When this decree was read to the king, it at first contained the rest that is here inserted, and omitted only those Jews that had formerly been brought, and those brought afterwards, which had not been distinctly mentioned, so he

have this sum several times, and still as no more than 20 drachmæ, or 10 Jewish shekels; and since the sum of the talents, to be set down presently, which is little above 450, or somewhat more than 100,000 slaves, and is nearly the same in Josephus and Aristeus, does better agree to 20 than to 120 drachmæ; and since the value of a slave of old was, at the utmost, but 30 shekels, or 60 drachmæ, see Exod. xxi. 32, woule in the present circumstances of these Jewish slaves, and those so very numerous Philadelphus would rather redeem them at a cheaper than at a dearer rate, there is great reason to prefer here Aristeus's copies before Josephus's.

added these clauses out of his humanity, and with great generosity. He also gave order, that the payment, which was likely to be done in an hurry, should be divided among the king's ministers, and among the officers of his treasury.—When this was over, what the king had decreed was quickly brought to a conclusion; and this in no more than seven days time, the number of the talents paid for the captives being about four hundred and sixty, and this, because their masters required the [hundred and] twenty drachmæ for the children also, the king having, in effect, commanded, that these should be paid for, when he said in his decree, that they should receive the forementioned sum for every slave.

4. Now when this had been done after so magnificent a manner, according to the king's inclinations, he gave order to Demetrius to give him in writing his sentiments concerning the transcribing of the Jewish books; for no part of the administration is done rashly by these kings, but all things are managed with great circumspection. On which account I have subjoined a copy of these epistles, and set down the multitude of the vessels sent as gifts [to Jerusalem] and the construction of every one, that the exactness of the artificers workmanship, as it appeared to those that saw them, and which workman made every vessel, may be made manifest, and this on account of the excellency of the vessels themselves. Now the copy of the epistle was to this purpose: "Demetrius to the great king. When thou, O king, gavest me a charge concerning the collection of books that were wanting to fill your library, and concerning the care that ought to be taken about such as are imperfect, I have used the utmost diligence about those matters. And I let you know, that we want the books of the Jewish legislation, with some others; for they are written in the Hebrew characters, and being in the language of that nation, are to us unknown. It hath also happened to them, that they have been transcribed more carelessly than they ought to have been, because they have not had hitherto royal care taken about them. Now it is necessary that thou shouldst have accurate copies of them. And indeed this legislation is full of hidden wisdom, and entirely blameless, as being the legislation of God: For which cause it is as Hecateus of Abdera says, that the poets and historians make no mention of it nor of those men who lead their lives according to it, since it is an holy law, and ought not to be published by profane mouths. If then it please thee, O king, thou mayest write to the high priest of the Jews, to send six of the elders out of every tribe, and those such as are most skillful of the laws, that by their means we may learn the clear and agreeing sense of these books; and may obtain an accurate interpretation of their contents, and so may have such a collection of these as may be suitable to thy desire."

4. When this epistle was sent to the king, he commanded that an epistle should be drawn up for Eleazar, the Jewish high-priest, concerning these matters; and that they should inform him of the release of the Jews that had been in slavery among them. He also sent fifty talents of gold for the making of large basons, and vials and cups, and an immense quantity of precious stones. He also gave order to those who had the custody of the chests that contained those stones, to give the artificers leave to choose out what sorts of them they pleased. He withal appointed, that an hundred talents in money should be sent to the temple, for sacrifices, and for other uses. Now I will give a description of these vessels, and the manner of their construction, but not till after I have set down a copy of the epistle which was written to Eleazar the high-priest, who had obtained that dignity on the occasion following: When Onias the high-priest was dead, his son Simon became his successor. He was called * *Simon the Just*, because of both his piety towards God, and his kind disposition to those of his own nation. When he was dead, and had left a young son, who was called Onias, Simon's brother Eleazar, of whom we are speaking, took the high priesthood; and he it was to whom Ptolemy wrote, and that in the manner following: " King Ptolemy to Eleazar the high-priest, sendeth greeting: There were many Jews who now dwell in my kingdom, whom the Persians, when they were in power, carried captives. These were honoured by my father; some of them he placed in the army, and gave them greater pay than ordinary; to others of them, when they came with him into Egypt, he committed his garrisons, and the guarding of them, that they might be a terror to the Egyptians. And when I had taken the government, I treated all men with humanity, and especially those that are thy fellow citizens, of whom I have set free above an hundred thousand that were slaves, and paid the price of their redemption to their masters out of my own revenues; and those that are of a fit age, I have admitted into the number of my soldiers. And for such as are capable of being faithful to me, and proper for my court, I have put them in such a post, as thinking this [kindness done to them] to be a very great and an acceptable gift, which I devote to God for his providence over me. And as I am desirous to do what will be grateful to these, and to all the other Jews in the habitable earth, I have determined to procure an interpretation of your law, and to have it translated out of Hebrew into Greek, and to be reposit-ed in my library. Thou wilt therefore do well to choose out and send to me men of a good character, who are now elders in age, and six in number out of every tribe. These, by their

* We have a very great encomium of this *Simon the Just*, the son of Onias I. in the fiftieth chapter of the Ecclesiasticus, through the whole chapter. Nor is it improper to consult that chapter itself upon this occasion.

age, must be skilful in the laws, and of abilities to make an accurate interpretation of them : And when this shall be finished I shall think that I have done a work glorious to myself. And I have sent to thee Andreas, the captain of my guard, and Aristeus, men whom I have in very great esteem ; by whom I have sent those first fruits which I have dedicated to the temple, and to the sacrifices, and to other uses, to the value of an hundred talents. And if thou wilt send to us, to let us know what thou wouldst have farther, thou wilt do a thing acceptable to me."

5. When this epistle of the king's was brought to Eleazar, he wrote an answer to it with all the respect possible ; " Eleazar the high-priest to king Ptolemy, sendeth greeting : If thou and thy * queen Arsinoe, and thy children, be well, we are entirely satisfied. When we received thy epistle, we greatly rejoiced at thy intentions : And when the multitude were gathered together, we read it to them, and thereby made them sensible of the piety thou hast towards God. We also shewed them the twenty vials of gold, and thirty of silver, and the five large basons, and the table for the shew-bread ; as also the hundred talents for the sacrifices, and for the making what shall be needful at the temple. Which things Andreas and Aristeus, those most honoured friends of thine, have brought us : And truly they are persons of an excellent character, and of great learning, and worthy of thy virtue. Know then that we will gratify thee in what is for thy advantage, though we do what we used not to do before ; for we ought to make a return for the numerous acts of kindness which thou hast done to our countrymen. We immediately therefore offered sacrifices for thee and thy sister, with thy children and friends ; and the multitude made prayers, that thy affairs may be to thy mind ; and that thy kingdom may be preserved in peace, and that the translation of our law may come to the conclusion thou desirest, and be for thy advantage. We have also chosen six elders out of every tribe, whom we have sent, and the law with them. It will be thy part, out of thy piety and justice, to send back the law, when it hath been translated ; and to return those to us that bring it in safety. Farewell."

6. This was the reply which the high-priest made. But it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of the seventy [two] elders who were sent by Eleazar, and carried the law, which yet were subjoined at the end of the epistle. However, I thought it not improper to give an account of those very valuable and artificially contrived vessels which the

* When we have here and presently mention made of Philadelphus's Queen, and sister Arsinoe, we are to remember, with Spanheim, that Arsinoe was both his sister and his wife, according to the old custom of Persia, and of Egypt at this very time ; nay of the Assyrians long afterward. See Antiq. B. XX. ch. ii. § 1. vol. II. Whence we have, upon the coins of Philadelphus, this known inscription, *the divine brother and sister*.

king sent to God, that all may see how great a regard the king had for God; for the king allowed a vast deal of expences for these vessels; and came often to the workmen, and viewed their works, and suffered nothing of carelessness or negligence to be any damage to their operations. And I will relate how rich they were as well as I am able, although perhaps the nature of this history may not require such a description, but I imagine I shall thereby recommend the elegant taste and magnanimity of this king to those that read this history.

7. And first I will describe what belongs to the table. It was indeed in the king's mind to make this table vastly large in its dimensions; but then he gave orders that they should learn what was the magnitude of the table which was already at Jerusalem, and how large it was, and whether there were a possibility of making one larger than it. And when he was informed how large that was which was already there, and that nothing hindered but a larger might be made, he said, That "he was willing to have one made that should be five times as large as the present table, but his fear was, that it might be then useless in their sacred ministrations, by its too great largeness; for he desired that the gifts he presented them, should not only be there for show, but should be useful also in their sacred ministrations." According to which reasoning, that the former table was made of so moderate a size for use, and not for want of gold, he resolved that he would not exceed the former table in largeness, but would make it exceed it in the variety and elegance of its materials. And as he was sagacious in observing the nature of all things, and in having a just notion of what was new and surprising; and where there was no sculptures, he would invent such as were proper, by his own skill, and would shew them to the workmen, he commanded that such sculptures should now be made, and that those which were delineated, should be most accurately formed, by a constant regard to their delineation.

8. When therefore the workmen had undertaken to make the table, they framed it in length two cubits [and an half.] in breadth one cubit, and in height one cubit and an half; and the entire structure of the work was of gold. They withal made a crown of an hand-breadth round it, with wave work wreathed about it, and with an engraving imitated a cord, and was admirably turned on its three parts; for as they were of a triangular figure, every angle had the same disposition of its sculptures, that when you turned them about, the very same form of them was turned about without any variation. Now that part of the crown work that was inclosed under the table had its sculptures very beautiful, but that part which went round on the outside was more elaborately adorned with most beautiful ornaments, because it was exposed to sight, and to the view of the spectators; for which reason it was that both those sides which were extant above the rest were acute, and

none of the angles, which we before told you were three, appeared less than another when the table was turned about. Now into the cord-work thus turned were precious stones inserted, in rows parallel one to the other, inclosed in golden buttons, which had ouches in them ; but the parts which were on the side of the crown, and were exposed to the sight, were adorned with a row of oval figures obliquely placed, of the most excellent sort of precious stones, which imitated rods laid close, and encompassed the table round about. But under these oval figures, thus engraven, the workmen had put a crown all round it, where the nature of all sorts of fruit was represented, insomuch that the bunches of grapes hung up. And when they had made the stones to represent all the kinds of fruits before mentioned, and that each in its proper colour, they made them fast with gold round the whole table. The like disposition of the oval figures, and of the engraved rods, was framed under the crown, that the table might on each side shew the same appearance of variety, and elegance of its ornaments, so that neither the position of the wave-work nor of the crown might be different, although the table were turned on the other side, but that the prospect of the same artificial contrivances might be extended as far as the feet ; for there was made a plate of gold four fingers broad, through the entire breadth of the table, into which they inserted the feet, and then fastened them to the table by buttons, and button-holes, at the place where the crown was situate, that so on what side soever of the table one should stand, it might exhibit the very same view of the exquisite workmanship, and of the vast expences bestowed upon it : But upon the table itself they engraved a meander, inserting into it very valuable stones in the middle like stars, of various colours ; the carbuncle and the emerald, each of which sent out agreeable rays of light to the spectators ; with such stones of other sorts also as were most curious, and best esteemed, as being most precious in their kind. Hard by this meander a texture of net work ran round it, the middle of which appeared like a rhombus, into which were inserted rock crystal, and amber, which by the great resemblance of the appearance they made, gave wonderful delight to those that saw them. The chapters of the feet imitated the first buddings of lilies, while their leaves were bent and laid under the table, but so that the chives were seen standing upright within them. Their bases were made of a carbuncle ; and the place at the bottom, which rested on that carbuncle, was one palm deep, and eight fingers in breadth. Now they had engraven upon it with a very fine tool, and with a great deal of pains, a branch of ivy, and tendrils of the vine, sending forth clusters of grapes, that you would guess they were nowise different from real tendrils ; for they were so very thin, and so very far extended at their extremities, that they were moved with the wind, and made one believe that they were the product of nature, and

not the representation of art. They also made the entire workmanship of the table appear to be three-fold, while the joints of the several parts were so united together as to be invisible, and the places where they joined could not be distinguished. Now the thickness of the table was not less than half a cubit. So that this gift by the king's great generosity, by the great value of the materials, and the variety of its exquisite structure, and the artificers skill in imitating nature with graving tools, was at length brought to perfection, while the king was very desirous that though in largeness it were not to be different from that which was already dedicated to God, yet that exquisite workmanship, and the novelty of the contrivances, and in the splendour of its construction, it should far exceed it, and be more illustrious than that was.

9. Now of the cisterns of gold there were two, whose sculpture was of scale-work, from its basis to its belt like circle, with various sorts of stones incased in the spiral circles. Next to which there was upon it a meander of a cubit in height; it was composed of stones of all sorts of colours. And next to this was the rod work engraven; and next to that was a rhombus in a texture of net work, drawn out to the brim of the basin, while small shields made of stones, beautiful in their kind, and of four fingers depth, filled up the middle parts. About the top of the basin were wreathed the leaves of lilies, and of the convolvulus, and the tendrils of vines in a circular manner. And this was the construction of the two cisterns of gold, each containing two firkins. But those which were of silver were much more bright and splendid than looking-glasses; and you might in them see the images that fell upon them more plainly than in the other. The king also ordered thirty vials; those of which the parts that were of gold, and filled up with precious stones, were shadowed over with the leaves of ivy, and of vines, artificially engraven. And these were the vessels that were after an extraordinary manner brought to this perfection, partly by the skill of the workmen, who were admirable in such fine work, but much more by the diligence and generosity of the king, who not only supplied the artificers abundantly, and with great generosity, with what they wanted, but he forbade public audiences for the time, and came and stood by the workmen, and saw the whole operation. And this was the cause why the workmen were so accurate in their performance, because they had regard to the king, and to his great concern about the vessels, and so the more indetigably kept close to the work.

10. And these were what gifts were sent by Ptolemy to Jerusalem, and dedicated to God there. But when Eleazar the high priest had devoted them to God, and had paid due respect to those that brought them, and had given them presents to be carried to the king, he dismissed them. And when they were come to Alexandria, and Ptolemy heard that they were come,

and that the seventy elders were come also, he presently sent for Andreas and Aristeus, his ambassadors, who came to him, and delivered him the epistle which they brought him from the high priest, and made answer to all the questions he put to them by word of mouth. He then made haile to meet the elders that came from Jerusalem for the interpretation of the laws; and he gave command, that every body who came on occasions should be sent away, which was a thing surprising, and what he did not use to do, for those that were drawn thither upon such occasions used to come to him on the fifth day, but ambassadors at the month's end. But when he had sent those away, he waited for these that were sent by Eleazar; but as the old men came in with the presents, which the high priest had given them to bring to the king, and with the membranes, upon which they had their laws written in * golden letters, he put questions to them concerning those books; and when they had taken off the covers wherein they were wrapt up, they shewed him the membranes. So the king stood admiring the thinness of those membranes, and the exactness of the junctures; which could not be perceived, (so exactly were they connected one with another); and this he did for a considerable time. He then said, that he returned them thanks for coming to him, and still greater thanks to him that sent them: And, above all, to that God whose laws they appeared to be. Then did the elders, and those that were present with them, cry out with one voice, and wished all happiness to the king. Upon which he fell into tears by the violence of the pleasure he had, it being natural to men to afford the same indications in great joy, that they do under sorrows. And when he had bid them deliver the books to those that were appointed to receive them, he saluted the men; and said, that it was but just to discourse, in the first place, of the errand they were sent about, and then to address himself to themselves. He promised, however, that he would make this day on which they came to him remarkable and eminent every year through the whole course of his life; for their coming to him and the victory which he gained over Antigonus by sea, proved to be on the very same day. He also gave orders, that they should sup with him; and gave it in charge that they should have excellent lodgings provided for them in the upper part of the city.

II. Now he that was appointed to take care of the reception of strangers. Nicanor by name, called for Dorotheus, whose duty it was to make provision for them, and bid him prepare for every one of them what should be requisite for their diet and way of living. Which thing was ordered by the king after this manner: He took care, that those that belonged to to every city, which did not use the same way of living, that

* The Talmudists say, that it is not lawful to write the law in letters of gold contrary to this certain and very ancient example. See Hudson's and Reland's notes here.

all things should be prepared for them according to the custom of those that came to him, that being feasted according to the usual method of their own way of living, they might be the better pleased, and might not be uneasy at any thing done to them, from which they were naturally averse. And this was now done in the case of these men by Dorotheus, who was put into this office because of his great skill in such matters belonging to common life; for he took care of all such matters as concerned the reception of strangers, and appointed them double seats for them to sit on, according as the king had commanded him to do; for he had commanded that half of their seats should be set at his hand, and the other half behind his table, and took care that no respect should be omitted that could be shewn them. And when they were thus set down, he bid Dorotheus to minister to all those that were come to him from Judea, after the manner they used to be ministered to: For which cause he sent away their sacred heralds, and those that slew the sacrifices, and the rest that used to say grace: But called to one of those that were come to him, whose name was Eleazar, who was a priest, and desired him to * say grace; who then stood in the midst of them, and prayed, that "all prosperity might attend the king, and those that were his subjects." Upon which an acclamation was made by the whole company, with joy and a great noise; and when that was over, they fell to eating their supper, and to the enjoyment of what was set before them. And at a little interval afterward, when the king thought a sufficient time had been interposed, he began to talk philosophically to them, and he asked every one of them a † philosophical question, and such an one as might give light in those enquiries; and when they had explained all the problems that had been proposed by the king about every point, he was well pleased with their answers. This took up the twelve days in which they were treated: And he that pleases may learn the particular questions in that book of Aristeus's, which he wrote on this very occasion.

12. And while not the king only, but the philosopher Menedemus also admired them, and said, that "all things were governed by providence; and that it was probable that thence it was that such force or beauty was discovered in these mens words," they then left off asking any more such questions. But the king said, that he had gained very great advantages

* This is the most ancient example I have met with, of a grace, or short prayer, or thanksgiving before meat; which, as it is used to be said by an heathen priest, was now said by Eleazar, a Jewish priest who was one of these seventy two interpreters. The next example I have met with is that of the Essenes, Of the War, B. II. ch. viii. § 5. vol. III. both before and after it; those of our Saviour before it, Mark viii. 6. John vi. 11. 23. and St. Paul, Acts xxvii. 35, and a form of such a grace or prayer for Christians, at the end of the fifth book of the Apostolical Constitutions, which seems to have been intended for both times, both before and after meat.

† They were rather political questions and answers, tending to the good and religious government of mankind.

by their coming, for that he had received this profit from them, that he had learned how he ought to rule his subjects. And he gave order, that they should have every one three talents given them; and that those that were to conduct them to their lodging should do it. Accordingly, when three days were over, Demetrius took them, and went over the causeway seven furlongs long: It was a bank in the sea to an island. And when they had gone over the bridge, he proceeded to the northern parts, and shewed them where they should meet, which was in an house that was built near the shore, and was a quiet place, and fit for their discoursing together about their work. When he had brought them thither, he entreated them, (now they had all things about them which they wanted for the interpretation of their law,) that they would suffer nothing to interrupt them in their work. Accordingly, they made an accurate interpretation, with great zeal, and great pains; and this they continued to do till the ninth hour of the day; after which time they relaxed and took care of their body, while their food was provided for them in great plenty; besides, Dorotheus, at the king's command, brought them a great deal of what was provided for the king himself. But in the morning they came to the court, and saluted Ptolemy, and then went away to their former place, where, when they had * washed their hands, and purified themselves, they betook themselves to the interpretation of the laws. Now when the law was transcribed, and the labour of interpretation was over, which came to its conclusion in seventy-two days, Demetrius gathered all the Jews together to the place where the laws were translated, and where the interpreters were, and read them over. The multitude did also approve of those elders that were the interpreters of the law. They withal commended Demetrius for his proposal, as the inventor of what was greatly for their happiness; and they desired, that he would give leave to their rulers also to read the law. Moreover, they all, both the priest and the ancientest of the elders, and the principal men of their common weal, made it their request, that since the interpretation was happily finished, it might continue in the state it now was, and might not be altered. And when they all commended that determination of theirs, they enjoined, that if any one observed either any thing superfluous, or any thing omitted, that he would take a view of it again, and have it laid before them, and corrected; which was a wise action of theirs, that when the thing was judged to have been well done, it might continue forever.

13. So the king rejoiced, when he saw that his design of this

* This purification of the interpreters, by washing in the sea before they prayed to God, every morning, and before they set about translating, may be compared with the like practice of Peter the apostle, in the recognitions of Clement, B. IV. ch. iii. and B. V. ch. xxxvi. and with the places of the *Proseuchæ*, or of prayer, which were sometimes built near the sea or rivers also. Of which matter see Antiqu. B. XIV. ch. x. § 23. Vol. II. and Acts xvi. 13. 16.

nature was brought to perfection, to so great advantage ; and he was chiefly delighted with hearing the laws read to him ; and was astonished at the deep meaning and wisdom of the legislator. And he began to discourse with Demetrius. " How it came to pass, that when this legislation was so wonderful, no one, either of the poets, or of the historians had made mention of it." Demetrius made answer, that " no one durst be so bold as to touch upon the description of these laws, because they were divine and venerable, and because some that had attempted it were afflicted by God." He also told him, that " Theopompous was desirous of writing somewhat about them, but was thereupon disturbed in his mind for above thirty days time ; and upon some intermission of his distemper, he appeased God [by prayer,] as suspecting that his madness proceeded from that cause." Nay, indeed he further saw a dream, that his distemper beset him while he indulged too great a curiosity about divine matters, and was desirous of publishing them among common men ; but when he left off that attempt, he recovered his understanding again. Moreover he informed him of Theodectes, the tragic poet, concerning whom it was reported, that when in a certain dramatic representation, he was desirous to make mention of things that were contained in the sacred books, he was afflicted with a darkness in his eyes ; and that upon his being conscious of the occasion of his distemper, and appeasing God [by prayer,] he was freed from that affliction.

14. And when the king had received these books from Demetrius, as we have said already, he adored them ; and gave order, that great care should be taken of them, that they might remain uncorrupted. He also desired that the interpreters would come often to him out of Judea, and that both on account of the respects that he would pay them, and on account of the presents he would make them : For he said, " It was now but just to send them away, although it, of their own accord, they would come to him hereafter, they should obtain all that their own wisdom might justly require, and what his generosity was able to give them." So he then sent them away ; and gave to every one of them three garments of the best sort, and two talents of gold, and a cup of the value of one talent, and the furniture of the room wherein they were feasted. And these were the things he presented to them. But by them he sent to Eleazer the high-priest, ten beds, with feet of silver, and the furniture to them belonging, and a cup of the value of thirty talents ; and besides these, ten garments, and purple, and a very beautiful crown, and an hundred pieces of the finest woven linen ; as also vials and dishes, and vessels for pouring, and two golden cisterns, to be dedicated to God. He also desired him, by an epistle, that he would give these interpreters leave if any of them were desirous, of coming to him, because he highly valued a conversation with men of such

learning ; and should be very willing to lay out his wealth upon such men. And this was what came to the Jews, and was much to their glory and honour, from Ptolemy Philadelphus.

C H A P. III.

How the Kings of Asia honoured the nation of the Jews, and made them Citizens of those Cities which they built.

§ 1. **T**HE Jews also obtained honours from the kings of Asia when they became their auxiliaries ; for Seleucus Nicator made them citizens in those cities which he built in Asia, and in the lower Syria, and in the metropolis itself, Antioch ; and gave them privileges equal to those of the Macedonians and Greeks, who were the inhabitants, insomuch that these privileges continue to this very day : An argument for which you have in this, that whereas the Jews do make use of * oil prepared by foreigners, they receive a certain sum of money from the proper officers belonging to their exercises as the value would have deprived them of, in the last war, Mucianus, who was then president of Syria, preserved it to them. And when the people of Alexandria and of Antioch did alter that, at the time that Vespasian and Titus his son governed the habitable earth, pray that these privileges of citizens might be taken away, they did not obtain their request. In which behaviour any one may discern the † equity and generosity of the Romans, especially of Vespasian and Titus, who, although they had been at a great deal of pains in the war against the Jews, and were exasperated against them, because they did not deliver up their weapons to them, but continued the war to the very last, yet did not they take away any of their fore-mentioned privileges belonging to them as citizens, but restrained their anger ; and overcame the prayers of the Alexandrians and Antiochians, who were a very powerful people, insomuch that they did not yield to them, neither out of their favour to these people, nor out of their old grudge at those whose wicked opposition they had subdued in the war: Nor would they alter any

* The use of oil was much greater, and the donatives of it much more valuable in Judea, and the neighbouring countries, than it is amongst us. It was also, in the days of Josephus, thought unlawful for Jews to make use of any oil that was prepared by heathens, perhaps on account of some superstitions intermixed with its preparation by those heathens. When therefore the heathens were to make them a donative of oil, they paid them money instead of it. See, Of the War, B. II. ch. xxi. § 2. vol. II. the Life of Josephus, § 13. Vol. II. and Hudson's note on the place before us.

† This, and the like great and just characters of the justice and equity, and generosity of the old Romans, both to the Jews and other conquered nations, affords us a very good reason why almighty God, upon the rejection of the Jews for their wickedness, chose them for his people, and first established christianity in that empire. Of which matter, see Josephus here, § 2. as also Antiq. B. XIV. ch. x. § 21, 23. B. XVI. ch. ii. § 4. vol. II.

of the ancient favours granted to the Jews, but said, that those who had borne arms against them, and fought them, had suffered punishment already, and that it was not just to deprive those that had not offended of the privileges they enjoyed.

2. We also know that Marcus Agrippa was of the like disposition towards the Jews : For when the people of Ionia were very angry at them, and besought Agrippa, that they, and they only might have those privileges of citizens which Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus (who by the Greeks was called *the God,*) had bestowed on them ; and desired, that if the Jews were to be joint-partakers with them they might be obliged to worship the gods they themselves worshipped : But when these matters were brought to the trial, the Jews prevailed, and obtained leave to make use of their own customs, and this under the patronage of Nicolaus of Damascus ; for Agrippa gave sentence, that he could not innovate. And if any one hath a mind to know this matter accurately, let him peruse the hundred and twenty-third, and hundred and twenty-fourth book of the history of this Nicolaus. Now, as to this determination of Agrippa, it is not so much to be admired, for at that time our nation had not made war against the Romans. But one may well be astonished at the generosity of Vespasian and Titus, that after so great wars and contests which they had from us, they should use such moderation. But I will now return to that part of my history, whence I made the present digression.

3. Now it happened that in the reign of Antiochus the Great, who ruled over all Asia, that the Jews as well as the inhabitants of Celestria suffered greatly, and their land was sorely harrassed : For while he was at war with Ptolemy Philopator, and with his son, who was called *Epiphanes*, it fell out that these nations were equally sufferers both when he was beaten, and when he beat the others : So that they were very like to a ship in a storm, which is tossed by the waves on both sides ; and just thus were they in their situation in the middle between Antiochus's prosperity, and its change to adversity. But at length, when Antiochus had beaten Ptolemy, he seized upon Judea : And when Philopator was dead, his son sent out a great army under Scopas, the general of his forces, against the inhabitants of Celestria, who took many of their cities, and in particular our nation ; which, when he fell upon them, went over to him : Yet was it not long afterward when Antiochus overcame Scopas in a battle fought at the fountains of Jordan, and destroyed a great part of his army. But afterward, when Antiochus subdued those cities of Celestria which Scopas had gotten into his possession, and Samaria with them, the Jews, of their own accord, went over to him, and received him into the city [Jerusalem,] and gave plentiful provision to all his army, and to his elephants, and readily assisted him when he besieged the garrison which was in the citadel of Jerusalem. Wherefore Antiochus thought it but just to requite the Jews

diligence and zeal in his service : So he wrote to the generals of his armies, and to his friends, and gave testimony to the good behaviour of the Jews towards him, and informed them what rewards he had resolved to bestow on them for that their behaviour. I will set down presently the epistles themselves, which he wrote to the generals concerning them, but will first produce the testimony of Polybius of Megalopolis ; for thus does he speak, in the sixteenth book of his history : “ Now Scopas, the general of Ptolemy’s army, went in haste to the superior parts of the country, and in the winter time overthrew the nation of the Jews. He also saith, in the same book, that when Scopas was conquered by Antiochus, Antiochus received Batanea and Samaria, and Abila and Gadara ; and that, a while afterwards, there came in to him those Jews that inhabited near that temple which was called *Jerusalem* : Concerning which, although I have more to say, and particularly concerning the presence of God about that temple, yet do I put off that history till another opportunity.” This it is which Polybius relates. But we will return to the series of the history, when we have first produced the epistles of king Antiochus.

“ King Antiochus to Ptolemy, sendeth greeting :

“ Since the Jews, upon our first entrance on their country, demonstrated their friendship towards us ; and when we came to their city [*Jerusalem*,] received us in a splendid manner, and came to meet us with their senate, and gave abundance of provisions to our soldiers, and to the elephants, and joined with us in ejecting the garrison of the Egyptians that were in the citadel, we have thought fit to reward them and to retrieve the condition of their city, which hath been greatly depopulated by such accidents as have befallen its inhabitants, and to bring those that have been scattered abroad back to the city. And, in the first place, we have determined, on account of their piety towards God, to bestow on them as a pension, for their sacrifices of animals that are fit for sacrifice, for wine and oil, and frankincense, the value of twenty thousand pieces of silver, and [six] sacred artabæ of fine flour, with one thousand four hundred and sixty medimni of wheat, and three hundred and seventy-five medimni of salt. And these payments I would have fully paid them, as I have sent orders to you. I would also have the work about the temple finished, and the cloisters, and if there be any thing else that ought to be rebuilt. And for the materials of wood, let it be brought them out of Judea itself, and out of the other countries, and out of Libanus tax free : And the same I would have observed as to those other materials which will be necessary, in order to render the temple more glorious. And let all of that nation live according to the laws of their own country : And let the senate and the priests, and the scribes of the temple, and the sacred sing-

ers, be discharged from poll-money and the crown tax, and other taxes also. And that the city may the sooner recover its inhabitants, I grant a discharge from taxes for three years to its present inhabitants ; and to such as shall come to it, until the month Hyperbereteus. We also discharge them for the future from a third part of their taxes, that the losses they have sustained may be repaired. And all those citizens that have been carried away, and are become slaves, we grant them and their children their freedom ; and give order that their substance be restored to them."

4. And these were the contents of this epistle. He also published a decree, through all his kingdom, in honour of the temple, which contained what follows : " It shall be lawful for no foreigner to come within the limits of the temple round about ; which thing is forbidden also to the Jews, unless to those who, according to their own custom have purified themselves. Nor let any flesh of horses, or of mules, or of asses, be brought into the city, whether they be wild or tame ; nor that of leopards, or foxes, or hares ; and, in general, that of any animal which is forbidden for the Jews to eat. Nor let their skins be brought into it ; nor let any such animal be bred up in the city. Let them only be permitted to use the sacrifices derived from their fore-fathers, with which they have been obliged to make acceptable atonements to God. And he that transgresseth any of these orders, let him pay to the priests three thousand drachmæ of silver " Moreover this Antiochus bare testimony to our piety and fidelity, in an epistle of his, written when he was informed of a sedition in Phrygia and Lydia, at which time he was in the superior provinces, wherein he commanded Zeuxis, the general of his forces, and his most intimate friend, to send some of our nation out of Babylon into Phrygia. The epistle was this :

" King Antiochus to Zeuxis his father, sendeth greeting.

" If you are in health, it is well. I also am in health. Having been informed that a sedition is arisen in Lydia and Phrygia, I thought that matter required great care : And upon advising with my friends what was fit to be done, it hath been thought proper to remove two thousand families of Jews, with their effects, out of Mesopotamia and Babylon, unto the castles and places that lie most convenient ; for I am persuaded that they will be well disposed guardians of our possessions, because of their piety towards God, and because I know that my predecessors have born witness to them, that they are faithful, and, with alacrity, do what they are desired to do. I will, therefore, though it be a laborious work, that thou remove these Jews ; under a promise, that they shall be permitted to use their own laws. And when thou shalt have brought them to the places fore-mentioned, thou shalt give every one of their

families a place for building their houses, and a portion of land for their husbandry, and for the plantation of their vines; and thou shalt discharge them from paying taxes of the fruits of the earth for ten years; and let them have a proper quantity of wheat for the maintenance of their servants, until they receive bread-corn out of the earth: Also let a sufficient share be given to such as minister to them in the necessities of life, that by enjoying the effects of our humanity, they may shew themselves the more willing and ready about our affairs. Take care likewise of that nation, as far as thou art able, that they may not have any disturbance given them by any one." Now these testimonials which I have produced, are sufficient to declare the friendship that Antiochus the Great bare to the Jews.

C H A P. IV.

How Antiochus made a league with Ptolemy; and how Onias provoked Ptolemy Euergetes to anger; and how Joseph brought all things right again, and entered into friendship with him; and what other things were done by Joseph, and his son Hyrcanus.

§ 1. **A**FTER this Antiochus made a friendship and a league with Ptolemy; and gave him his daughter Cleopatra to wife, and yielded up to him Cœlesyria, and Samaria and Judea, and Phenicia, by way of dowry. And upon the division of the taxes between the two kings, all the principal men framed the taxes of their several countries, and collecting the sum that was settled for them, paid the same to the [two] kings. Now at this time the Samaritans were in a flourishing condition, and much distressed the Jews, cutting off parts of their land, and carrying off slaves. This happened when Onias was high-priest; for after Eleazar's death, his uncle Manasseh took the priesthood, and a'ter he had ended his life, Onias received that dignity. He was the son of Simon, who was called *the Just*; which Simon was the brother of Eleazer, as I said before. This Onias was one of a little soul, and a great lover of money; and for that reason, because he did not pay that tax of twenty talents of silver, which his forefathers paid to these kings, out of their own estates, he provoked king Ptolemy Euergetes to anger, who was the father of Philopater. Euergetes sent an ambassador to Jerusalem, and complained that Onias did not pay his taxes, and threatened, that if he did not receive them, he would seize upon their land, and send soldiers to live upon it. When the Jews heard this message of the king's, they were confounded: But so sordidly covetous was Onias, that nothing of this nature made him ashamed.

2. There was now one *Joseph*, young in age, but of great reputation among the people of Jerusalem, for gravity, prudence, and justice. His father's name was Tobias; and his

mother was the sister of Onias the high-priest, who informed him of the coming of the ambassador; for he was then sojourning at a village named * *Phicol*, where he was born. Hereupon he came to the city [Jerusalem,] and reproved Onias for not taking care of the preservation of his countrymen, but bringing the nation into dangers, by not paying this money. For which preservation of them, he told him he had received the authority over them, and had been made high-priest: But that, in case he was so great a lover of money, as to endure to see his country in danger on that account, and his countrymen suffer the greatest damages, he advised him to go to the king, and petition him to remit either the whole, or a part of the sum demanded. Onias's answer was this, That he did not care for his authority, and that he was ready, if the thing were practicable, to lay down his high priesthood; and that he would not go to the king, because he troubled not himself at all about such matters. Joseph then asked him, If he would not give him leave to go ambassador on behalf of the nation? He replied, That he would give him leave. Upon which Joseph went up into the temple; and called the multitude together, to a congregation, and exhorted them not to be disturbed nor affrighted, because of his uncle Onias's carelessness, but desired them to be at rest, and not terrify themselves with fear about it; for he promised them that he would be their ambassador to the king, and persuade him that they had done him no wrong. And when the multitude heard this, they returned thanks to Joseph. So he went down from the temple, and treated Ptolemy's ambassador in an hospitable manner. He also presented him with rich gifts; and feasted him magnificently for many days, and then sent him to the king before him, and told him that he would soon follow him: For he was now more willing to go to the king, by the encouragement of the ambassador, who earnestly persuaded him to come into Egypt; and promised him that he would take care that he should obtain every thing that he desired of Ptolemy, for he was highly pleased with his frank and liberal temper, and with the gravity of his deportment.

3. When Ptolemy's ambassador was come into Egypt, he told the king of the thoughtless temper of Onias; and informed him of the goodness of the disposition of Joseph; and that he was coming to him, to excuse the multitude, as not having done him any harm, for that he was their patron. In short, he was so very large in his encomiums upon the young man, that he disposed both the king and his wife Cleopatra to have a kindness for him before he came. So Joseph sent to his friends at Samaria, and borrowed money of them, and got ready what

* The name of this place, *Phicol*, is the very same with that of the chief captain of Abimelech's host, in the days of Abraham, Gen. xxi. 22, and might possibly be the place of that Phicol's nativity or abode; for it seems to have been in the south part of Palestine, as that was.

was necessary for his journey, garments, and cups and beasts for burden, which amounted to about twenty thousand drachmæ and went to Alexandria. Now it happened, that at this time all the principal men and rulers went up out of the cities of Syria and Phenicia, to bid for their taxes; for every year the king sold them to the men of the greatest power in every city. So these men saw Joseph journeying on the way, and laughed at him for his poverty and meanness. But when he came to Alexandria and heard that king Ptolemy was at Memphis, he went up thither to meet with him; which happened as the king was sitting in his chariot, with his wife and with his friend Athenion, who was the very person who had been ambassador at Jerusalem, and been entertained by Joseph. As soon therefore as Athenion saw him, he presently made him known to the king, how good and generous a young man he was. So Ptolemy saluted him first, and desired him to come up into his chariot; and as Joseph sat there, he began to complain of the management of Onias. To which he answered, Forgive him on account of his age, for thou canst not certainly be unacquainted with this, that old men and infants have their minds exactly alike; but thou shalt have from us, who are young men, every thing thou desirest, and shalt have no cause to complain. With this good humour and pleasantry of the young man, the king was so delighted, that he began already, as though he had long experience of him, to have a still greater affection for him, insomuch, that he bade him take his diet in the kings palace, and be a guest at his own table every day. But when the king was come to Alexandria the principal men of Syria, saw him sitting with the king, and were much offended at it.

4. And when the day came on which the king was to let the taxes of the cities to farm, and those that were the principal men of dignity in their several countries were to bid for them. the sum of the taxes together, of Celestria and Phenicia, and Judea, with Samaria [as they were bidden for,] came to eight thousand talents. Hereupon Joseph accused the bidders, as having agreed together to estimate the value of the taxes at too low a rate; and he promised, that he would himself give twice as much for them: But for those who did not pay, he would send the king home their whole substance; for this privilege was sold together with the taxes themselves. The king was pleased to hear that offer; and because it augmented his revenues, he said, he would confirm the sale of the taxes to him. But then he asked him this question, Whether he had any sureties that would be bound for the payment of the money? he answered very pleasantly, I will give such security, and those of persons good and responsible, and which you shall have no reason to distrust. And when he bid him name them, who they were, he replied, I give thee no other persons, O king, for my sureties than thyself, and this thy wife; and you shall be security for both parties. So Ptolemy laughed at the

propofal, and granted him the farming of the taxes without any fureties. This procedure was a fore grief to thofe that came from the cities into Egypt, who were utterly difappointed; and they returned every one to their own country with fhame.

5. But Jofeph took with him two thoufand foot foldiers from the king; for he defired he might have fome affiftance, in order to force fuch as were refractory in the cities to pay. And borrowing of the king's friends at Alexandria five hundred talents, he made hafte back into Syria. And when he was at Afkelon, and demanded the taxes of the people of Afkelon, they refufed to pay any thing; and affronted him alfo: Upon which he feized upon about twenty of the principal men, and flew them, and gathered what they had together, and fent it all to the king; and informed him what he had done. Ptolemy admired at the prudent conduct of the man, and commended him for what he had done; and gave him leave to do as he pleafed. When the Syrians heard of this, they were aftonifhed; and having before them a fad example in the men of Afkelon that were flain, they opened their gates, and willingly admitted Jofeph, and paid their taxes. And when the inhabitants of Scythopolis attempted to affront him, and would not pay him thofe taxes which they formerly ufed to pay, without difputing about them, he flew alfo the principal men of that city, and fent their effects to the king. By this means he gathered great wealth together, and made vaft gains by this farming of the taxes; and he made ufe of what eftate he had thus gotten, in order to fupport his authority, as thinking it a piece of prudence to keep what had been the occafion and foundation of his prefent good fortune; and this he did by the affiftance of what he was already poffeffed of, for he privately fent many prefents to the king, and to Cleopatra, and to their friends, and to all that were powerful about the court, and thereby purchafed their goodwill to himfelf.

6. This good fortune he enjoyed for twenty-two years; and was become the father of feven fons, by one wife: He had alfo another fon, whole name was Hyrcanus, by his brother Soly-mius's daughter, whom he married on the following occafion. He once came to Alexandria with his brother, who had along with him a daughter already marriageable, in order to give her in wedlock to fome of the Jews of chief dignity there. He then fupped with the king, and falling in love with an actress, that was of great beauty, and came into the room where they feafted, he told his brother of it, and entreated him, becaufe a Jew is forbidden by their law to come near to a foreigner, to conceal his offence, and to be kind and fubfervient to him, and to give him an opportunity of fulfilling his defires. Upon which his brother willingly entertained the propofal of ferving him, and adorned his own daughter, and brought her to him by night, and put her into his bed. And Jofeph being difor-

dered with drink, knew not who she was, and so lay with his brother's daughter ; and this did he many times and loved her exceedingly ; and said to his brother, that he loved this actress so well, that he should run the hazard of his life [if he must part with her], and yet probably the king would not give him leave [to take her with him]. But his brother bid him be in no concern about that matter, and told him, he might enjoy her whom he loved without any danger, and might have her for his wife ; and opened the truth of the matter to him, and assured him that he chose rather to have his own daughter abused, than to overlook him, and see him come to [public] disgrace. So Joseph commended him for this his brotherly love ; and married his daughter ; and by her begat a son, whose name was Hyrcanus, as we said before. And when this his youngest son shewed, at thirteen years old, a mind that was both courageous and wise, and was greatly envied by his brethren, as being of a genius much above them, and such an one as they might well envy, Joseph had once a mind to know which of his sons had the best disposition to virtue, and when he sent them severally to those that had then the best reputation for instructing youth, the rest of his children, by reason of their sloth, and unwillingness to take pains, returned to him foolish and unlearned. After them he sent out the youngest, Hyrcanus, and gave him three hundred yoke of oxen, and bid him go two days journey into the wilderness, and sow the land there, and yet kept back privately the yokes of the oxen that coupled them together. When Hyrcanus came to the place, and found he had no yokes with him, he contemned the drivers of the oxen, who advised him to send some to his father, to bring them some yokes ; but he thinking that he ought not to lose his time, while they should be sent to bring him the yokes, he invented a kind of stratagem, and what suited an age older than his own ; for he slew ten yoke of the oxen, and distributed their flesh among the labourers, and cut their hides into several pieces, and made him yokes, and yoked the oxen together with them ; by which means he sowed as much land as his father had appointed him to sow, and returned to him. And when he was come back, his father was mightily pleased with his sagacity, and commended the sharpness of his understanding, and his boldness in what he did. And he still loved him the more, as if he were his only genuine son, while his brethren were much troubled at it.

7. But when one told him that Ptolemy had a son just born, and that all the principal men of Syria, and the other countries subject to him, were to keep a festival, on account of the child's birth-day, and went away in haste with great retinues to Alexandria, he was himself indeed hindered from going by old age, but he made trial of his sons, whether any of them would be willing to go to the king. And when the elder sons excused themselves from going, and said, they were not cour-

tiers good enough for such conversation, and advised him to send their brother Hyrcanus, he gladly hearkened to that advice ; and called Hyrcanus and asked him, whether he would go to the king ; and whether it was agreeable to him to go or not ? And upon his promise that he would go, and his saying that he should not want much money for his journey, because he would live moderately ; and that ten thousand drachmæ would be sufficient, he was pleased with his son's prudence. After a little while the son advised his father not to send his presents to the king from thence, but to give him a letter to his steward at Alexandria, that he might furnish him with money, for purchasing what should be most excellent and most precious. So he thinking that the expence of ten talents would be enough for presents to be made the king ; and commending his son, as giving him good advice, wrote to Arion his steward that managed all his money matters at Alexandria ; which money was not less than three thousand talents on his account, for Joseph sent the money he received in Syria, to Alexandria. And when the day appointed for the payment of the taxes to the king came, he wrote to Arion to pay them. So when the son had asked his father for a letter to this steward, and had received it, he made haste to Alexandria. And when he was gone, his brethren wrote to all the king's friends, that they should destroy him.

8. But when he was come to Alexandria, he delivered his letter to Arion, who asked him how many talents he would have ? (hoping he would ask for no more than ten, or a little more,) he said he wanted a thousand talents. At which the steward was angry, and rebuked him, as one that intended to live extravagantly ; and he let him know how his father had gathered together his estate by pains-taking, and resisting his inclinations, and wished him to imitate the example of his father : He assured him withal, that he would give him but ten talents, and that for a present to the king also. The son was irritated at this, and threw Arion into prison. But when Arion's wife had informed Cleopatra of this, with her entreaty, that she would rebuke the child for what he had done, (for Arion was in great esteem with her) Cleopatra informed the king of it. And Ptolemy sent for Hyrcanus, and told him, that " he wondered when he was sent to him by his father, that he had not yet come into his presence, but had laid the steward in prison." And he gave order, therefore that he should come to him, and give an account of the reason of what he had done. And they report, that the answer he made to the king's messenger was this : That " there was a law of his that forbade a child that was born, to taste of the sacrifice before he had been at the temple and sacrificed to God. According to which way of reasoning he did not himself come to him, in expectation of the present he was to make to him, as to one who had been his father's benefactor ; and that he had punish-

ed the slave for disobeying his commands, for that it mattered not whether a master was little or great : So that unless we punish such as these, thou thyself mayest also expect to be despised by thy subjects." Upon hearing this his answer, he fell a laughing, and wondered at the great soul of the child.

9. When Arion was apprised that this was the king's disposition, and that he had no way to help himself, he gave the child a thousand talents, and was let out of prison. So after three days were over, Hyrcanus came and saluted the king and queen. They saw him with pleasure, and feasted him in an obliging manner, out of the respect they bare to his father. So he came to the merchants privately, and bought an hundred boys, that had learning, and were in the flower of their ages, each at a talent a piece ; as also he bought an hundred maidens, each at the same price as the other. And when he was invited to feast with the king among the principal men of the country, he sat down the lowest of them all, because he was little regarded, as a child in age still ; and this by those who placed every one according to their dignity. Now when all those that sat with him had laid the bones of the several parts on an heap before Hyrcanus, (for they had themselves taken away the flesh belonging to them,) till the table where he sat was filled full with them ; Trypho, who was the king's jester, and was appointed for jokes and laughter at festivals, was now asked by the guests that sat at the table [to expose him to laughter.] So he stood by the king, and said, " Dost thou not see, my Lord, the bones that lie by Hyrcanus ? by this similitude thou mayest conjecture that his father made all Syria as bare as he hath made these bones." And the king laughing at what Trypho said, and asking of Hyrcanus, " How he came to have so many bones before him ?" he replied, Very rightfully, my lord : For they are dogs that eat the flesh and the bones together, as these thy guests have done, (looking in the mean time at those guests,) for there is nothing before them ; but they are men that eat the flesh and cast away the bones, as I, who am also a man, have now done." Upon which the king admired at his answer, which was so wisely made ; and bid them all make an acclamation, as a mark of their approbation of his jest, which was truly a facetious one. On the next day Hyrcanus went to every one of the king's friends, and of the men powerful at court, and saluted them ; but still enquired of the servants what present they would make the king on his son's birth-day ? and when some said, that they would give twelve talents, and that others of greater dignity would every one give according to the quantity of their riches, he pretended to every one to be grieved that he was not able to bring so large a present, for that he had no more than five talents. And when the servants heard what he said, they told their masters ; and they rejoiced in the prospect that Joseph would be disapproved, and would make the king

angry, by the smallness of his present. When the day came, the others, even those that brought the most, offered the king not above twenty talents; but Hyrcanus gave to every one of the hundred boys, and hundred maidens that he had bought, a talent a piece, for them to carry, and introduced them, the boys to the king, and the maidens to Cleopatra: Every body wondered at the unexpected richness of the presents, even the king and queen themselves. He also presented those that attended about the king with gifts to the value of a great number of talents, that he might escape the danger he was in from them; for to these it was that Hyrcanus's brethren had written to destroy him. Now Ptolemy admired at the young man's magnanimity; and commanded him to ask what gift he pleased. But he desired nothing else to be done for him by the king, than to write to his father and brethren about him. So when the king had paid him very great respects, and had given him very large gifts, and had written to his father and his brethren, and all his commanders, and officers about him, he sent him away. But when his brethren heard that Hyrcanus had received such favours from the king, and was returning home with great honour, they went out to meet him, and to destroy him, and that with the privity of their father: For he was angry at him for the [large] sum of money that he bestowed for presents, and so had no concern for his preservation. However Joseph concealed the anger he had at his son, out of fear of the king. And when Hyrcanus's brethren came to fight him, he slew many others of those that were with them: As also two of his brethren themselves, but the rest of them escaped to Jerusalem to their father. But when Hyrcanus came to the city where no body would receive him he was afraid for himself, and retired beyond the river Jordan, and there abode, but obliging the Barbarians to pay their taxes.

10 At this time Seleucus, who was called *Soter*, reigned over Asia, being the son of *Antiochus the great*. And [now] Hyrcanus's father Joseph died. He was a good man and of great magnanimity; and brought the Jews out of a state of poverty and meanness, to one that was more splendid. He retained the farm of the taxes of Syria, and Phenicia, and Samaria, twenty-two years. His uncle also, Onias, died [about this time,] and left the high priesthood to his son Simon. And when he was dead, Onias his son succeeded him in that dignity. To him it was that Areus, king of the Lacedemonians, sent an embassy, with an epistle; the copy whereof here follows:

“Areus, king of the Lacedemonians, to Onias, sendeth greeting:

“We have met with a certain writing, whereby we have discovered, that both the Jews and the Lacedemonians are of one stock, and are derived from the *kindred of Abraham:

• Whence it comes that these Lacedemonians declare themselves here to be of kin

It is but just therefore, that you, " who are our brethren, should send to us about any of your concerns as you please. We will also do the same thing, and esteem your concerns as our own; and will look upon our concerns as in common with yours. Demoteles, who brings you this letter, will bring your answer back to us. This letter is four-square; and the seal is an eagle, with a dragon in his claws."

11. And these were the contents of the epistle which was sent from the king of the Lacedemonians. But upon the death of Joseph, the people grew seditious, on account of his sons: For whereas the elders made war against Hyrcanus, who was the youngest of Joseph's sons, the multitude was divided, but the greater part joined with the elders in this war; as did Simon the high-priest, by reason he was of kin to them. However, Hyrcanus determined not to return to Jerusalem any more, but seated himself beyond Jordan; and was at perpetual war with the Arabians, and slew many of them, and took many of them captives. He also erected a strong castle, and built it entirely of white stone to the very roof; and had animals of a prodigious magnitude engraven upon it. He also drew round it a great and deep canal of water. He also made caves of many furlongs in length by hollowing a rock that was over against him; and then he made large rooms in it, some for feasting, and some for sleeping, and living in. He introduced also a vast quantity of waters which ran along it, and which were very delightful and ornamental in the court. But still he made the entrances at the mouth of the caves so narrow, that no more than one person could enter by them at once: And the reason why he built them after that manner was a good one; it was for his own preservation, lest he should be besieged by his brethren, and run the hazard of being caught by them. Moreover, he built courts of greater magnitude than ordinary, which he adorned with vastly large gardens. And when he had brought the place to this state, he named it *Fyre*. This place is between Arabia and Judea, beyond Jordan, not far from the country of Heshbon. And he ruled over those parts

to the Jews, as derived from the same ancestor Abraham, I cannot tell, unless, as Grotius supposes, they were derived from the Dores, that came of the Pelasgi. These are by Herodotus, called *Barbarians*; and perhaps were derived from the Syrians and Arabians, the posterity of Abraham by Keturah. See Antiq. B. XVI. ch. x. § 22. Vol. II. and Of the War, B. I. ch. xxvi. § 1. Vol. III. and Grot. on 1 Maccab. xii. 7. We may farther observe from the recognitions of Clement, that Eliezer, of Damascus, the *servant* of Abraham, Gen. xv. 2. and xxiv. was of old by some taken for his *son*. So that if the Lacedemonians were sprung from him, they might think themselves to be of the posterity of Abraham, as well as the Jews, who were sprung from Isaac. And perhaps this Eliezer of Damascus is that very Damascus, whom Trogus pompeius, as abridged by Justin, makes the founder of the Jewish nation itself, though he afterwards blunders, and makes Azelus, Adores, Abraham, and Israel, kings of Judea, and successors to this Damascus. It may not be improper to observe farther, that Moses Chorenensis, in his history of the Armenians, informs us, that the nation of the Parthians Was also derived from Abraham, by Keturah, and her children.

for seven years even all the time that Seleucus was king of Syria. But when he was dead, his brother Antiochus, who was called *Epiphanes*, took the kingdom. Ptolemy also, the king of Egypt, died, who was besides called *Epiphanes*. He left two sons, and both young in age; the elder of which was called *Philometor*, and the younger *Physcon*. As for Hyrcanus, when he saw that Antiochus had a great army, and feared lest he should be caught by him, and brought to punishment for what he had done to the Arabians, he ended his life, and slew himself with his own hand; while antiochus seized upon all his substance.

C H A P. V.

How, upon the quarrels of the Jews one against another about the high priesthood, Antiochus made an expedition against Jerusalem, took the city, and pillaged the temple, and distressed the Jews: As also, how many of the Jews forsook the laws of their country; and how the Samaritans followed the customs of the Greeks, and named their temple at Mount Gerrizim, the temple of Jubiter Hellenius.

§ 1. ABOUT this time, upon the death of Onias the high priest, they gave the high priesthood to Jesus's brother; for that son which Onias left [or Onias IV.] was yet but infant: And, in its proper place, we will inform the reader of all the circumstances that betel this child. But this Jesus, who was the brother of Onias, was deprived of the high priesthood by the king, who was angry with him, and gave it to his younger brother, whose name also was Onias, for Simon had these three sons, to each of which the priesthood came, as we have * already informed the reader. This Jesus changed his name to *Jason*; but Onias was called *Menelaus*. Now as the former high priest Jesus, raised a sedition against Menelaus, who was ordained after him, the multitude were divided between them both. And the sons of Tobias took the

* We have hitherto had but a few of those many citations where Josephus says, that he had elsewhere formerly treated of many things, of which yet his present books have not a syllable. Our commentators have hitherto been able to give no tolerable account of these citations, which are far too numerous, and that usually in all his copies both Greek and Latin. to be supposed later interpolations, which is almost all that has been hitherto said upon this occasion. What I have to say farther is this, that we have but very few of these references *before*, and very many *in* and *after* the history of Antiochus Epiphanes; and that Josephus's first book, the Hebrew or Chaldee, as well as the Greek history of the Jewish War, long since lost, began with that very history, so that the references are most probably made to that edition of the seven books of the War. See several other examples, besides those in the two sections before us, in Antiq. B. XIII ch. ii. § 1. 4. vol. II. and ch. iv. § 6. 8. ch. v. § 6. 11. ch. viii. § 4 and ch. xiii § 4. 5 and Antiq. B. XVIII, ch. ii. § 5. vol. II.

part of Menelaus, but the greater part of the people assisted Jason; and by that means Menelaus, and the sons of Tobias were distressed, and retired to Antiochus, and informed him, that they were desirous to leave the laws of their country, and the Jewish way of living according to them, and to follow the king's laws, and the Grecian way of living: Wherefore they desired his permission to build them a * Gymnasium at Jerusalem. And when he had given them leave, they also hid the circumcision of their genitals, that even when they were naked, they might appear to be Greeks. Accordingly they left off all the customs that belonged to their own country, and imitated the practices of the other nations.

2. Now Antiochus, upon the agreeable situation of the affairs of his kingdom, resolved to make an expedition against Egypt, both because he had a desire to gain it, and because he contemned the son of Ptolemy, as now weak, and not yet of abilities to manage affairs of such consequence; so he came with great forces to Pelusium, and circumvented Ptolemy Philometor by treachery, and seized upon Egypt. He then came to the places about Memphis; and when he had taken them, he made haste to Alexandria, in hopes of taking it by siege, and of subduing Ptolemy, who reigned there. But he was driven not only from Alexandria, but out of all Egypt, by the declaration of the Romans, who charged him to let that country alone; according as I have elsewhere formerly declared. I will now give a particular account of what concerns this king, how he subdued Judea and the temple; for in my former work I mentioned those things very briefly, and have therefore now thought it necessary to go over that history again, and that with great accuracy.

3. † King Antiochus returning out of Egypt for fear of the Romans, made an expedition against the city Jerusalem; and when he was there, in the hundred forty and third year of the kingdom of the Selucidæ, he took the city without fighting, those of his own party opening the gates to him. And when he had gotten possession of Jerusalem, he slew many of the opposite party; and when he plundered it of a great deal of money, he returned to Antioch.

4. Now it came to pass, alter two years, in the hundred forty and fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of that month, which

* This word *Gymnasium*, properly denotes a place where the exercises were performed *naked*, which, because it would naturally distinguish circumcised Jews from uncircumcised Gentiles, these Jewish apostates endeavoured to appear uncircumcised, by means of surgical operation, hinted at by St. Paul, 2. Cor. vii. 18. and described by Celsus, B. VII. ch. xxv. as Dr. Hudson here informs us.

† Hereabout Josephus begins to follow the first book of the Maccabees, a most excellent and most authentic history; and accordingly it is here, with great fidelity and exactness, abridged by him: Between whose present copies there seem to be fewer variations than in any other sacred Hebrew book of the Old Testament whatsoever, (for this book also was originally written in Hebrew which is very natural, because it was written so much nearer to the times of Josephus than the rest were.

is by us called *Chasleu*, and by the Macedonians *Apelleus*. in the hundred and fifty-third olympiad, that the king came up to Jerusalem, and, pretending peace, he got possession of the city by treachery : At which time he spared not so much as those that admitted him into it, on account of the riches that lay in the temple ; but led by his covetous inclination (for he saw there was in it a great deal of gold, and many ornaments that had been dedicated to it of very great value): and in order to plunder its wealth, he ventured to break the league he had made. So he left the temple bare ; and took away the golden altar [of incense,] and table [of shew-bread,] and the altar [of burnt-offering ;] and did not abstain from even the vails, which were made of fine linen and scarlet. He also emptied it of its secret treasures and left nothing at all remaining ; and by this means cast the Jews into great lamentation, for he forbade them to offer those daily sacrifices which they used to offer to God, according to the law. And when he had pillaged the whole city, some of the inhabitants he slew, and some he carried captive, together with their wives and children, so that the multitude of those captives that were taken alive amounted to about ten thousand. He also burnt down the finest buildings ; and when he had overthrown the city walls, he built * a citadel in the lower part of the city, for the place was high, and overlooked the temple, on which account he fortified it with high walls and towers, and put into it a garri-son of Macedonians. However, in that citadel the impious and wicked part of the [Jewish] multitude, from whom it proved that the citizens suffered many and sore calamities. And when the king had built an idol altar upon God's altar, he slew swine upon it, and so offered a sacrifice neither according to the law, nor the Jewish religious worship in that country. He also compelled them to forsake the worship which they paid their own God, and to adore those whom he took to be gods ; and make them build temples and raise idol altars in every city and village, and offer swine upon them every day. He also commanded them not to circumcise their sons, and threatened to punish any that should be found to have transgressed his injunction. He also appointed overseers, who should compel them to do what he commanded. And indeed many Jews there were who complied with the king's commands, either voluntary, or out of fear of the penalty that was denounc-

* This *Citadel*, of which we have such frequent mention in the following history, both in the Maccabees, and Josephus, seems to have been a castle built on an hill, lower than mount Zion, though upon its skirts, and higher than mount Moriah, but between them both ; which hill the enemies of the Jews now got possession of, and built on it this citadel, and fortified it, till a good while afterwards the Jews regained it, demolished it, and levelled the hill itself with the common ground, that their enemies might no more recover it, and might thence overlook the temple itself, and do them such mischief as they had long undergone from it, Antiq. B. XIII. ch. vi. § 6.

ed : But the best men, and those of the noblest souls, did not regard him, but did pay a greater respect to the customs of their country, than concern as to the punishment which he threatened to the disobedient ; on which account they every day underwent great miseries, and bitter torments, for they were whipped with rods, and their bodies were torn to pieces, and were crucified, while they were still alive, and breathed : They also strangled those women and their sons whom they had circumcised, as the king had appointed, hanging their sons about their necks as they were upon the crosses. And if there were any sacred book or the law found, it was destroyed, and those with whom they were found, miserably perished also.

5. When the Samaritans saw the Jews under these sufferings, they no longer confessed that they were of their kindred, nor that the temple on Mount Gerizzim belonged to Almighty God. This was according to their nature, as we have already shown. And they now said, that they were a colony of Medes and Persians : And indeed they were a colony of theirs. So they sent ambassadors to Antiochus, and an epistle ; whose contents are these : “ To king Antiochus the god. Epiphanes, a memorial from the Sidonians, who live at Sechem. Our forefathers, upon certain frequent plagues, and as following a certain ancient superstition, had a custom of observing that day which by the Jews is called the *Sabbath**. And when they had erected a temple at the mountain called *Gerizzim*, though without a name, they offered upon it the proper sacrifices. Now, upon the just treatment of these wicked Jews, those that manage their affairs, supposing that we were of kin to them, and practised as they do, make us liable to the same accusations, although we be originally Sidonians, as is evident from the public records. We therefore beseech thee, our benefactor and saviour, to give order to Apollonius, the governor of this part of the country, and to Nicanor, the procurator of thy affairs, to give us no disturbance, nor to lay to our charge what the Jews are accused for, since we are aliens from their nation, and from their customs ; but let our temple, which at present hath no name at all, be named, *The Temple of Jupiter Hellenius*. If this were once done, we should be no longer disturbed, but should be more intent on our own occupation with quietness, and so bring in a greater revenue to thee.” When the Samaritans had petitioned for this, the king sent them back the following answer, in an epistle : “ King Antiochus to Nicanor. The Sidonians, who live at Shechem, have sent me the memorial inclosed. When therefore we were advising with our friends about it, the messengers sent by them represented to us, that they are no way concerned with accusations which belonged to the Jews, but chool to live after the

* This allegation of the Samaritans is remarkable, that though they were not Jews, yet did they, from ancient times, observe the Sabbath-day, and, as they elsewhere pretend, the Sabbatic year also. Antiq. B. XII. ch. vii. § 6.

custom of the Greeks. Accordingly we declare them free from such accusations, and order that, agreeable to their petition, their temple be named, *The Temple of Jupiter Hellenius*." He also sent the like epistle to Apollonius, the governor of that part of the country, in the forty-sixth year, and the eighteenth day of the month Hecatombeon.

C H A P. VI.

How, upon Antiochus's prohibition to the Jews to make use of the Laws of their Country, Mattathias the son of Asamoneus, alone despised the king and overcame the generals of Antiochus's army: As also concerning the Death of Mattathias and the succession of Judas.

§ 1. **N**OW at this time there was one whose name was Mattathias, who dwelt at Modin, the son of John, the son of Simeon, the son of Asamoneus, a priest of the order of Joarib, and a citizen of Jerusalem. He had five sons John, who was called Gaddis, and Simon, who was called Matthes, and Judas, who was called Maccabeus,* and Eleazar, who was called Auran, and Jonathan who was called *Applus*. Now this Mattathias lamented to his children the sad state of their affairs, and the ravage made in the city, and the plundering of the temple and the calamities the multitude were under; and he told them, that it was better for them to die for the laws of their country, than to live so ingloriously as they then did.

2. But when those that were appointed by the king were come to Modin, that they might compel the Jews to do what they were commanded; and to enjoin those that were there to offer sacrifice, as the king had commanded, they desired that Mattathias, a person of the greatest character among them, both on other accounts, and particularly on account of such a numerous and so deserving a family of children, would begin the sacrifice, because his fellow citizens would follow his example, and because such a procedure would make him honoured by the king. But Mattathias said, "he would not do it; and that if all the other nations would obey the commands of Antiochus, either out of fear, or to please him, yet would not he nor his sons leave the religious worship of their country." But as soon as he had ended his speech, there came one of the Jews into the midst of them, and sacrificed, as Antio-

* That this appellation of *Maccabee* was not first of all given to Judas Maccabeus, nor was derived from any initial letters of the Hebrew words on his banner, *Mi Kamoka Be Elim, Jehovah? Who is like unto thee among the Gods, O Jehovah?* Exod. xv. 11. as the modern Rabbins vainly pretend, see Authent. Rec. part I. p. 205, 206. Only we may note, by the way, that the original name of these Maccabees, and their posterity, was *Asmonians*: which was derived from Asmoneus, the great-grand-father of Mattathias, as Josephus here informs us.

thus had commanded. At which Mattathias had great indignation, and ran upon him violently, with his sons, who had swords with them, and slew both the man himself that sacrificed, and Appelles the king's general, who compelled them to sacrifice, with a few of his soldiers. He also overthrew the idol altar, and cried out, "It, said he, any one be zealous for the laws of his country, and for the worship of God, let him follow me." And when he had said this, he made haste into the desert with his sons, and left all his substance in the village. Many others did the same also, and fled with their children and wives into the desert, and dwelt into caves. But when the king's generals heard this, they took all the forces they then had in the citadel at Jerusalem, and pursued the Jews into the desert; and when they had overtaken them, they in the first place endeavoured to persuade them to repent, and to chuse what was most for their advantage, and not put them to the necessity of using them according to the law of war. But when they would not comply with their persuasions, but continued to be of a different mind, they fought against them on the Sabbath day, and they burnt them as they were in the caves without resistance, and without so much as stopping up the entrances of the caves. And they avoided to defend themselves on that day, because they were not willing to break in upon the honour they owed the Sabbath even in such distresses; for our law requires that we rest upon that day. There were about a thousand, with their wives and children, who were smothered and died in these caves; but many of those that escaped joined themselves to Mattathias, and appointed him to be their ruler, who taught them to fight, even on the Sabbath-day; and told them, that "unless they would do so, they would become their own enemies, by observing the law [so rigorously] while their adversaries would still assault them on this day, and they would not then defend themselves, and that nothing could then hinder but they must all perish without fighting." This speech persuaded them. And this rule continues among us to this day, that if there be a necessity, we may fight on Sabbath-days. So Mattathias got a great army about him, and overthrew their idol altars, and slew those that broke the laws, even all that he could get under his power, for many of them were dispersed among the nations round about them for fear of him. He also commanded, that those boys which were not yet circumcised should be circumcised now; and he drove those away that were appointed to hinder such their circumcision.

3. But when he had ruled one year, and was fallen into a distemper, he called for his sons, and set them round about him, and said, "O my sons, I am going the way of all the earth, and I recommend to you my resolution, and beseech you not to be negligent in keeping it, but to be mindful of the desires of him who begat you, and brought you up, and to

preserve the customs of your country, and to recover your ancient form of government, which is in danger of being overturned, and not to be carried away with those that, either by their own inclination, or out of necessity, betray it, but to become such sons as are worthy of me; to be above all force, and necessity, and so to dispose your souls, as to be ready, when it shall be necessary, to die for your laws, as sensible of this by just reasoning, that if God see that you are so disposed he will not overlook you, but will have a great value for your virtue, and will restore to you again, what you have lost, and will return to you that freedom in which you shall live quietly, and enjoy your own customs. Your bodies are mortal and subject to fate, but they receive a sort of immortality, by the remembrance of what actions they have done. And I would have you so in love with this immortality, that you may pursue after glory, and that, when you have undergone the greatest difficulties, you may not scruple, for such things to lose your lives. I exhort you, especially, to agree one with another; and in what excellence any one of you exceeds another, to yield to him so far, and by that means to reap the advantage of every one's own virtues. Do you then esteem Simon as your father, because he is a man of extraordinary prudence, and to be governed by him in what counsels he gives you. Take Maccabeus for the general of your army, because of his courage and strength, for he will avenge your nation, and will bring vengeance on your enemies. Admit among you the righteous and religious, and augment their power."

4 When Mattathias had thus discoursed to his sons, and had prayed to God to be their assistant, and to recover to the people their former constitution, he died a little afterward, and was buried at Modin; all the people making great lamentation for him. Whereupon his son Judas took upon him the administration of public affairs in the hundred forty and sixth year; and this by the ready assistance of his brethren, and of others, Judas cast their enemies out of the country, and put those of their own country to death who had transgressed its laws, and purified the land of all the pollutions that were in it.

C H A P. VII.

How Judas overthrew the Forces of Apollonius and Seron, and killed the Generals of their Armies themselves; and how, when, a little while afterward, Lyfias and Gorgias were beaten, he went up to Jerusalem, and purified the Temple.

§ 1. **W**HEN Appollonius, the general of the Samaritan forces heard this, he took his army, and made haste to go against Judas; who met him and joined battle with him, and beat him, and slew many of his men, and among them

Apollonius himself, their general whose sword being that which he happened to wear, he seized upon, and kept for himself; but he wounded more than he slew, and took a great deal of prey from the enemies camp, and went his way. But when Seron, who was general of the army of Cefelyria heard that many had joined themselves to Judas, and that he had about him an army sufficient for fighting, and for making war, he determined to make an expedition against him, as thinking it became him to endeavour to punish those that transgressed the king's injunctions. He then got together an army, as large as he was able, and joined to it the runagate and wicked Jews, and came against Judas. He came as far as Bethhoron, a village of Judea, and there pitched his camp: Upon which Judas met him; and when he intended to give him battle, he saw that his soldiers were backward to fight, because their number was small, and because they wanted food, for they were fasting, he encouraged them, and said to them, that "victory and conquest of enemies is not derived from the multitude in armies, but in the exercise of piety towards God; and that they had the plainest instances in their forefathers, who by their righteousness, and exerting themselves on behalf of their own laws, and their own children, had frequently conquered many ten thousands, for innocence is the strongest army." By this speech he induced his men to contemn the multitude of the enemy, and to fall upon Seron. And upon joining battle with him, he beat the Syrians; and when their general fell among the rest, they all ran away with speed, as thinking that to be their best way of escaping. So he pursued them unto the plain, and slew about eight hundred of the enemy, but the rest escaped to the region that lay near the sea.

2. When king Antiochus heard of these things, he was very angry at what had happened; so he got together all his own army with many mercenaries whom he had hired from the islands, and took them with him, and prepared to break into Judea, about the beginning of the spring. But when upon his mustering his soldiers, he perceived that his treasures were deficient, and there was a want of money in them, for all the taxes were not paid, by reason of the seditions there had been among the nations, he having been so magnanimous and so liberal, that what he had was not sufficient for him, he therefore resolved first to go into Persia, and collect the taxes of that country. Hereupon he left one whose name was Lysias, who was in great repute with him, governor of the kingdom, as far as the bounds of Egypt, and of the lower Asia, and reaching from the river Euphrates, and committed to him a certain part of his forces, and of his elephants, and charged him to bring up his son Antiochus with all possible care, until he came back; and that he should conquer Judea, and take its inhabitants for slaves, and utterly destroy Jerusalem and abolish the whole nation. And when king Antiochus had given these

things in charge to Lyfias, he went into Perfia; and in the hundred and forty-feventh year he paffed over Euphrates, and went up to the fuperior provinces.

3. Upon this Lyfias chofe Ptolemy, the fon of Dorymenes, and Nicanor, and Georgias, very potent men among the king's friends, and delivered to them forty thoufand foot foldiers, and feven thoufand horfemen, and fent them againft Judea, who came as far as the city Emmaus, and pitched their camp in the plain country. There came alfo to them auxiliaries out of Syria, and the country round about; as alfo many of the runagate Jews. And befides thefe came fome merchants to buy thofe that fhould be carried captives, (having bonds with them to bind thofe that fhould be made prifoners,) with that filver and gold which they were to pay for their price. And when Judas faw their camp, and how numerous their enemies were, he perfuaded his own foldiers to be of good courage; and exhorted them to place their hopes of victory in God, and to make fupplication to him, according to the cuftom of their country clothed in fackcloth; and to fhew what was their ufual habit of fupplication in the greateft dangers, and thereby to prevail with God to grant you the victory over your enemies. So he fet them in their ancient order of battle ufed by their forefathers, under their captains of thoufands, and other officers; and difmiffed fuch as were newly married, as well as thofe that had newly gained poffeffions, that they might not fight in a cowardly manner, out of an inordinate love of life, in order to enjoy thofe bleffings. When he had thus difpofed his foldiers, he encouraged them to fight by the following fpeech, which he made to them: "O my fellow foldiers, no other time remains more opportune than the prefent for courage, and contempt of dangers; for if you now fight manfully you may recover your liberty, which, as it is a thing of itfelf agreeable to all men, fo it proves to be to us much more defirable, by its affording us the liberty of worfhipping God. Since therefore you are in fuch circumftances at prefent, that you muft either recover that liberty, and fo regain an happy and bleffed way of living, which is that according to our laws, and the cuftoms of our country, or to fubmit to the moft opprobrious fufferings; nor will any feed of your nation remain if you be beat in this battle. Fight therefore manfully; and fuppoſe that you muft die though you do not fight. But believe, that befides fuch glorious rewards as thofe of the liberty of your country, of your laws, of your religion, you fhall then obtain everlaſting glory. Prepare yourfelves therefore, and put yourfelves into fuch an agreeable poſture, that you may be ready to fight with the enemy as ſoon as it is day to-morrow morning."

4. And this was the fpeech which Judas made to encourage them. But when the enemy ſent Georgias, with five thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, that he might fall upon Judas by night, and had for that purpoſe certain of the runagate Jews as

guides, the son of Mattathias perceived it, and resolved to fall upon those enemies that were in their camp, now their forces were divided. When they had therefore supped in good time, and had left many fires in their camp, he marched all night to those enemies that were at Emmaus: So that when Georgias found no enemy in their camp, but suspected that they were retired, and had hidden themselves among the mountains, he resolved to go and seek them wheresoever they were. But about break of day, Judas appeared to those enemies that were at Emmaus, with only three thousand men, and those ill armed, by reason of their poverty, and when he saw the enemy very well and skilfully fortified in their camp, he encouraged the Jews, and told them, "that they ought to fight, though it were with their naked bodies, for that God had sometimes of old given such men strength, and that against such as were more in number, and were armed also, out of regard to their great courage." So he commanded the trumpeters to sound for the battle: And by thus falling upon the enemies when they did not expect it, and thereby astonishing and disturbing their minds, he slew many of those that resisted him, and went on pursuing the rest as far as Gadara, and the plains of Idumea, and Ashdod, and Jamnia; and of these there fell about three thousand. Yet did Judas exhort his soldiers not to be too desirous of the spoils, for that still they must have a contest and a battle with Gorgias, and the forces that were with him; but that when they had once overcome them, then they might securely plunder the camp because they were the only enemies remaining, and they expected no others. And just as he was speaking to his soldiers, Gorgias's men looked down into that army, which they left in their camp, and saw that it was overthrown, and the camp burnt, for the smoke that arose from it shewed them even when they were a great way off, what had happened. When therefore those that were with Gorgias understood that things were in this posture and perceived that those that were with Judas were ready to fight them, they also were affrighted and put to flight; but then Judas, as though he had already beaten Gorgias's soldiers without fighting, returned and seized on the spoils. He took a great quantity of gold and silver and purple and blue, and then returned home with joy and singing hymns to God for their good success, for this victory greatly contributed to the recovery of their liberty.

5. Hereupon Lysias was confounded at the defeat of the army which he had sent, and the next year he got together sixty thousand chosen men. He also took five thousand horsemen, and fell upon Judea; and he went up to the hill country of Bethsur, a village of Judea, and pitched his camp there, where Judas met him with ten thousand men; and when he saw the great number of his enemies, he prayed to God, that he would assist him, and joined battle with the first of the enemy that

appeared, and beat them, and slew about five thousand of them, and thereby became terrible to the rest of them. Nay indeed, Lyfius observing the great spirit of the Jews, how they were prepared to die rather than lose their liberty, and being afraid of their desperate way of fighting, as if it were real strength, he took the rest of the army back with him, and returned to Antioch, where he lifted foreigners into the service, and prepared to fall upon Judea with a greater army.

6. When therefore the generals of Antiochus's armies had been beaten so often, Judas assembled the people together, and told them, That "after these many victories which God had given them, they ought to go up to Jerusalem, and purify the temple, and offer the appointed sacrifices." But as soon as he, with the whole multitude, was come to Jerusalem, and found the temple deserted, and its gates burnt down, and plants growing in the temple, of their own accord on account of its desertion, he and those that were with him began to lament, and were quite confounded at the sight of the temple; so he chose out some of his soldiers, and gave them order to fight against those guards that were in the citadel, until he should have purified the temple. When therefore he had carefully purged it, and had brought in new vessels, the candlestick, the table [of shew-bread,] and the altar [of incense,] which were made of gold, he hung up the vials at the gates, and added doors to them. He also took down the altar [of burnt-offering,] and built a new one of stones that he gathered together, and not of such as were hewn with iron tools. So on the five and twentieth day of the month Casleu, which the Macedonians call *Apelleus*, they lighted the lamps that were on the candlestick, and offered incense upon the altar [of incense,] and laid the loaves upon the table [of shew-bread,] and offered burnt-offerings upon the new altar [of burnt-offering.] Now it so fell out, that these things were done on the very same day on which their divine worship had fallen off, and was reduced to a profane and common use, after three years time; for so it was, that the temple was made desolate by Antiochus, and so continued for three years. This desolation happened to the temple in the hundred forty and fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Apelleus, and on the hundred fifty and third olympiad: But it was dedicated a-new, on the same day, the twenty-fifth of the month Apelleus, on the hundred and forty-eighth year, and on the hundred and fifty-fourth olympiad. And this desolation came to pass according to the prophecy of Daniel, which was given four hundred and eight years before; for he declared, that the Macedonians would dissolve that worship [for some time.]

7. Now Judas celebrated the festival of the restoration of the sacrifices of the temple for eight days; and omitted no sort of pleasures thereon: But he feasted them upon very rich and splendid sacrifices; and he honoured God, and delighted

them, by hymns and psalms. Nay, they were so very glad at the revival of their customs, when, after a long time of intermission, they unexpectedly had regained the freedom of their worship, that they made it a law for their posterity, that they should keep a festival on account of the restoration of their temple worship, for eight days. And from that time to this we celebrate this festival, and call it *Lights*. I suppose the reason was this, because this liberty beyond our hopes appeared to us ; and that thence was the name given to that festival. Judas also rebuilt the walls round about the city ; and reared towers of great height against the incursions of enemies ; and set guards therein. He also fortified the city Bethsura, that it might serve as a citadel against any distresses that might come from our enemies.

C H A P. VIII.

How Judas subdued the Nation round about ; and how Simon beat the People of Tyre and Ptolemais : And how Judas overcame Timotheus, and forced him to fly away, and did many other things, after Joseph and Azarias had been beaten.

§ 1. **W**HEN these things were over, the nations round about the Jews were very uneasy at the revival of their power, and rose up together, and destroyed many of them, as gaining advantage over them by laying snares for them, and making secret conspiracies against them. Judas made perpetual expeditions against these men, and endeavoured to restrain them from those incursions, and to prevent the mischiefs they did to the Jews. So he fell upon the Idumeans, the posterity of Esau, at Acrabattene, and slew a great many of them, and took their spoils. He also shut up the sons of Bean, that laid wait for the Jews ; and he sat down about them, and besieged them, and burnt their towers, and destroyed the men [that were in them.] After this he went thence in haste against the Ammonites, who had a great and a numerous army ; of which Timotheus was the commander. And when he had subdued them, he seized on the city Jazer, and took their wives and their children captives, and burnt the city, and then returned into Judea. But when the neighbouring nations understood that he was returned, they got together in great numbers, in the land of Gilead, and came against those Jews that were at their borders, who then fled to the were garrison of Dametha ; and sent to Judas to inform him that Timotheus was endeavouring to take the place whither they fled. And as these epistles were reading, there came other messengers out of Galilee, who informed him that the inhabitants of Ptolemais, and of Tyre and Sidon, and strangers of Galilee, were gotten together.

2. Accordingly Judas, upon considering what was fit to be done, with relation to the necessity both these cases required, gave order that Simon his brother should take three thousand chosen men, and go to the assistance of the Jews in Galilee, while he and another of his brothers, Jonathan, made haste into the land of Gilead, with eight thousand soldiers. And he left Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, to be over the rest of the forces ; and charged them to keep Judea very carefully, and to fight no battles with any persons whomsoever until his return. Accordingly Simon went into Galilee, and fought the enemy, and put them to flight, and pursued them to the very gates of Ptolemais, and slew about three thousand of them ; and took the spoils of those that were slain, and those Jews whom they had made captives, with their baggage ; and then returned home.

3. Now as for Judas Maccabeus, and his brother Jonathan, they passed over the river Jordan ; and when they had gone three days journey, they light upon the Nabateans, who came to meet them peaceably, and who told them how the affairs of those in the land of Gilead stood ; and how many of them were in distress, and driven into garrisons, and into the cities of Galilee : And exhorted him to make haste to go against the foreigners, and to endeavour to save his own countrymen out of their hands. To this exhortation Judas hearkened, and returned into the wilderness ; and in the first place fell upon the inhabitants of Bosor, and took the city, and beat the inhabitants and destroyed all the males, and all that were able to fight, and burnt the city. Nor did he stop even when night came on, but he journeyed in it to the garrison where the Jews happened to be then shut up, and where Timotheus lay round the place with his army : And Judas came upon the city in the morning ; and when he found that the enemy were making an assault upon the walls, and that some of them brought ladders, on which they might get upon those walls, and that others brought engines [to batter them,] he bid the trumpeter to sound his trumpet, and he encouraged his soldiers cheerfully to undergo dangers for the sake of their brethren and kindred ; he also parted his army into three bodies, and fell upon the backs of their enemies. But when Timotheus's men perceived that it was Maccabeus that was upon them, of both whose courage and good success in war they had formerly had sufficient experience, they were put to flight ; but Judas followed them with his army, and slew about eight thousand of them. He then turned aside to a city of the foreigners called *Malle*, and took it, and slew all the males, and burnt the city itself. He then removed from thence, and overthrew Caspeom and Bosor, and many other cities of the land of Gilead.

4. But not long after this Timotheus prepared a great army, and took many others as auxiliaries ; and induced some of the Arabians, by the promise of rewards, to go with him in this

expedition, and came with his army beyond the brook, over against the city Raphon : And he encouraged his soldiers, if it came to a battle with the Jews, to fight courageously, and to hinder their passing over the brook ; for he said to them before hand, That “ if they come over it, we shall be beaten.” And when Judas heard that Timotheus prepared himself to fight, he took all his own army, and went in haste against Timotheus his enemy ; and when he had passed over the brook, he fell upon his enemies and some of them met him, whom he slew, and others of them he so terrified, that he compelled them to throw down their arms, and fly ; and some of them escaped, but some of them fled to what was called the temple at Carnaim, and hoped thereby to preserve themselves ; but Judas took the city, and slew them, and burnt the temple, and so used several ways of destroying his enemies.

5. When he had done this, he gathered the Jews together, with their children, and wives, and the substance that belonged to them, and was going to bring them back into Judea : But as soon as he was come to a certain city, whose name was *Ephron*, that lay upon the road. (and as it was not possible for him to go any other way, so he was not willing to go back again), he then sent to the inhabitants, and desired that they would open their gates and permit them to go on their way through the city, for they had stopped up the gates with stones, and cut off their passage through it. And when the inhabitants of Ephron would not agree to this proposal, he encouraged those that were with him, and encompassed the city round, and besieged it, and lying round it by day and by night, took the city, and slew every male in it, and burnt it all down, and so obtained a way through it ; and the multitude of those that were slain was so great that they went over the dead bodies. So they came over Jordan, and arrived at the great plain, over against which is situate the city Bethshan, which is called by the Greeks * *Scythopolis*. And going away hastily from thence, they came into Judea, singing psalms and hymns as they went, and indulging such tokens of mirth as are usual in triumphs upon victory. They also offered thank-offerings, both for their good success, and for the preservation of their army, for † not one of the Jews was slain in these battles.

6. But as to Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, whom Judas left generals [of the rest of the forces] at the

* The reason why Bethshan was called *Scythopolis*, is well known from Herodotus, B. I. p. 105, and Syncellus. p. 214. that the Scythians, when they overran Asia, in the days of Josiah, seized on this city, and kept it as long as they continued in Asia, from which time it retained the name of *Scythopolis*, or the city of the Scythians.

† This most providential preservation of all the religious Jews in this expedition, which was according to the will of God, is observable often among God's people the Jews ; and somewhat very like it in the changes of the four monarchies, which were also providential. See Prideaux at the years 331, 333, and 334.

same time when in Galilee, fighting against the people of Ptolemais, and Judas himself, and his brother Jonathan, were in the land of Gilead, did these men also affect the glory of being courageous generals in war in order whereto they took the army that was under their command, and came to Jamnia. There Gorgias, the geneal of the forces of Jamnia, met them; and upon joining battle with him, they lost * two thousand of their army, and fled away, and were pursued to the very borders of Judea. And this misfortune befel them by their disobedience to what injunctions Judas had given them, "Not to fight with any one before his return." For besides the rest of Judas's sagacious counsels, one may well wonder at this concerning the misfortune that befel the forces commanded by Joseph and Azarias, which he understood would happen, if they broke any of the injunctions he had given them. But Judas, and his brethren, did not leave off fighting with the Idumeans but pressed upon them on all sides, and took from them the city of Hebron, and demolished all its fortifications, and set all its towers on fire, and burnt the country of the foreigners, and the city Marissa. They came also to Ashdod, and took it, and laid it waste, and took away a great deal of the spoils and prey that were in it, and returned to Judea.

C H A P. IX.

Concerning the Death of Antiochus Epiphanes. How Antiochus Eupator fought against Judas and besieged him in the Temple, and afterwards made Peace with him, and departed. Of Alcimus and Onias.

§ 1. ABOUT this time it was that king Antiochus, as he was going over the upper countries, heard, that there was a very rich city in Persia, called *Elymais*; and therein a very rich temple of Diana, and that it was full of all sorts of donations dedicated to it; as also weapons and breast-plates, which, upon inquiry, he found had been left there by Alexander, the son of Philip, king of Macedonia. And being incited by these motives, he went in haste to Elymais, and assaulted it, and besieged it. But as those that were in it were not terrified at his assault, nor at his siege, but opposed him very courageously, he was beaten off his hopes; for they drove him away from the city, and went out and pursued after him, insomuch that he fled away as far as Babylon, and lost a great many of his army. And when he was grieving

* Here is another great instance of providence, that when, even at the very time that Simon and Judas, and Jonathan, were so miraculously preserved, and blessed, in the just defence of their laws and religion, these other generals of the Jews who went to fight for honour, in a vain-glorious way, and without any commission from God, or the family he had raised up to deliver them, were miserably disappointed and defeated. See 1 Maccab. v. 61, 62.

for this disappointment, some persons told him of the defeat of his commanders whom he had left behind him to fight against Judea, and what strength the Jews had already gotten : When this concern about these affairs was added to the former, he was confounded, and by the anxiety he was in fell into a distemper, which, as it lasted a great while and as his pains increased upon him, so he at length perceived he should die in a little time ; so he called his friends to him, and told them, that his distemper was severe upon him ; and confessed withal, that this calamity was sent upon him for the miseries he had brought upon the Jewish nation, while he plundered their temple, and contemned their God ; and when he had said this, he gave up the ghost. Whence one may wonder at Polybius of Megalopolis, who, though otherwise a good man, yet saith, That “ Antiochus died because he had a purpose to plunder the temple of Diana in Persia ;” for the * purposing to do a thing, but not actually doing it, is not worthy of punishment. But if Polybius could think, that Antiochus thus lost his life on that account of his sacrilegious plundering of the temple at Jerusalem. But we will not contend about this matter with those who may think, that the cause assigned by this Polybius of Megalopolis is nearer the truth than that assigned by us.

2. However, Antiochus, before he died, called for Philip, who was one of his companions, and made him the guardian of his kingdom ; and gave him his diadem, and his garment, and his ring, and charged him to carry them, and deliver them to his son Antiochus ; and desired him to take care of his education, and to preserve the kingdom for him †. This Antiochus died in the hundred forty and ninth year : But it was Lyfias that declared his death to the multitude, and appointed his son Antiochus to be king, (of whom at present he had the care,) and called him *Eupator*.

3. At this time it was that the garrison in the citadel at Jerusalem with the Jewish runagates, did a great deal of harm to the Jews : For the soldiers that were in that garrison rushed out upon the sudden, and destroyed such as were going up to the temple in order to offer their sacrifices, for this citadel adjoined to, and overlooked the temple. When these misfortunes had often happened to them Judas resolved to destroy that

* Since St. Paul, a pharisee, confesses, that he had not *known concupiscence* or *desires* to be sinful, had not the tenth commandment said. *Thou shalt not covet*, Rom. vii. 7. the case seems to have been much the same with our Josephus, who was of the same sect, that he had not a deep sense of the greatness of any sins that proceeded no farther than the intention. However, since Josephus speaks here properly of the punishment of death, which is not inflicted by any law either of God or man for the bare intention, his words need not be strained to mean, that sins intended, but not executed, were no sins at all.

† No wonder that Josephus here describes Antiochus Eupator, as young, and wanting tuition, when he came to the crown, since Appian informs us, Syriac. p. 177. that he was then but *nine* years old.

garrison ; whereupon he got all the people together, and vigorously besieged those that were in the citadel. This was in the hundred and fiftieth year of the dominion of the Seleucidæ. So he made engines of war, and erected bulwarks, and very zealously pressed on to take the citadeld : But there were not a few of the runagates who were in the place, that went out by night into the country, and got together some other wicked men like themselves, and went to Antiochus the king, and desired of him, That “ he would not suffer them to be neglected, under the great hardships that lay upon them from those of their own nation. and this because their sufferings were occasioned on his father’s account, while they left the religious worship of their fathers, and preferred that which he had commanded them to follow : That there was danger lest the citadel and those appointed to garrison it by the king, should be taken by Judas. and those that were with him, unless he would send them succours.” When Antiochus, who was but a child, heard this, he was angry, and sent for his captains, and his friends, and gave order, that they should get an army of mercenaries together, with such men also of his own kingdom as were of an age fit for war. Accordingly an army was collected of about an hundred thousand footmen, and twenty thousand horsemen, and thirty-two elephants.

4. So the king took this army, and marched hastily out of Antioch, with Lysias, who had the command of the whole, and came to Idumea, and thence went up to the city Bethsura, a city that was strong, and not to be taken without great difficulty, he set about this city, and besieged it. And while the inhabitants of Bethsura courageously opposed him, and sallied out upon him, and burnt his engines of war, a great deal of time was spent in the siege. But when Judas heard of the king’s coming, he raised the siege of the citadel, and met the king, and pitched his camp in certain straits, at a place called *Bethzachariah*, at the distance of seventy furlongs from the enemy ; but the king soon drew his forces from Bethsura, and brought them to those straits. And as soon as it was day he put his men in battle array, and made his elephants follow one another through the narrow passes, because they could not be set sideways by one another. Now round about every elephant there were a thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen. The elephants also had high towers [upon their backs], and archers [in them]. And he also made the rest of his army to go up the mountains, and put his friends before the rest ; and gave orders for the army to shout aloud, and so he attacked the enemy. He also exposed to sight their golden and brazen shields, so that a glorious splendor was sent from them ; and when they shouted, the mountains echoed again. When Judas saw this, he was not terrified, but received the enemy with great courage, and slew about six hundred of the first ranks. But when his brother Eleazar, whom they called

Auran, saw the tallest of all the elephants armed with royal breast-plates, and supposed that the king was upon him, he attacked him with great quickness and bravery. He also slew many of those that were about the elephant, and scattered the rest, and then went under the belly of the elephant, and smote him, and slew him; so the elephant fell upon Eleazar, and by his weight crushed him to death. And thus did this man come to his end, when he had first courageously destroyed many of his enemies.

5. But Judas, seeing the strength of the enemy, retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to endure a siege. As for Antiochus, he sent part of his army to Bethsura, to besiege it and with the rest of his army he came against Jerusalem; but the inhabitants of Bethsura was terrified at his strength; and seeing that their provisions grew scarce, they delivered themselves up on the security of oaths, that they should suffer no hard treatment from the king. And when Antiochus had thus taken the city, he did them no other harm than sending them out naked. He also placed a garrison of his own in the city. But as for the temple of Jerusalem, he lay at its siege a long time, while they within bravely defended it, for what engines soever the king set against them, they set other engines again to oppose them. But then their provisions failed them; what fruits of the ground they had laid up were spent, and the land being not plowed that year, continued unfowed, because it was the seventh year, on which by our laws we are obliged to let it lie uncultivated. And withal so many of the besieged ran away for want of necessaries, that but a few only were left in the temple.

6. And these happened to be the circumstances of such as were besieged in the temple. But then, because Lyfias, the general of the army, and Antiochus the King, were informed, that Philip was coming upon them out of Persia; and was endeavouring to get the management of public affairs to himself, they came into these sentiments, to leave the siege, and to make haste to go against Philip; yet did they resolve not to let this be known to the soldiers, or to the officers: But the King commanded Lyfias to speak openly to the soldiers, and the officers, without saying a word about the business of Philip; and to intimate to them, that the siege would be very long; that the place was very strong; that they were already in want of provisions; that many affairs of the kingdom wanted regulation; and that it was much better to make a league with the besieged, and to become friends to their whole nation, by permitting them to observe the laws of their fathers, while they broke out into this war only because they were deprived of them, and so to depart home. When Lyfias had discoursed thus to them, both the army and the officers were pleased with this resolution,

7. Accordingly the king sent to Judas, and to those that were

besieged with them, and promised to give them peace, and to permit them to make use of, and live according to the laws of their fathers. And they gladly received his proposals: And when they had gained security upon oath, for their performance, they went out of the temple. But when Antiochus came into it, and saw how strong the place was, he broke his oaths, and ordered his army that was there to pluck down the walls to the ground; and when he had so done, he returned to Antioch: He also carried with him Onias the high-priest, who was also called *Menelaus*; for Lyfias advised the king to slay Menelaus, if he would have the Jews be quiet, and cause him no farther disturbance, for that this man was the origin of all the mischief the Jews had done them, by persuading his father to compel the Jews to leave the religion of their fathers: So the king sent Menelaus to Berea, a city of Syria, and there had him put to death, when he had been high-priest ten years. He had been a wicked and an impious man: And, in order to get the government to himself, had compelled his nation to transgress their own laws. After the death of Menelaus, Alcimus, who was also called *Jacimus*, was made high-priest. But when king Antiochus found that Philip had already possessed himself of the government, he made war against him, and subdued him, and took him, and slew him. Now, as to Onias, the son of the high-priest, who, as we before informed you, was left a child when his father died, when he saw that the king had slain his uncle Menelaus, and given the high priesthood to Alcimus, who was not of the high-priest stock, but as induced by Lyfias to translate that dignity from this family to another house, he fled to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and when he found he was in great esteem with him, and with his wife Cleopatra, he desired and obtained a place in the Nomus of Heliopolis, wherein he built a temple like to that at Jerusalem: Of which therefore we shall hereafter give an account, in a place more proper for it.

C H A P. X.

How Bacchides, the General of Demetrius's Army, made an Expedition against Judea, and returned without success; and how Nicanor was sent a little afterward against Judas, and perished, together with his Army: As also concerning the Death of Alcimus, and the Succession of Judas.

§ 1. ABOUT the same time Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, fled away from Rome, and took Tripoli, a city of Syria, and set the diadem on his own head. He also gathered certain mercenary soldiers together, and entered into his kingdom, and was joyfully received by all who delivered themselves up to him. And when they had taken Antiochus

the king, and Lyfias, they brought them to him alive ; both which were immediately put to death by the command of Demetrius, when Antiochus had reigned two years, as we have already elfewhere related. But there were now many of the wicked Jewifh runagates that came together to him, and with them Alcimus the high-prieft, who accused the whole nation, and particularly Judas and his brethren ; and faid, That “ they had flain all his friends ; and that thofe in his kingdom that were of his party, and waited for his return, were by them put to death ; that thefe men had ejected them out of their own country, and caufed them to be fojourners in a foreign land ; and they defired that he would fend fome one of his own friends, and know from him what mifchief Judas’s party had done.”

2. At this Demetrius was very angry, and fent Bacchides, a friend of Antiochus Epiphanes*, a good man, and one that had been entrusted with all Mefopotamia, and gave him an army, and committed Alcimus the high-prieft to his care ; and gave him charge to flay Judas, and thofe that were with him. So Bacchides made hafte, and went out of Antioch with his army ; and when he was come into Judea, he fent to Judas and his brethren, to difcourfe with him about a league of friendship and peace, for he had a mind to take him by treachery : But Judas did not give credit to him, for he faw that he came with fo great an army as men do not bring when they come to make peace, but to make war. However, fome of the people acquiefced in what Bacchides caufed to be proclaimed ; and fupposing they fhould undergo no confiderable harm from Alcimus, who was their countryman, they went over to them ; and when they had received oaths from both of them, that neither they themfelves, nor thofe of the fame sentiments, fhould come to any harm they entrusted themfelves with them : But Bacchides troubled not himfelf about the oaths he had taken, and flew threefcore of them, although by not keeping his faith with thofe that firft went over, he deterred all the reft, who had intentions to go over to him, from doing it. But as he was gone out of Jerufalem, and was at the village called *Bethzetho* he fent out, and caught many of the deferters, and fome of the people alfo, and flew them all ; and enjoined all that lived in the country to fubmit to Alcimus. So he left him there, with fome part of the army, that he might have wherewith to keep the country in obedience, and returned to Antioch, to king Demetrius.

3. But Alcimus was defirous to have the dominion more

* It is no way probable that Jofephus would call Bacchides, that bitter and bloody enemy of the Jews, as our preient copies have it, *a man good, or kind and gentle*. What the author of the firft book of Maccabees, whom Jofephus here follows, inftead of that character, fays of him, is, that he was *a great man in the kingdom, and faithful to his king* ; which was very probably Jofephus’s meaning alfo.

firmly assured to him : And understanding, that if he could bring it about that the multitude should be his friends, he should govern with greater security, he spake kind words to them all, and discoursed to each of them after an agreeable and pleasant manner, by which means he quickly had a great body of men, and an army about him, although the greater part of them were of the wicked, and the deserters. With these, whom he used as his servants and soldiers, he went all over the country, and slew all that he could find of Judas's party. But when Judas saw that Alcimus was already become great, and had destroyed many of the good and holy men of the country, he also went all over the country, and destroyed those that were of the other's party. But when Alcimus saw that he was not able to oppose Judas, nor was equal to him in strength, he resolved to apply himself to king Demetrius for his assistance ; so he came to Antioch, and irritated him against Judas, and accused him, alledging that he had undergone a great many miseries by his means, and that he would do more mischief unless he were prevented, and brought to punishment, which must be done by sending a powerful force against him.

4. So Demetrius, being already of opinion that it would be a thing pernicious to his own affairs to overlook Judas, now he was becoming so great, sent against him Nicanor, the most kind and most faithful of all his friends ; for he it was who fled away with him from the city of Rome. He also gave him as many forces as he thought sufficient for him to conquer Judas withal, and bid him not to spare the nation at all. When Nicanor was come to Jerusalem he did not resolve to fight Judas immediately, but judged it better to get him into his power by treachery ; so he sent him a message of peace, and said, " there was no manner of necessity for them to fight and hazard themselves ; and that he would give him his oath that he would do him no harm, for that he only came with some friends, in order to let him know what king Demetrius's intentions were, and what opinion he had of their nation." When Nicanor had delivered this message, Judas and his brethren complied with him, and suspecting no deceit, they gave him assurances of friendship, and received Nicanor, and his army ; but while he was saluting Judas, and they were talking together, he gave a certain signal to his own soldiers, upon which they were to seize upon Judas ; but he perceived the treachery, and ran back to his own soldiers, and fled away with them. So upon this discovery of his purpose, and of the snares laid for Judas, Nicanor determined to make open war with him, and gathered his army together, and prepared for fighting him ; and upon joining battle with him at a certain village called Capharsalama, he * beat Judas, and forced him to fly to that citadel which was at Jerusalem.

* Josephus's copies must have been corrupted when they here give victory to Nicanor, contrary to the words following, which imply, that he who was beaten

5. And when Nicanor came down from the citadel unto the temple, some of the priests and elders met him, and saluted him ; and shewed him the sacrifices which they said they offered to God for the king : Upon which he blasphemed, and threatened them, that unless the people would deliver up Judas to him, upon his return he would pull down their temple. And when he had thus threatened them, he departed from Jerusalem : But the priests fell into tears out of grief of what he had said, and besought God to deliver them from their enemies. But now for Nicanor, when he was gone out of Jerusalem, and was at a certain village called Bethoron, he there pitched his camp, another army out of Syria having joined him. And Judas pitched his camp at Adala, another village, which was thirty furlongs distant from Bethoron, having no more than one thousand soldiers. And when he had encouraged them not to be dismayed at the multitude of their enemies, not to regard how many they were against whom they were going to fight, but to consider who they themselves were, and for what great rewards they hazarded themselves, and to attack the enemy courageously, he led them out to fight, and joining battle with Nicanor, which proved to be a severe one, he overcame the enemy and slew many of them ; and at last Nicanor himself, as he was fighting gloriously, fell. Upon whose fall the army did not stay, but when they had lost their general they were put to flight, and threw down their arms ; Judas also pursued them and slew them ; and gave notice by the sound of the trumpets to the neighbouring villages, that he had conquered the enemy ; which, when the inhabitants heard, they put on their armour hastily, and met their enemies in the face as they were running away, and slew them, inasmuch that not one of them escaped out of this battle, and were in number nine thousand. This victory happened to fall on the thirteenth day of that month which by the Jews is called Adar, and by the Macedonians Dystrus ; and the Jews thereon celebrate this victory every year, and esteem it as a festival day. After which the Jewish nation were, for a while, free from wars, and enjoyed peace ; but afterward they returned into their former state of wars and hazards.

6. But now as the high priest Alcimus was resolving to pull down the wall of the sanctuary, which had been there of old time, and had been built by the holy prophets, * he was smit-

fled into the *citadel*, which for certain belonged to the city of David, or to mount Zion, and was in the possession of Nicanor's garrison, and not of Judas's : As also it is contrary to the express words of Josephus's original author, 1 Maccab. vii. 32, who says that Nicanor lost about 5000 men, and fled to the city of David.

* This account of the miserable death of Alcimus or Jacimus, the wicked high priest, (the first that was not of the family of the high priests, and made by a vile heathen, Lysias,) before the death of Judas, and of Judas's succession to him as high priest, both here, and at the conclusion of this book, directly contradicts 1 Maccab. ix. 54.—57, which places his death after the death of Judas, and says not a syllable of the high priesthood of Judas.

ten suddenly by God, and fell down. This stroke made him fall down speechless upon the ground : And undergoing torments for many days, he at length died, when he had been high priest four years. And when he was dead, the people bestowed the high priesthood on Judas ; who hearing of the power * of the Romans, and that they had conquered in war Galatia, and Iberia, and Carthage, and Lybia ; and that, besides these they had subdued Greece, and their kings, Perseus, and Philip, and Antiochus the Great also, he resolved to enter into a league of friendship with them. He therefore sent to Rome some of his friends, Eupolemus the son of John, and Jason the son of Eleazer, and by them desired the Romans that they would assist them, and be their friends and would write to Demetrius that he would not fight against the Jews. So the senate received the ambassadors that came from Rome to Judas, and discoursed with them about the errand on which they came, and then granted them a league of assistance. They also made a decree concerning it, and sent a copy of it into Judea. It was also laid up in the capitol, and engraven in brass. The decree itself was this : “ The decree of the senate concerning a league of assistance and friendship with the nation of the Jews. It shall not be lawful for any that are subject to the Romans to make war with the nation of the Jews, nor to assist those that do so, either by sending them corn, or ships, or money : And if any attack be made upon the Jews, the Romans shall assist them, as far as they are able ; and again, if any attack be made upon the Romans, the Jews shall assist them. And if the Jews have a mind to add to, or to take away any thing from this league of assistance, that shall be done with the common consent of the Romans. And whatsoever addition shall thus be made, it shall be of force.” This decree was written by Eupolemus the son of John, and by Jason the son of Eleazer when Judah † was high priest of the nation, and Simon his brother was general of the army. And this was the first league that the Romans made with the Jews, and was managed after this manner,

* How well the Roman histories agree to this account of the conquests and powerful condition of the Romans at this time, see the notes in Havercamp's edition ; only, that the number of the senators of Rome was then just 320, is, I think, only known from 1 Maccab. viii. 15.

† This subscription is wanting, 1 Maccab. viii. 17, 29, and must be the words of Josephus, who, by mistake, thought, as we have just now seen, that Judas was at this time high priest, and accordingly then reckoned his brother Jonathan to be then general of the army, which yet he seems not to have been till after the death of Judas.

C H A P. XI.

That Bacchides was again sent out against Judas ; and how Judas fell as he was courageously fighting.

§ 1. **B**UT when Demetrius was informed of the death of Nicanor, and of the destruction of the army that was with him, he sent Bacchides again with an army in Judea, who marched out of Antioch, and came into Judea, and pitched his camp at Arbela, a city of Galilee ; and having besieged and taken those that were there in caves, (for many of the people fled into such places,) he removed, and made all the haste he could to Jerusalem. And when he had learned that Judas pitched his camp at a certain village whose name was Bethsethor, he led his army against him : They were twenty thousand footmen, and two thousand horsemen. Now Judas had no more soldiers than * one thousand. When these saw the multitude of Bacchides's men they were afraid, and left their camp, and fled all away, excepting eight hundred. Now when Judas was deserted by his own soldiers, and the enemy pressed upon him, and gave him no time to gather his army together, he was disposed to fight with Bacchides's army, though he had but eight hundred men with him ; so he exhorted these men to undergo the danger courageously, and encouraged them to attack the enemy. And when they said they were not a body sufficient to fight so great an army, and advised that they should retire now, and save themselves, and that when he had gathered his own men together, then he should fall upon the enemy afterwards, his answer was this : " Let not the sun ever see such a thing that I should shew my back to the enemy ; and although this be the time that will bring me to my end, and I must die in this battle, I will rather stand to it courageously, and bear whatsoever comes upon me, than by now running away bring reproach upon my former great actions, or tarnish their glory." This was the speech he made to those that remained with him, whereby he encouraged them to attack the enemy.

2. But Bacchides drew his army out of their camp, and put them in array for the battle. He set the horsemen on both the wings, and the light soldiers and the archers he placed before the whole army, but he was himself on the right wing. And when he had thus put his army in order of battle, and was going to join battle with the enemy, he commanded the trumpeter to give a signal of battle, and the army to make a shout,

* That this copy of Josephus, as he wrote it, had here not 1000 but 3000, with 1 Macc. ix. 5 is very plain, because though the main part ran away at first, even in Josephus, as well as in 1 Macc. ix. 6. yet, as there, so here 800 are said to have remained with Judas, which would be absurd, if the whole number had been no more than 1000.

and to fall on the enemy. And when Judas had done the same, he joined battle with them ; and as both sides fought valiantly, and the battle continued till sun-set, Judas saw that Bacchides, and the strongest part of the army was in the right wing, and thereupon took the most courageous men with him, and ran upon that part of the army, and fell upon those that were there, and broke their ranks and drove them into the middle, and forced them to run away, and pursued them as far as to a mountain called Aza : But when those of the left wing saw that the right wing was put to flight, they encompassed Judas, and pursued him, and came behind him and took him into the middle of their army ; so being not able to fly, but encompassed round about with enemies, he stood still, and he and those that were with him fought ; and when he had slain a great many of those that came against him, he at last was himself wounded, and fell, and gave up the ghost, and died in a way like to his former famous actions. When Judas was dead, those that were with him had no one whom they could regard [as their commander] but when they saw themselves deprived of such a general they fled. But Simon and Jonathan, Judas's brethren, received his dead body by a treaty from the enemy, and carried it to the village Modin, where their father had been buried, and there buried him ; while the multitude lamented him many days, and performed the usual solemn rites of a funeral to him. And this was the end that Judas came to. He had been a man of valour and a great warrior, and mindful of the commands of their father Mattathias ; and had undergone all difficulties, both in doing and suffering, for the liberty of his countrymen. And when his character was so excellent [while he was alive,] he left behind him a glorious reputation and memorial, by gaining freedom for his nation, and delivering them from slavery under the Macedonians. And when he had retained the high priesthood three years, he died.

B O O K XIII.

Containing the interval of eighty-two years.

[From the death of JUDAS MACCABEES to the death of Queen ALEXANDRA.]

C H A P. I.

How Jonathan took the Government after his brother Judas ; and how he, together with his brother Simon, waged war against Bacchides.

§ 1. **B**Y what means the nation of the Jews recovered their freedom when they had been brought into slavery by the Macedonians, and what struggles, and how great battles Judas the general of their army ran through, till he was slain as he was fighting for them, hath been related in the foregoing book : but after he was dead, all the wicked, and those that transgressed the laws of their forefathers, sprang up again in Judea, and grew upon them, and distressed them upon every side. A famine also assailed their wickedness, and afflicted the country, till not a few, who by reason of their want of necessaries, and because they were not able to bear up the miseries that both the famine and their enemies brought upon them deserted their country, and went to the Macedonians. And now Bacchides gathered those Jews together who had apostatized from the accustomed way of living of their forefathers, and chose to live like their neighbours, and committed the care of the country to them ; who also caught the friends of Judas, and those of his party, and delivered them up to Bacchides, who, when he had, in the first place, tortured and tormented them at his pleasure, he, by that means, at length killed them. And when this calamity of the Jews was become so great, as they had never had experience of the like since their return out of Babylon, those that remained of the companions of Judas, seeing that the nation was ready to be destroyed after a miserable manner, came to his brother Jonathan, and desired him that he would imitate his brother, and that care which he took of his countrymen, for whose liberty in general he died also ; and that he would not permit the nation to be without a governor, especially in those destructive circumstances wherein it now was. And when Jonathan said, that he was ready to die for them, and was indeed esteemed no way inferior to his brother, he was appointed to be the general of the Jewish army.

2. When Bacchides heard this, he was afraid that Jonathan

might be very troublesome to the kings and the Macedonians, as Judas had been before him, he sought how he might slay him by treachery : But this invention of his was not unknown to Jonathan, nor to his brother Simon ; but when these two were apprized of it, they took all their companions, and presently fled into that wilderness which was nearest to the city ; and when they came to a lake called *Asphar*, they abode there. But when Bacchides was sensible that they were in a low state, and were in that place, he hastened to fall upon them with all his forces, and pitching his camp beyond Jordan, he recruited his army : But when Jonathan knew that Bacchides was coming upon him, he sent his brother John, who was also called *Gaddis*, to the Nabatean Arabs, that he might lodge his baggage with them until the battle with Bacchides should be over, for they were the Jews friends. And the sons of Ambri laid an ambush for John, from the city Medaba, and seized upon him, and upon those that were with him, and plundered all that they had with them : They also slew John, and all his companions. However, they were sufficiently punished for what they now did by John's brethren, as we shall relate presently.

3. But when Bacchides knew that Jonathan had pitched his camp among the lakes of Jordan, he observed when their Sabbath-day came, and then assaulted him, as supposing that he would not fight because of the law [for resting on that day :] But he exhorted his companions [to fight ;] and told them, that their lives were at stake, since they were encompassed by the river, and by their enemies and had no way to escape, for that their enemies pressed upon them before, and the river was behind them. So after he had prayed to God to give them the victory, he joined battle with the enemy, of whom he overthrew many : And as he saw Bacchides coming up boldly to him, he stretched out his right-hand to smite him, but the other foreseeing and avoiding the stroke, Jonathan with his companions leaped into the river, and swam over it, and by that means escaped beyond Jordan, while the enemy did not pass over that river ; but Bacchides returned presently to the citadel at Jerusalem, having lost about two thousand of his army. He also fortified many cities of Judea, whose walls had been demolished, Jericho, and Emmaus, and Bethoron, and Bethel, and Timna, and Pharatho, and Tecoa, and Gazara, and built towers in every one of these cities, and encompassed them with strong walls, that were very large also, and put garrisons into them, that they might issue out of them, and do mischief to the Jews. He also fortified the citadel at Jerusalem more than all the rest. Moreover, he took the sons of the principal Jews as pledges, and shut them up in the citadel, and in that manner guarded it.

4. About the same time, one came to Jonathan, and to his brother Simon, and told them, that the sons of Ambri were

celebrating a marriage, and bringing the bride from the city Gabatha, who was the daughter of one of the illustrious men among the Arabians, and that the damsel was to be conducted with pomp and splendor, and much riches : So Jonathan and Simon thinking this appeared to be the fittest time for them to avenge the death of their brother, and that they had forces sufficient for receiving satisfaction from them for his death, they made haste to Medaba, and lay in wait among the mountains for the coming of their enemies ; and as soon as they saw them conducting the virgin, and her bridegroom, and such a great company of their friends with them, as was to be expected at this wedding, they sallied out of their ambush, and slew them all ; and took their ornaments, and all the prey that then followed them, and so returned, and received this satisfaction for their brother John from the sons of Ambri : For as well those sons themselves, as their friends, and wives, and children, that followed them, perished, being in number about four hundred.

5. However, Simon and Jonathan returned to the lakes of the river, and abode there : But Bacchides, when he had secured all Judea with his garrisons, returned to the king ; and then it was that the affairs of Judea were quiet for two years. But when the deserters and the wicked saw that Jonathan and those that were with him lived in the country very quietly, by reason of the peace, they sent to king Demetrius, and excited him to send Bacchides to seize upon Jonathan, which they said was to be done without any trouble, and in one night's time ; and that if they fell upon them before they were aware, they might slay them all. So the king sent Bacchides, who, when he was come into Judea, wrote to all his friends, both Jews and auxiliaries, that they should seize upon Jonathan, and bring him to him ; and when, upon all their endeavours, they were not able to seize upon Jonathan, for he was sensible of the snares they laid for him, and very carefully guarded against them, Bacchides was angry at these deserters, as having imposed upon him and upon the king, and slew fifty of their leaders : Whereupon Jonathan, with his brother, and those that were with him, retired to Bethagla, a village that lay in the wilderness, out of his fear of Bacchides. He also built towers in it and encompassed it with walls, and took care that it should be safely guarded. Upon the hearing of which, Bacchides led his own army along with him, and besides took his Jewish auxiliaries, and came against Jonathan, and made an assault upon his fortifications, and besieged him many days ; but Jonathan did not abate of his courage at the zeal Bacchides used in the siege, but courageously opposed him : And while he left his brother Simon in the city, to fight with Bacchides, he went privately out himself into the country, and got a great body of men together of his own party, and fell upon Bacchides's camp in the night time, and destroy-

ed a great many of them. His brother Simon knew also of this his falling upon them, because he perceived that the enemies were slain by him, so he sallied out upon them, and burnt the engines which the Macedonians used, and made a great slaughter of them. And when Bacchides saw himself encompassed with enemies, and some of them before, and some behind him, he fell into despair and trouble of mind, as confounded at the unexpected ill success of this siege. However, he vented his displeasure at these misfortunes upon those deserters who sent for him from the king, as having deluded him. So he had a mind to finish this siege after a decent manner, if it were possible for him so to do, and then to return home.

6. When Jonathan understood these his intentions, he sent ambassadors to him, about a league of friendship and mutual assistance, and that they might restore those they had taken captive on both sides. So Bacchides thought this a pretty decent way of retiring home, and made a league of friendship with Jonathan, when they swore that they would not any more make war one against another. Accordingly he restored the captives, and took his own men with him, and returned to the king of Antioch; and after this his departure, he never came into Judea again. Then did Jonathan take the opportunity of this quiet state of things, and went and lived in the city Michmash; and there governed the multitude, and punished the wicked and ungodly, and by that means purged the nation of them.

C H A P. II.

How Alexander [Bala] in his War with Demetrius, granted Jonathan many Advantages, and appointed him to be High-priest, and persuaded him to assist him, although Demetrius promised him greater Advantages on the other side. Concerning the Death of Demetrius.

§ 1. **N**OW in the hundred and sixtieth year it fell out that Alexander, the * son of Antiochus Epiphanes, came up into Syria, and took Ptolemais, the soldiers within having betrayed it to him, for they were at enmity with Demetrius, on account of his insolence and difficulty of access;

* This Alexander Bala, who certainly pretended to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and was owned for such by the Jews and Romans, and many others, and yet is by several historians deemed to be a counterfeit and of no family at all, is, however, by Josephus believed to have been the real son of that Antiochus, and by him always spoken of accordingly. And truly since the original contemporary and authentic author of the first book of Maccabees, x. 1 calls him by his father's name Epiphanes, and says he was the son of Antiochus. I suppose the other writers, who are all much later, are not to be followed against such evidence, though perhaps Epiphanes might have him by a woman of no family. The king of Egypt also,

for he shut himself up in a palace of his that had four towers, which he had built himself, not far from Antioch, and admitted nobody. He was withal slothful and negligent about the public affairs, whereby the hatred of his subjects was the more kindled against him, as we have elsewhere already related. When therefore Demetrius heard that Alexander was in Ptolemais, he took his whole army, and led it against him : He also sent embassadors to Jonathan, about a league of mutual assistance and friendship, for he resolved to be before hand with Alexander, lest the other should treat with him first, and gain assistance from him : And this he did out of the fear he had, lest Jonathan should remember how ill Demetrius had formerly treated him, and should join with him in this war against him. He therefore gave orders that Jonathan should be allowed to raise an army, and should get armour made, and should receive back those hostages of the Jewish nation whom Bacchides had shut up in the citadel of Jerusalem. When this good fortune had befallen Jonathan, by the concession of Demetrius, he came to Jerusalem, and read the king's letter, in the audience of the people, and of those that kept the citadel. When these were read, these wicked men and deserters, who were in the citadel, were greatly afraid, upon the king's permission to Jonathan to raise an army, and to receive back the hostages : So he delivered every one of them to his own parents. And thus did Jonathan make his abode at Jerusalem, renewing the city to a better state, and reforming the buildings as he pleased ; for he gave orders that the walls of the city should be rebuilt with square stones, that it might be more secure from their enemies. And when those that kept the garrisons that were in Judea saw this, they all left them, and fled to Antioch, excepting those that were in the city Bethsura, and those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem, for the greater part of these was of the wicked Jews and deserters, and on that account these did not deliver up their garrisons.

2. When Alexander knew what promises Demetrius had made Jonathan, and withal knew his courage, and what great things he had done when he fought the Macedonians, and besides what hardships he had undergone by the means of Demetrius, and of Bacchides, the general of Demetrius's army, he told his friends, That he could not at present find any one else that might afford him better assistance than Jonathan, who was both courageous against his enemies, and had a particular hatred against Demetrius, as having both suffered many hard things from him, and acted many hard things against him. It therefore they were of opinion that they should make him their friend against Demetrius, it was more for their ad-

Philometor, soon gave him his daughter in marriage, which he would hardly have done, had he believed him to be a counterfeit, and of so very mean a birth, as the later historians pretend.

vantage to invite him to assist them now than at another time." It being therefore determined by him and his friends to send to Jonathan, he wrote to him this epistle: "King Alexander to his brother Jonathan, sendeth greeting: We have long ago heard of thy courage, and thy fidelity, and for that reason have sent to thee, to make with thee a league of friendship and mutual assistance. We therefore do ordain thee this day the high-priest of the Jews, and that thou beest called my friend. I have also sent thee, as presents, a purple robe and a golden crown, and desire, that now thou art by us honoured, thou wilt in like manner respect us also."

3. When Jonathan had received this letter, he * put on the pontifical robe at the time of the feast of tabernacles, four years after the death of his brother Judas, for at that time no high-priest had been made. So he raised great forces, and had abundance of armour got ready. This greatly grieved Demetrius, when he heard of it, and made him blame himself for his slowness, that he had not prevented Alexander, and got the goodwill of Jonathan, but had given him time so to do. However, he also himself wrote a letter to Jonathan, and to the people; the contents whereof are these: "King Demetrius to Jonathan, and to the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting: Since you have preserved your friendship for us; and when you have been tempted by our enemies, you have not joined yourselves to them; I both commend you for this your fidelity, and exhort you to continue in the same disposition, for which you shall be repaid, and receive rewards from us: For I will free you from the greatest part of the tributes and taxes which you formerly paid to the kings my predecessors, and to myself; and I do now set you free from those tributes which you have ever paid; and besides, I forgive you the tax upon salt and † the value of the crowns which you used to offer to me: And instead of the third part of the fruits [of the field], and the half of the fruits of trees, I relinquish my part of them from this day: And as to the poll-money, which ought to be given me for every head of the inhabitants of Judea, and of the three to parchiesthat adjoin to Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, and Perea, that I relinquish to you for this time, and for all time to come. I will also, that the city

* Since Jonathan plainly did not put on the pontifical robes till seven or eight years after the death of his brother Judas, or not till the feast of tabernacles in the 160th of the Seleucide, 1 Maccab. x. 21. Petitus's emendation seems here to deserve consideration, who instead of *after four years since the death of his brother Judas*, would have us read *and therefore after eight years since the death of his brother Judas*. This would tolerably well agree with the date of the Maccabees, and with Josephus's own exact chronology at the end of the twentieth book of these Antiquities, which the present text cannot be made to do.

† Take Grotius's note here. "The Jews, says he, were wont to present crowns to the kings [of Syria;] afterwards that gold, which was paid instead of those crowns, or which was expended in making them, was called the crown gold and crown tax." On 1 Maccab. x. 29.

of Jerusalem be holy and inviolable, and free from the tythe, and from the taxes, unto its utmost bounds : And I so far recede from my title to the citadel, as to permit Jonathan your high-priest to possess it, that he may place such a garrison in it as he approves of for fidelity and good-will to himself, that they may keep it for us. I also make free all those Jews who have been made captives and slaves in my kingdom. I also give order, that the beasts of the Jews be not pressed for our service : And let their Sabbaths, and all their festivals, and three days before each of them, be free from any imposition. In the same manner, I set free the Jews that are inhabitants in my kingdom, and order that no injury be done them. I also give leave to such of them as are willing to list themselves in my army, that they may do it, and those as far as thirty thousand ; which Jewish soldiers, wheresoever they go, shall have the same pay that my own army hath : And some of them I will place in my garrisons, and some as guards about mine own body, and as rulers over those that are in my court. I give them leave also to use the laws of their forefathers, and to observe them ; and I will, that they have power over the three toparchies that are added to Judea ; and it shall be in the power of the high-priest, to take care that no one Jew shall have any other temple for worship but only that at Jerusalem. I bequeath also, out of my own revenues, yearly, for the expences about the sacrifices, one hundred and fifty thousand [drachmæ] ; and what money is to spare, I will that it shall be your own. I also release to you those ten thousand drachmæ which the kings received from the temple, because they appertain to the priests that minister in that temple. “ And whosoever shall fly to the temple at Jerusalem, or to the places thereto belonging, or who owe the king money, or are there on any other account, let them be set free, and let their goods be in safety. I also give you leave to repair and rebuild your temple, and that all be done at my expences. I also allow you to build the walls of your city, and to erect high towers, and that they be erected at my charge. And if there be any fortified town that would be convenient for the Jewish country to have very strong, let it be so built at my expences.”

4. This was what Demetrius promised, and granted to the Jews, by this letter. But king Alexander raised a great army of mercenary soldiers, and of those that deserted to him out of Syria, and made an expedition against Demetrius. And when it was come to a battle, the left wing of Demetrius put those who opposed them to flight, and pursued them a great way, and slew many of them, and spoiled their camp ; but the right wing, where Demetrius happened to be, was beaten ; and as for all the rest, they ran away : But Demetrius fought courageously, and slew a great many of the enemy ; but as he was in the pursuit of the rest, his horse carried him into a deep bog, where it was hard to get out, and there it happened, that upon

his horse's falling down, he could not escape being killed ; for when his enemies saw what had befallen him, they returned back, and encompassed Demetrius round, and they all threw their darts at him ; but he being now on foot, fought bravely, but at length he received so many wounds, that he was not able to bear up any longer, but fell. And this is the end that Demetrius came to, when he had reigned * eleven years, as we have elsewhere related.

C H A P. III.

The Friendship that was between Onias and Ptolemy Philometor ; and how Onias built a temple in Egypt like to that at Jerusalem.

§ 1. **B**UT then the son of Onias the high-priest, who was of the same name with his father, and who fled to king Ptolemy, who was called *Philometor*, lived now at Alexandria, as we have said already. When this Onias saw that Judea was oppressed by the Macedonians and their kings, out of a desire to purchase to himself a memorial and eternal fame, he resolved to send to king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra, to ask leave of them that he might build a temple in Egypt like to that at Jerusalem, and might ordain Levites and priests out of their own stock. The chief reason why he was desirous so to do, was, that he relied upon the prophet Isaiah, who lived above six hundred years before, and foretold, that there certainly was to be a temple built to Almighty God in Egypt by a man that was a Jew. Onias was elevated with this prediction ; and wrote the following epistle to Ptolemy and Cleopatra : “ Having done many and great things for you in the affairs of the war, by the assistance of God, and that in Celsyria and Phenicia, I came at length with the Jews to Leontopolis, and to other places of your nation, where I found that the greatest part of your people had temples in an improper manner, and that on this account they bare ill-will one against another, which happens to the Egyptians by reason of the multitude of their temples, and the difference of opinions about divine worship. Now I found a very fit place in a castle that hath its name from the country Diana ; this place is full of materials of several forts, and replenished with sacred animals : I desire therefore that you will grant me leave to purge this holy place, which belongs to no master, and is fallen down, and to build there a temple to Almighty God, after the pattern of that in Jerusalem, and of the same dimen-

* Since the rest of the historians now extant gave this Demetrius 13 years, and Josephus only 11 years, Dean Prideaux does not omit in ascribing to him the mean number 12.

sions, that may be for the benefit of thy self, and thy wife and children, that those Jews which dwell in Egypt may have a place whither they may come and meet together in mutual harmony one with another, and be subservient to thy advantages ; for the prophet Isaiah foretold, that * *there should be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God*: And many other such things did he prophecy relating to that place."

2. And this was what Onias wrote to king Ptolemy. Now any one may observe his piety, and that of his sister and wife Cleopatra's, by that epistle which they wrote in answer to it ; for they laid the blame and the transgression of the law upon the head of Onias. And this was their reply : " King Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra to Onias, send greeting : We have read thy petition, wherein thou desirest leave to be given thee to purge that temple which is fallen down at Leontopolis, in the Nomus of Heliopolis, and which is named from the country Buhaftis ; on which account we cannot but wonder that it should be pleasing to God to have a temple erected in a place so unclean, and so full of sacred animals : But since thou sayest that Isaiah the prophet foretold this long ago, we give thee leave to do it, if it may be done according to your law, and so that we may not appear to have at all offended God herein."

* It seems to me, contrary to the opinion of Josephus, and of the moderns, both Jews and Christians, that this prophecy of Isaiah, xix 19, &c. *In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, &c.* directly foretold the building of this temple of Onias in Egypt, and was a sufficient warrant to the Jews for building it, and for worshipping the true God, the God of Israel, therein. See Authent. Rec. II. p. 755. That God seems to have soon better accepted of the sacrifices and prayers here offered him than of those at Jerusalem, see the note on chap. x. § 7. And truly the marks of Jewish corruption or interpolation in this text, in order to discourage their people from approving of the worship of God here, are very strong, and highly deserve our consideration and correction. The foregoing verse in Isaiah runs thus in our common copies, *In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan*, [the Hebrew language ; shall be full of Jews, whose sacred books were in Hebrew] *and swear to the Lord of hosts. One [or the first] shall be called the city of destruction*, Isa. xx. 18. A strange name, *city of destruction* ! upon so joyful an occasion, and a name never heard of in the land of Egypt, or perhaps in any other nation. The old reading was evidently the *city of the sun*, or *Heliopolis* ; and Onkelos in effect, and Symmachus, with the Arabick version, entirely confess that to be the true reading. The Septuagint also, tho' they have the text disguised in the common copies, and call it *Asdek*, the *city of righteousness* ; yet in two or three other copies the Hebrew word itself for the *sun*, *Acheres* or *Thares*, is preserved. And since Onias insists with the King and Queen, that Isaiah's prophecy contained many other predictions relating to this place besides the words by him recited, it is highly probable that these were especially meant by him ; and that one main reason why he applied this prediction to himself, and to his prefecture of Heliopolis, which Dean Prideaux well proves was in that part of Egypt, and why he chose to build in that prefecture of Heliopolis, though otherwise an improper place, was this, that the same authority that he had for building this temple in Egypt, the very same he had for building it in his own prefecture of Heliopolis also, which he desired to do, and which he did accordingly. Dean Prideaux has much ado to avoid seeing this corruption of the Hebrew, but it being in support of his own opinion about this temple he durst not see it ; and indeed he reasons here in the most weak and most injudicious manner possible. See him at the year 149.

3. So Onias took the place, and built a temple, and an altar to God, like indeed to that in Jerusalem, but smaller and poorer. I do not think it proper for me now to describe its dimensions, or its vessels, which have been already described in my seventh book of the wars of the Jews. However, Onias found other Jews like to himself, together with priests and Levites, that there performed divine service. But we have said enough about this temple.

4. Now it came to pass that the Alexandrian Jews, and those Samaritans who paid their worship to the temple that was built in the days of Alexander at mount Gerizzim, did now make a sedition one against another, and disputed about their temples before Ptolemy himself, the Jews saying, that, according to the laws of Moses, the temple was to be built at Jerusalem; and the Samaritans saying, that it was to be built at Gerizzim. They desired therefore the king to sit with his friends, and hear the debates about these matters, and punish those with death who were baffled. Now Sabbeus and Theodosius managed the argument for the Samaritans, and Andronicus, the son of Mesfalamus, for the people of Jerusalem; and they took an oath by God and the king, to make their demonstrations according to the law; and they desired of Ptolemy, that whomsoever he should find that transgressed what they had sworn to, he would put him to death. Accordingly the king took several of his friends into the council, and sat down, in order to hear what the pleaders said. Now the Jews that were at Alexandria were in great concern for those men, whose lot it was to contend for the temple at Jerusalem; for they took it very ill that any should take away the reputation of that temple, which was so ancient, and so celebrated all over the habitable earth. Now when Sabbeus and Theodosius had given leave to Andronicus to speak first, he began to demonstrate out of the law, and out of the successions of the high-priests, how they every one in succession from his father had received that dignity, and ruled over the temple; and how all the kings of Asia had honoured that temple with their donations, and with the most splendid gifts dedicated thereto: But as for that at Gerizzim, he made no account of it, nor regarded it as if it had never had a being. By this speech, and other arguments, Andronicus persuaded the king to * determine that the temple at Jerusalem was built according to the laws of Moses, and to put Sabbeus and Theodosius to death. And these were the events that befel the Jews at Alexandria in the days of Ptolemy Philometor.

* A very unfair disputation this! while the Jewish disputant, knowing that he could not properly prove out of the Pentateuch, that *the place which the Lord their God shall choose to place his name there*, so often referred to in the book of Deuteronomy, was Jerusalem any more than Gerizzim, that being not determined till the days of David, Antiq. B. VII. ch. xiii. § 4. vol. I. proves only, that the Samaritans did not deny, that the temple at Jerusalem was much more ancient, and much more celebrated and honoured than that at Gerizzim, which was nothing to the present purpose. The whole evidence, by the very oaths of both parties, being,

C H A P. IV.

How Alexander honoured Jonathan after an extraordinary manner, and how Demetrius, the Son of Demetrius overcame Alexander, and made a league of Friendship with Jonathan.

§ I. **D**EMETRIUS being thus slain in battle, as we have above related, Alexander took the kingdom of Syria; and wrote to Ptolemy Philometor, and desired his daughter in marriage; and said, it was but just that he should be joined in affinity to one that had now received the principality of his forefathers, and had been promoted to it by God's providence, and had conquered Demetrius: and that was on other accounts not unworthy of being related to him. Ptolemy received this proposal of marriage gladly; and wrote him an answer, saluting him on account of his having received the principality of his forefathers; and promising him, that he would give him his daughter in marriage; and assured him that he was coming to meet him at Ptolemais, and desired that he would there meet him, for that he would accompany her from Egypt so far, and would there marry his child to him. When Ptolemy had written thus, he came suddenly to Ptolemais, and brought his cousin Cleopatra along with him: And as he found Alexander there before him as he desired him to come, he gave him his child in marriage, and for her portion gave her as much silver and gold as became such a king to give.

2. When the wedding was over, Alexander wrote to Jonathan the high-priest, and desired him to come to Ptolemais. So when he came to these kings, and had made them magnificent presents, he was honoured by them both. Alexander compelled him also to put off his own garment, and to take a purple garment, and made him sit with him in his throne; and commanded his captains that they should go with him into the middle of the city, and proclaim, that it was not permitted to any one to speak against him, or to give him any disturbance. And when the captains had thus done, those that were prepared to accuse Jonathan, and who bore him ill-will, when they saw the honour that was done him by proclamation, and

we see, obliged to be confined to the law of Moses, or to the Pentateuch alone. However, worldly policy and interest, and the multitude prevailing, the court gave sentence, as usual, on the stronger side, and poor Sabeus and Theodosius, the Samaritan disputants, were martyred, and this, so far as appears, without any direct hearing at all, which is like the usual practice of such political courts about matters of religion. Our copies say, that the body of the Jews were in a great concern about *those men*, in the plural, who were to dispute for their temple at Jerusalem, whereas it seems here they had but one disputant, Andronius by name: Perhaps more were prepared to speak on the Jews' side; but the first having answered to his name, and overcame the Samaritans, there was no necessity for any other defender of the Jerusalem temple.

that by the king's order, ran away, and were afraid lest some mischief should befall them. Nay king Alexander was so very kind to Jonathan, that he set him down as the principal of his friends.

3. But then, upon the hundred and sixty-fifth year, Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, came from Crete with a great number of mercenary soldiers, which Lathenes the Cretian brought him, and sailed to Celicia. This thing cast Alexander into great concern and disorder when he heard it : So he made haste immediately out of Phenicia and came to Antioch, that he might put matters in a safe posture there before Demetrius should come. He also left * Apollonius Daus governor of Cefesyrta, who coming to Jamnia with a great army, sent to Jonathan the high-priest, and told him, That " it was not right that he alone should live at rest, and with authority, and not be subject to the king ; that this thing had made him a reproach among all men, that he had not yet made him subject to the king. Do not thou therefore deceive thyself, and sit still among the mountains, and pretend to have forces with thee ; but if thou hast any dependence on thy strength, come down into the plain, and let our armies be compared together, and the event of the battle will demonstrate which of us is the most courageous. However, take notice, that the most valiant men of every city are in my army, and that these are the very men who have always beaten thy progenitors ; but let us have the battle in such a place of the country where we may fight with weapons, and not with stones, and where there may be no place whither those that are beaten may fly."

4. With this Jonathan was irritated ; and choosing himself out ten thousand of his soldiers, he went out of Jerusalem in haste, with his brother Simon, and came to Joppa, and pitched his camp on the outside of the city, because the people of Joppa had shut their gates against him, for they had a garrison in the city put there by Apollonius ; but when Jonathan was preparing to besiege them, they were afraid he would take them by force, and so they opened the gates to him. But Apollonius, when he heard that Joppa was taken by Jonathan, took three thousand horsemen, and eight thousand footmen, and came to Ashdod, and removing thence, he made his journey silently and slowly, and going up to Joppa, he made as if he was retiring from the place, and so drew Jonathan into the plain, as valuing himself highly upon his horsemen, and having his hopes of victory principally in them. However, Jonathan sallied out, and pursued Apollonius to Ashdod ; but

* Of the several *Apollonii* about these ages, see Dean Prideaux at the year 148. This Apollonius Daus was, by his account, the son of that Apollonius who had been made governor of Cefesyrta and Phenicia by Seleucus Pholopator, and was himself a confidant of his son Demetrius the father, and restored to his father's government by him, but afterwards revolted from him to Alexander, but not to Demetrius the son, as he supposes.

as soon as Apollonius perceived that his enemy was in the plain, he came back and gave him battle; but Apollonius had laid a thousand horsemen in ambush in a valley, that they might be seen by their enemies as behind them: Which when Jonathan perceived, he was under no consternation, but ordering his army to stand in a square battle array, he gave them a charge to fall on the enemy on both sides, and let them to face those that attacked them both before and behind: And while the fight lasted till the evening, he gave part of his forces to his brother Simon, and ordered him to attack the enemies, but for himself, he charged those that were with him to cover themselves with their armour, and receive the darts of the horsemen, who did as they were commanded; so that the enemies horsemen, while they threw their darts till they had no more left, did them no harm, for the darts that were thrown did not enter into their bodies being thrown upon the shields, that were united and conjoined together the closeness of which easily overcame the force of the darts, and they flew about without any effect. But when the enemy grew remiss in throwing their darts from morning till late at night, Simon perceived their weariness, and fell upon the body of men before him; and because his soldiers shewed great alacrity, he put the enemy to flight: And when the horsemen saw that the footmen ran away, neither did they stay themselves, but they being very weary, by the duration of the fight till the evening, and their hope from the footmen being quite gone, they basely ran away, and in great confusion also, till they were separated one from another, and scattered over all the plain. Upon which Jonathan pursued them as far as Ashdod, and slew a great many of them, and compelled the rest in despair of escaping, to fly to the temple of Dagon, which was at Ashdod, but Jonathan took the city on the first onset, and burnt it, and the villages about it; nor did he abstain from the temple of Dagon itself, but burnt it also, and destroyed those that had fled to it. Now the entire multitude of the enemies that fell in the battle, and were consumed in the temple, were eight thousand. When Jonathan therefore had overcome so great an army, he removed from Ashdod, and came to Askelon: And when he had pitched his camp without the city, the people of Askelon came out and met him, bringing him hospitable presents, and honouring him; so he accepted of their kind intentions, and returned thence to Jerusalem with a great deal of prey, which he brought thence when he conquered his enemies; but when Alexander heard, that Apollonius the general of his army was beaten, he pretended to be glad of it, because he had fought with Jonathan his friend and ally against his directions. Accordingly he sent to Jonathan, and gave testimony to his worth; and gave him honourary re-

wards, as a * golden button, which it is the custom to give the king's kinsmen; and allowed him Ekron, and its toparchy, for his own inheritance.

5. About this time it was that king Ptolemy, who was called Philometer, led an army, part by the sea; and part by land, and came to Syria, to the assistance of Alexander, who was his son-in-law; and accordingly all the cities received him willingly, as Alexander had commanded them to do, and conducted him as far as Ashdod; where they all made loud complaints about the temple of Dagon, which was burnt, and accused Jonathan of having laid it waste, and destroyed the country adjoining with fire, and slain a great number of them. Ptolemy heard these accusations, but said nothing. Jonathan also went to meet Ptolemy as far as Joppa and obtained from him hospitable presents, and those glorious in their kinds, with all the marks of honour. And when he had conducted him as far as the river called Eleutherus, he returned again to Jerusalem.

6. But as Ptolemy was at Ptolemais he was very near to a most unexpected destruction; for a treacherous design was laid for his life by Alexander, by the means of Ammonius, who was his friend: And as the treachery was very plain, Ptolemy wrote to Alexander, and required of him that he should bring Ammonius to condign punishment informing him what snares had been laid for him by Ammonius, and desiring that he might be accordingly punished for it. But when Alexander did not comply with his demands, he perceived that it was he himself who laid the design, and was very angry at him. Alexander had also formerly been in very ill terms with the people of Antioch, for they had suffered very much by his means; yet did Ammonius at length undergo the punishment his insolent crimes had deserved, for he was killed in an opprobrious manner, like a woman, while he endeavoured to conceal himself in a feminine habit, as we have elsewhere related.

7. Hereupon Ptolemy blamed himself for having given his daughter in marriage to Alexander, and for the league he had made with him to assist him against Demetrius; so he dissolved his relation to him, and took his daughter away from him, and immediately sent to Demetrius, and offered to make a league of mutual assistance and friendship with him, and agreed with him to give him his daughter in marriage, and to restore him to the principality of his fathers. Demetrius was well pleased with this ambassage, and accepted of his assistance, and of the marriage of his daughter. But Ptolemy had still one more hard task to do, and that was to persuade the people of Anti-

* Dr. Hudson here observes, that the Phenicians and Romans used to reward such as had deserved well of them, by presenting to them a *golden button*. See. ch. v. § 4.

och to receive Demetrius, because they were greatly displeased at him on account of the injuries his father Demetrius had done them ; yet did he bring this about, for as the people of Antioch hated Alexander on Ammonius's account, as we have shewed already, they were easily prevailed with to cast him out of Antioch ; who thus expelled out of Antioch, came into Cilicia. Ptolemy came then to Antioch, and was made king by its inhabitants, and by the army ; so that he was forced to put on two diadems, the one of Asia, the other of Egypt : But being naturally a good and a righteous man, and not desirous of what belonged to others, and besides these dispositions, being also a wise man in reasoning about futurities, he determined to avoid the envy of the Romans, so he called the people of Antioch together to an assembly, and persuaded them to receive Demetrius ; and assured them, That " he would not be mindful of what they did to his father in case he should be now obliged by them ; and he undertook that he would himself be a good monitor and governor to him ; and promised that he would not permit him to attempt any bad actions ; but that for his own part, he was contented with the kingdom of Egypt." By which discourse he persuaded the people of Antioch to receive Demetrius.

8. But now Alexander made haste with a numerous and great army, and came out of Cilicia into Syria and burnt the country belonging to Antioch and pillaged it ; whereupon Ptolemy, and his son-in-law Demetrius, brought their army against him, (for he had already given him his daughter in marriage,) and beat Alexander, and put him to flight ; and accordingly he fled into Arabia. Now it happened in the time of battle, that Ptolemy's horse, upon hearing the noise of an elephant, cast him off his back, and threw him on the ground ; upon the sight of which accident, his enemies fell upon him, and gave him many wounds upon his head, and brought him into danger of death for when his guards caught him up, he was so very ill, that for four days time he was not able either to understand or to speak. However, Zabdiel, a prince among the Arabians, cut off Alexander's head and sent it to Ptolemy, who recovering of his wounds, and returning to his understanding, on the fifth day, heard at once a most agreeable hearing and saw a most agreeable sight, which were the death and the head of Alexander ; yet a little after this his joy for the death of Alexander, with which he was so greatly satisfied, he also departed this life. Now Alexander, who was called Balas, reigned over Asia five years ; as we have elsewhere related.

9. But when Demetrius, who was styled * *Nicator*, had taken the kingdom, he was so wicked as to treat Ptolemy's tol-

* This name *Demetrius Nicator*, or *Demetrius the conqueror*, is so written on his coins still extant, as Hudon and Spohnheim informs us ; the latter of whom gives us here the entire inscription, *king demetrius the God Philadelphus Nicator*.

diers very hardly, neither remembering the league of mutual assistance that was between them, nor that he was his son-in-law and kinsman, by Cleopatra's marriage to him, so the soldiers fled from his wicked treatment to Alexandria, but Demetrius kept his elephants. But Jonathan the high priest, levied an army out of all Judea, and attacked the citadel at Jerusalem, and besieged it; it was held by a garrison of Macedonians, and by some of those wicked men who had deserted the customs of their forefathers. These men at first despised the attempts of Jonathan for taking the place as depending on its strength; but some of those wicked men went out by night, and came to Demetrius, and informed him, that the citadel was besieged; who was irritated with what he heard, and took his army, and came from Antioch, against Jonathan. And when he was at Antioch, he wrote to him, and commanded him to come to him quickly to Ptolemais: Upon which Jonathan did not intermit the siege of the citadel, but took with him the elders of the people, and the priests, and carried with him gold, and silver, and garments, and a great number of presents of friendship, and came to Demetrius, and presented him with them, and thereby pacified the king's anger. So he was honoured by him, and received from him the confirmation of his high priesthood, as he had possessed it by the grants of the kings his predecessors. And when the Jewish deserters accused him, Demetrius was so far from giving credit to them, that when he petitioned him that he would demand no more than three hundred talents for the tribute of all Judea, and the three toparchies of Samaria and Perea, and Galilee, he complied with the proposal, and gave him a letter confirming all those grants; whose contents were as follows: "King Demetrius to Jonathan his brother, and to the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting: We have sent you a copy of that epistle which we have written to Lathenes our kinsman, that you may know its contents. King Demetrius to Lathenes our father, sendeth greeting: I have determined to return thanks, and to shew favour to the nation of the Jews, which hath observed the rules of justice in our concerns. Accordingly I remit it to them the three prefectures, Apherima, and Lydda and Ramatha, which have been added to Judea out of Samaria, with their appurtenances: As also what the kings my predecessors received from those that offered sacrifices in Jerusalem; and what are due from the fruits of the earth, and of the trees, and what else belongs to us; with the salt pits, and the crowns that used to be presented to us! Nor shall they be compelled to pay any of these taxes from this time to all futurity. Take care therefore that a copy of this epistle be taken, and given to Jonathan, and be set up in an eminent place of their holy temple." And these were the contents of this writing. And now when Demetrius saw that there was peace every where, and that there was no danger, nor fear of war, he disbanded the greatest part

of his army, and diminished their pay, and even retained in pay no others than such foreigners as came up with him from Crete, and from the other islands. However, this procured him ill-will and hatred from the soldiers; on whom he bestowed nothing from this time, while the kings before him used to pay them in time of peace, as they did before, that they might have their good-will, and that they might be very ready to undergo the difficulties of war, if any occasion should require it.

CHAP. V.

How Trypho, after he had beaten Demetrius, delivered the Kingdom to Antiochus, the Son of Alexander, and gained Jonathan for his assistant: And concerning the Actions and Ambassies of Jonathan.

§ 1. **N**OW there was a certain commander of Alexander's forces, an Apanemian by birth, whose name was *Diodotus*, and was also called *Trypho*, took notice of the ill-will the soldiers bare to Demetrius, and went to Malchus the Arabian, who brought up Antiochus, the son of Alexander, and told him what ill-will the army bare Demetrius, and persuaded him to give him Antiochus, because he would make him king; and recover to him the kingdom of his father. Malchus at the first opposed him in this attempt, because he could not believe him, but when Trypho lay hard at him for a long time, he over-persuaded him, to comply with Trypho's intentions and entreaties. And this was the state Trypho was now in.

2. But Jonathan the high priest, being desirous to get clear of those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish deserters, and wicked men, as well as of those in all the garrisons in the country, sent presents and ambassadors to Demetrius, and entreated him to take away his soldiers out of the strong holds of Judea. Demetrius made answer. That after the war, which he was now deeply engaged in, was over, he would not only grant him that, but greater things than that also; and he desired he would send him some assistance; and informed him that his army had deserted him. So Jonathan chose out three thousand of his soldiers, and sent them to Demetrius.

3. Now the people of Antioch hated Demetrius, both on account of what mischief he had himself done them, and because they were his enemies also on account of his father Demetrius, who had greatly abused them, so they watched some opportunity which they might lay hold on, to fall upon him. And when they were informed of the assistance that was coming to Demetrius from Jonathan, and considered at the same time that he would raise a numerous army, unless they prevent-

ed him, and seized upon him, they took their weapons immediately, and encompassed his palace in the way of a siege, and seizing upon all the ways of getting out, they sought to subdue their king. And when he saw that the people of Antioch were become his bitter enemies, and that they were thus in arms, he took the mercenary soldiers which he had with him, and those Jews who were sent by Jonathan, and assaulted the Antiochians; but he was overpowered by them, for they were many ten thousands, and was beaten. But when the Jews saw that the Antiochians were superior, they went up to the top of the palace, and shot at them from thence; and because they were so remote from them by their height, that they suffered nothing on their side, but did great execution on the others, as fighting from such an elevation, they drove them out of the adjoining houses, and immediately set them on fire, whereupon the flame spread itself over the whole city, and burnt it all down. This happened by reason of the closeness of the houses, and because they were generally built of wood: So the Antiochians, when they were not able to help themselves, nor to stop the fire, were put to flight. And as the Jews leaped from the top of one house to the top of another, and pursued them after that manner, it thence happened that the pursuit was so very surprising. But when the king saw that the Antiochians were very busy in saving their children and their wives, and so did not fight any longer, he fell upon them in the narrow passages, and fought them, and slew a great many of them, till at last they were forced to throw down their arms, and to deliver themselves up to Demetrius. So he forgave them this their insolent behaviour, and put an end to the sedition: And when he had given rewards to the Jews out of the rich spoils he had gotten, and had returned them thanks, as the cause of his victory, he sent them away to Jerusalem, to Jonathan, with an ample testimony of the assistance they had afforded him. Yet did he prove an ill man to Jonathan afterward, and broke the promises he had made: And he threatened that he would make war upon him, unless he would pay all that tribute which the Jewish nation owed to the first kings [of Syria]. And this he had done, if Trypho had not hindered him and diverted his preparations against Jonathan, to a concern for his own preservation: For he now returned out of Arabia into Syria, with the child Antiochus, for he was yet in age but a youth, and put the diadem on his head: And as the whole forces that had left Demetrius, because they had no pay, came to his assistance, he made war upon Demetrius, and joining battle with him, overcame him in the fight, and took from him both his elephants and the city Antioch.

4. Demetrius, upon this defeat, retired into Cilicia: But the child Antiochus sent ambassadors, and an epistle to Jonathan, and made him his friend and confederate, and confirm-

ed to him the high priesthood, and yielded up to him the four prefectures which had been added to Judea. Moreover, he sent him vessels and cups of gold, and a purple garment, and gave him leave to use them. He also presented him with a golden button, and styled him one of his principal friends; and appointed his brother Simon to be the general over the forces, from the ladder of Tyre unto Egypt. So Jonathan was so pleased with these grants made him by Antiochus, that he sent ambassadors to him, and to Trypho, and professed himself to be their friend and confederate, and said he would join with him in a war against Demetrius, informing him that he had made no proper returns for the kindnesses he had done him; for that when he had received many marks of kindness from him, when he stood in great need of them, he for such good turns, had requited him with farther injuries.

5. So Antiochus gave Jonathan leave to raise himself a numerous army out of Syria and Phenicia, and to make war against Demetrius's generals; whereupon he went in haste to the several cities, which received him splendidly indeed, but put no forces into his hands. And when he was come from thence to Askelon, the inhabitants of Askelon came and brought him presents, and met him in a splendid manner. He exhorted them, and every one of the cities of Celestria, to forsake Demetrius, and to join with Antiochus; and in assisting him, to endeavour to punish Demetrius for what offences he had been guilty of against themselves; and told them there were many reasons for that their procedure, if they had a mind so to do. And when he had persuaded those cities to promise their assistance to Antiochus, he came to Gaza, in order to induce them also to be friends to Antiochus; but he found the inhabitants of Gaza much more alienated from him than he expected, for they had shut their gates against him, and altho' they had deserted Demetrius, they had not resolved to join themselves to Antiochus. This provoked Jonathan to besiege them, and to harass their country; for as he set a part of his army round about Gaza itself, so with the rest he over-ran their land, and spoiled it, and burnt what was in it. When the inhabitants of Gaza saw themselves in this state of affliction, and that no assistance came to them from Demetrius, that what distressed them was at hand, but what should profit them was still at a great distance, and it was uncertain whether it would come at all or not, they thought it would be prudent conduct to leave off any longer continuance with him, and to cultivate friendship with the other, so they sent to Jonathan, and professed they would be his friends, and afford him assistance; for such is the temper of men, that before they have had the trial of great afflictions, they do not understand what is for their advantage, but when they find themselves under such afflictions, they then change their minds, and what it had been better for them to have done before they had been at all damaged, they

choole to do, but not till after they have suffered such damages. However, he made a league of friendship with them, and took from them hostages for their performance of it, and sent these hostages to Jeru alem, while he went himself over all the country, as far as Damascus.

6. But when he heard that the generals of Demetrius's forces were come to the city, Cadeth with a numerous army (the place lies between the land of the Tyrians and Galilee), for they supposed they should hereby draw him out of Syria, in order to preserve Galilee, and that he would not overlook the Galileans, who were his own people, when war was made upon them, he went to meet them, having left Simon in Judea, who raised as great an army as he was able out of the country, and then sat down before Bethsura, and besieged it, that being the strongest place in all Judea; and a garrison of Demetrius's kept it, as we have already related. But as Simon was raising banks, and bringing his engines of war against Bethsura, and was very earnest about the siege of it, the garrison was afraid lest the place should be taken of Simon by force, and they put to the sword, so they sent to Simon, and desired the security of his oath, that they should come to no harm from him, and that they would leave the place, and go away to Demetrius. Accordingly he gave them his oath, and ejected them out of the city, and he put therein a garrison of his own.

7. But Jonathan removed out of Galilee, and from the waters which are called Genne'ar for there he was before encamped, and came into the plain that is called Afor, without knowing that the enemy was there. When therefore Demetrius's men knew a day before hand, that Jonathan was coming against them, they laid an ambush in the mountain, who were to assault him on the sudden, while they themselves met him with an army in the plain: Which army when Jonathan saw ready to engage him, he also got ready his own soldiers for the battle as well as he was able; but those that were laid in ambush by Demetrius's general being behind them, the Jews were afraid lest they should be caught in the midst between two bodies, and perish, so they ran away in haste, and indeed all the rest left Jonathan, but a few there were, in number about fifty, who staid with him, and with them Mattathias, the son of Absalom, and Judas, the son of Chapseus, who were commanders of the whole army. These marched boldly, and like men desperate, against the enemy, and so pushed them, that by their courage they daunted them, and with their weapons in their hands, they put them to flight. And when those soldiers of Jonathan, that had retired, saw the enemy giving way, they got together after their flight, and pursued them with great violence; and this did they as far as Cadeth, where the camp of the enemy lay.

8. Jonathan having thus gotten a glorious victory, and slain

two thousand of the enemy, returned to Jerusalem. So when he saw that all his affairs prospered, according to his mind, by the providence of God, he sent ambassadors to the Romans, being desirous of renewing that friendship which their nation had with them formerly. He enjoined the same ambassadors, that, as they came back they should go to the Spartans, and put them in mind of their friendship and kindred. So when the ambassadors came to Rome, they went into their senate, and said what they were commanded by Jonathan the high-priest to say, how he had sent them to confirm their friendship. The senate then confirmed what had been formerly decreed concerning their friendship with the Jews; and gave them letters to carry to all the kings of Asia and Europe, and to the governors of the cities, that they might safely conduct them to their own country. Accordingly as they returned, they came to Sparta, and delivered the epistle which they had received of Jonathan to them; a copy of which here follows: "Jonathan the high-priest of the Jewish nation, and the senate, and body of the people of the Jews, to the *ephori* and senate, and people of the Lacedemonians, send greeting: If you be well, and both your public and private affairs be agreeable to your mind, it is according to our wishes. We are well also. When in former times an epistle was brought to Onias, who was then our high-priest, from Areus, who at that time was your king, by Demoteles, concerning the kindred that was between us and you, a copy of which is here subjoined, we both joyfully received the epistle, and were well pleased with Demoteles and Areus, although we did not need such a demonstration, because * we were satisfied about it from the sacred writings, yet did not we think fit first to begin the claim of this relation to you, lest we should seem too early in taking to ourselves the glory which is now given us by you. It is a long time since this relation of ours to you hath been renewed; and when we upon holy and festival days, offer sacrifices to God, we pray to him for your preservation and victory. As to ourselves, although we have had many wars that have compassed us around, by reason of the covetousness of our neighbours, yet did not we determine to be troublesome either to you, or to others that were related to us; but since we have now overcome our enemies, and have occasion to send Nume-nius, the son of Antiochus, and Antipater, the son of Jason, who are both honourable men belonging to our senate, to the Romans, we gave them this epistle to you also, that they might renew that friendship which is between us. You will there-

* This clause is otherwise rendered in the first book of Maccabees, xii. 9. *For that we have the holy books of scripture in our hands to comfort us.* The Hebrew original being lost, we cannot certainly judge which was the truest version, only the coherence favours Josephus: But if this were the Jews meaning, that they were satisfied out of their Bible that the Jews and Lacedemonians were of kin, that part of their Bible is now lost, for we find no such assertion in our present copies.

fore do well yourselves to write to us, and send us an account of what you stand in need of from us, since we are in all things disposed to act according to your desires." So the Lacedæmonians received the ambassadors kindly, and made a decree for friendship and mutual assistance, and sent it to them.

9. At this time there were three sects among the Jews, who had different opinions concerning human actions; the one was called the sect of the *Pharisees*, another the sect of the *Sadducees*, and the other the sect of the *Essens*. Now for the * *Pharisees*, they say that some actions, but not all, are the work of fate and some of them are in our own power, and that they are liable to fate, but are not caused by fate. But the sect of the *Essens* affirm, that fate governs all things, and that nothing befalls men but what is according to its determination. And for the *Sadducees*, they take away fate, and say there is no such thing, and that the events of human affairs are not at its disposal, but they suppose that all our actions are in our own power, so that we are ourselves the causes of what is good, and receive what is evil from our own folly. However, I have given a more exact account of these opinions in the second book of the Jewish War.

10. But now the generals of Demetrius being willing to recover the defeat they had had, gathered a greater army together than they had before, and came against Jonathan; but as soon as he was informed of their coming, he went suddenly to meet them, to the country of Hamoth, for he resolved to give them no opportunity of coming into Judea, so he pitched his camp at fifty furlongs distance from the enemy, and sent out spies to take a view of their camp, and after what manner they were encamped. When his spies had given him full information, and had seized upon some of them by night, who told him the enemy would soon attack him, he, thus apprised before-hand, provided for his security, and placed

* Those that suppose Josephus to contradict himself in his three several accounts of the notions of the Pharisees, this here, and that earlier one, which is the largest, Of the War, B. II. ch. viii § 14. vol. II. and that later, Antiq. B. XV. III. ch. i. § 3. vol. II. as if he sometimes said they introduced an absolute fatality, and denied all freedom of human actions, is almost wholly groundless; he ever, as the very learned Casaubon here truly observes, asserting, that the Pharisees were between the Essens and Sadducees, and did so far ascribe all to fate or divine providence as was consistent with the freedom of human actions. However, their perplexed way of talking about fate or providence as over-ruling all things, made it commonly tho't they were willing to excuse their sins by ascribing them to fate, as in the Apostolical Constitution, B. VI. ch. vi. Perhaps under the same general name some difference of opinions in this point might be propagated, as is very common in all parties, especially in points of metaphysical subtilty: However, our Josephus, who in his heart was a great admirer of the piety of the Essens, was yet in practice a Pharisee, as he himself informs us, in his own Life, § 2. vol. II. And his account of this doctrine of the Pharisees, is for certain agreeable to his own opinion, who ever both fully allowed the freedom of human actions, and yet strongly believed the powerful interposition of divine providence. See concerning this matter a remarkable clause, Antiq. B. XVI. ch. xi. § 7. vol. I.

watchmen beyond his camp, and kept all his forces armed all night ; and he gave them a charge to be of good courage, and to have their minds prepared to fight in the night time if they should be obliged so to do, lest their enemies designs should seem concealed from them. But when Demetrius's commanders were informed, that Jonathan knew what they intended, their counsels were disordered, and it alarmed them to find, that the enemy had discovered those their intentions ; nor did they expect to overcome them any other way. now they had failed in the snares they had laid for them, for should they hazard an open battle, they did not think they should be a match for Jonathan's army, so they resolved to fly : And having lighted many fires, that when the enemy saw them they might suppose they were there still, they retired. But when Jonathan came to give them battle in the morning in their camp, and found it deserted, and understood they were fled, he pursued them, yet he could not overtake them, for they had already passed over the river Elutherus, and were out of danger. So when Jonathan was returned thence, he went into Arabia, and fought against the Nabateans, and drove away a great deal of their prey, and took [many] captives, and came to Damascus, and there sold off that he had taken. About the same time it was, that Simon his brother, went over all Judea and Palestine, as far as Askelon, and fortified the strong holds : And when he had made them very strong, both in the edifices erected, and in the garrisons placed in them, he came to Joppa and when he had taken it, he brought a great garrison into it, for he heard that the people of Joppa, were disposed to deliver up the city to Demetrius's generals.

11. When Simon and Jonathan had finished these affairs, they returned to Jerusalem, where Jonathan gathered all the people together, and took counsel to restore the walls of Jerusalem, and to rebuild the wall that encompassed the temple, which had been thrown down, and to make the places adjoining stronger by very high towers ; and besides that, to build another wall in the midst of the city, in order to exclude the market-place from the garrison which was in the citadel, and by that means to hinder them from any plenty of provisions ; and moreover, to make the fortresses that were in the country much stronger, and more defensible, than they were before. And when these things were approved of by the multitude, as rightly proposed, Jonathan himself took care of the building that belonged to the city, and sent Simon away to make the fortresses in the country more secure than formerly. But Demetrius passed over [Euphrates,] and came into Mesopotamia, as desirous to retain that country still, as well as Babylon ; and when he should have obtained the dominion of the upper provinces, to lay a foundation for recovering his entire kingdom ; for those Greeks and Macedonians who dwelt there frequently sent ambassadors to him, and promised, that if he

would come to them they would deliver themselves up to him, and assist him in fighting against * Arfaces, the king of the Parthians. So he was elevated with these hopes, and came hastily to them, as having resolved that, if he had once overthrown the Parthians, and gotten an army of his own. he would make war against Trypho, and eject him out of Syria ; and the people of that country, received him with great alacrity. So he raised forces, with which he fought against Arfaces, and lost all his army, and was himself taken alive, as we have elsewhere related.

C H A P. VI.

How Jonathan was slain by treachery ; and how thereupon the Jews made Simon their General and High-priest : What courageous actions also he performed, especially against Trypho.

§ 1. **N**OW when Trypho knew what had befallen Demetrius, he was no longer firm to Antiochus, but contrived by subtilty to kill him, and then take possession of his kingdom ; but the fear that he was in of Jonathan was an obstacle to this his design, for Jonathan was a friend to Antiochus, for which cause he resolved first to take Jonathan out of the way, and then to set about his design relating to Antiochus ; but he judging it best to take him off by deceit and treachery, came from Antioch to Bethshan, which by the Greeks is called *Scythopolis*, at which place Jonathan met him with forty thousand chosen men, for he thought that he came to fight him ; but when he perceived that Jonathan was ready to fight, he attempted to gain him by presents, and kind treatment, and gave order to his captains to obey him, and by these means was desirous to give assurance of his good-will, and to take away all suspicions out of his mind, that so he might make him careless and inconsiderate, and might take him when he was unguarded. He also advised him to dismiss his army, because there was no occasion for bringing it with him when there was no war, but all was in peace. However, he desired him to retain a few about him, and go with him to Ptolemais, for that he would deliver the city up to him, and would bring all the fortresses that were in the country under his dominion ; and he told him, that he came with those very designs.

2. Yet did not Jonathan suspect any thing at all by this his management, but believed that Trypho gave him this advice

* This king, who was of the famous race of Arfaces, is both here, and 1. Mac. xiv. 2. called by the family name *Arfaces*, but Appian says, his proper name was *Phraates*. He is here also called by Josephus the *king of the Parthians*, as the Greeks used to call them, but by the elder author of the first Maccabees, the *king of the Persians and Medes*, according to the language of the eastern nations. See Aquin. Rec. part. II. p. 1108.

out of kindness, and with a sincere design. Accordingly he dismissed his army, and retained no more than three thousand of them with him, and left two thousand in Galilee, and he himself, with one thousand, came with Trypho to Ptolemais : But when the people of Ptolemais had shut their gates, as it had been commanded by Trypho to do, he took Jonathan alive, and slew all that were with him. He also sent soldiers against those two thousand that were left in Galilee, in order to destroy them : But those men having heard the report of what had happened to Jonathan, they prevented the execution, and before those that were sent by Trypho came, they covered themselves with their armour, and went away out of the country. Now when those that were sent against them saw that they were ready to fight for their lives, they gave them no disturbance, but returned back to Trypho.

3. But when the people of Jerusalem heard that Jonathan was taken, and that the soldiers who were with him were destroyed, they deplored his sad fate, and there was earnest inquiry made about him by every body, and a great and just fear fell upon them, and made them sad, lest now they were deprived of the courage and conduct of Jonathan, the nations about them should bear them ill will ; and as they were before quiet on account of Jonathan, they should now rise up against them, and by making war with them should force them into the utmost dangers. And indeed what they suspected really befell them ; for when those nations heard of the death of Jonathan, they began to make war with the Jews, as now destitute of a governor ; and Trypho himself got an army together, and had an intention to go up to Judea, and make war against its inhabitants. But when Simon saw that the people of Jerusalem were terrified at the circumstances they were in, he desired to make a speech to them, and thereby to render them more resolute in opposing Trypho when he should come against them. He then called the people together into the temple, and thence began thus to encourage them : " O my countrymen, you are not ignorant that our father, myself and my brethren, have ventured to hazard our lives and that willingly for the recovery of your liberty ; since I have therefore such plenty of examples before me, and we of our family have determined with ourselves to die for our laws, and our divine worship ; there shall no terror be so great as to banish this resolution from our souls, nor to introduce in its place a love of life, and a contempt of glory. Do you therefore follow me with alacrity whithersoever I shall lead you, as not destitute of such a captain as is willing to suffer, and to do the greatest things for you ; for neither am I better than my brethren that I should be sparing of my own life, nor so far worse than they as to avoid and refuse what they thought the most honourable of all things, I mean, to undergo death for your laws, and for that worship of God which is peculiar to you ; I will therefore give such proper demon-

strations as will shew that I am their own brother ; and I am so bold as to expect that I shall avenge their blood upon our enemies, and deliver you all with your wives and children, from the injuries they intend against you, and, with God's assistance, to preserve your temple from destruction by them, for I see that these nations have you in contempt, as being without a governor, and that they thence are encouraged to make war against you."

4. By this speech of Simon's, he inspired the multitude with courage, and as they had been before dispirited through fear, they were now raised to a good hope of better things, inasmuch, that the whole multitude of the people cried out all at once, that Simon should be their leader ; and that instead of Jadas and Jonathan his brethren, he should have the government over them ; and they promised that they would readily obey him in whatsoever he should command him. So he got together immediately all his own soldiers that were fit for war, and made haste in rebuilding the walls of the city, and strengthening them by very high and strong towers ; and sent a friend of his, one Jonathan the son of Absalom to Joppa, and gave him order to eject the inhabitants out of the city, for he was afraid lest they should deliver up the city to Trypho, but he himself stayed to secure Jerusalem.

5. But Trypho removed from Ptolemais with a great army, and came into Judea, and brought Jonathan with him in bonds. Simon also met him with his army at the city Adida, which is upon an hill, and beneath it lie the plains of Judea. And when Trypho knew that Simon was by the Jews made their governor, he sent to him, and would have imposed upon him by deceit and treachery, and desired, if he would have his brother Jonathan released, that he would send him an hundred talents of silver and two of Jonathan's sons as hostages, that when he shall be released he may not make Judea revolt from the king, for that at present he was kept in bonds on account of the money he had borrowed of the king, and now owed it to him. But Simon was aware of the craft of Trypho, and although he knew that if he gave him the money he should lose it, and that Trypho would not set his brother free, and withal, should deliver the sons of Jonathan to the enemy, yet because he was afraid that he should have a calumny raised against him among the multitude as the cause of his brother's death, if he neither gave the money, nor sent Jonathan's sons, he gathered his army together, and told them what offers Trypho had made, and added this, that the offers were ensnaring and treacherous, and yet that it was more eligible to send the money and Jonathan's sons than to be liable to the imputation of not complying with Trypho's offers, and thereby refusing to save his brother. Accordingly Simon sent the sons of Jonathan and the money ; but when Trypho had received them, he did not keep his promise, nor set Jonathan free, but

took his army, and went about all the country, and resolved to go afterward to Jerusalem by the way of Idumea, while Simon went over against him with his army, and all along pitched his own camp over against his.

6. But when those that were in the citadel had sent to Trypho, and besought him to make haste and come to them, and to send them provisions, he prepared his cavalry as though he would be at Jerusalem that very night, but so great a quantity of snow fell in the night that it covered the roads, and made them so deep, that there was no passing, especially for the cavalry. This hindered him from coming to Jerusalem; whereupon Trypho removed thence, and came into Celestria, and falling vehemently upon the land of Gilead, he slew Jonathan there, and when he had given order for his burial, he returned himself to Antioch. However, Simon sent some to the city Basca to bring away his brother's bones, and buried them in their own city Modin; and all the people made great lamentation over him. Simon also erected a very large monument for his father and his brethren, of white and polished stone, and raised it a great height, and so as to be seen a long way off, and made cloisters about it, and set up pillars, which were of one stone a-piece; a work it was wonderful to see. Moreover, he built seven pyramids also for his parents and his brethren, one for each of them, which were made very surprising, both for their largeness and beauty, and which have been preserved to this day; and we know that it was Simon who bestowed so much zeal about the burial of Jonathan, and the building of these monuments for his relations. Now Jonathan died when he had been high priest * four years, and had been also the governor of his nation. And these were the circumstances that concerned his death.

6. But Simon, who was made high priest by the multitude, on the very first year of his high priesthood set his people free from their slavery under the Macedonians, and permitted them to pay tribute to them no longer; which liberty and freedom from tribute they obtained after an † hundred and

* There is some error in the copies here, when no more than four years are ascribed to the high priesthood of Jonathan. We know by Josephus's last Jewish chronology, Antiq. B. XX. ch. x. vol. II. that there was an interval of seven years between the death of Alcimus or Jacimus, the last high priest, and the real high priesthood of Jonathan, to whom yet those seven years seem here to be ascribed, as a part of them were to Judas before, Antiq. B. XII. ch. x. § 6. vol. II. Now since, besides these seven years *interregnum* in the pontificate, we are told, Antiq. B. XX. ch. x. that Jonathan's real high priesthood lasted seven years more; these two seven years will make up fourteen years, which I suppose was Josephus's own number in this place, instead of the four in our present copies.

† These 170 years of the Assyrians mean no more, as Josephus explains himself here, than from the ære of Seleucus, which, as it is known to have began on the 312th year before the Christian ære, from its spring in the first book of Maccabees, and from its autumn in the second book of Maccabees, so did it not begin at Babylon till the next spring, on the 311th year. See Prid. at the year 312. And it

seventy years of the kingdom of the Assyrians, which was after Seleucus, who was called Nicator, got the dominion over Syria. Now the affection of the multitude towards Simon was so great, that in their contracts one with another, and in their public records, they wrote, "In the first year of Simon, the benefactor and ethnarch of the Jews;" for under him they were very happy, and overcame the enemies that were round about them, for Simon overthrew the city Gazara, and Joppa, and Jamina. He also took the citadel of Jerusalem by siege, and cast it down to the ground, that it might not be any more a place of refuge to their enemies when they took it, to do them a mischief, as it had been till now. And when he had done this, he thought it their best way, and most for their advantage, to level the very mountain itself upon which the citadel happened to stand, that so the temple might be higher than it. And indeed, when he had called the multitude to an assembly, he persuaded them to have it so demolished, and this by putting them in mind what miseries they had suffered by its garrison, and the Jewish deserters, and what miseries they might hereafter suffer in case any foreigner should obtain the Kingdom, and put a garrison into that citadel. This speech induced the multitude to a compliance, because he exhorted them to do nothing but what was for their own good: So they all set themselves to the work, and levelled the mountain, and in that work spent both day and night without any intermission, which cost them three whole years before it was removed, and brought to an entire level with the plain of the rest of the city. After which the temple was the highest of all the buildings, now the citadel, as well as the mountain whereon it stood, were demolished. And these actions were thus performed under Simon.

C H A P. VII.

How Simon confederated himself with Antiochus Pius, and made War against Trypho; and a little afterward against Cendebeus, the General of Antiochus's Army: As also how Simon was Murdered by his son-in-law Ptolemy, and that by treachery.

§ 1. * **N**OW a little while after Demetrius had been carried into captivity, Trypho his governor, destroy-

is truly observed by Dr. Hudson on this place, that the Syrians and Assyrians are sometimes confounded in ancient authors, according to the words of Just in the epitomizer of Trogus Pompeius, who says, That "the Assyrians were afterward called Syrians." B I. ch. xi. See Of the War, B. V. ch. ix. § 4. vol. III. where the Philistines themselves, at the very south limit of Syria, in its utmost extent, are called *Assyrians* by Josephus, as Spanheim observes.

* It must here be diligently noted, that Josephus's copy of the first book of Maccabees, which he had so carefully followed, and faithfully abridged as far as the 50th

ed Antiochus, * the son of Alexander, who was also called † *the God*, and this when he had reigned four years, though he gave it out that he died under the hands of the surgeons. He then sent his friends, and those that were most intimate with him to the soldiers; and promised that he would give them a great deal of money if they would make him king. He intimated to them that Demetrius was made a captive by the Parthians; and that Demetrius's brother Antiochus, if he came to be king, would do them a great deal of mischief, in way of revenge for their revolting from his brother. So the soldiers in expectation of the wealth they should get by bestowing the kingdom on Trypho, made him their ruler. However, when Trypho had gained the management of affairs, he demonstrated his disposition to be wicked; for while he was a private person, he cultivated a familiarity with the multitude, and pretended to great moderation, and so drew them on artfully to whatsoever he pleased, but when he had once taken the kingdom, he laid aside any farther dissimulation, and was true *Trypho* which behaviour made his enemies superior to him, for the soldiery hated him, and revolted from him to Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, who was then shut up in Seleucia with her children. But as Antiochus, the brother of Demetrius, who was

verse of the twelfth chapter, seems there to have ended. What few things there are afterward common to both, might probably be learned by him from some other more imperfect records. However we must exactly observe here, what the remaining part of that book of the Maccabees informs us of, and what Josephus would never have omitted, had his copy contained so much, that this Simon the Great, the Maccabee, made a league with Antiochus Soter, the son of Demetrius Soter and brother of the other Demetrius, who was now a captive in Parthia, that upon his coming to the crown, about the 140th year before the Christian æra, he granted great privileges to the Jewish nation, and to Simon their high priest and ethnarch, which privileges Simon seems to have taken of his own accord about three years before. In particular, he gave him leave to coin money for his country with his own stamp; and as concerning Jerusalem, and the sanctuary, that they should be *free*, or as the vulgar Latin hath it, *holy and free*, 1 Maccab. xv. 6. 7. which I take to be the truer reading, as being the very words of his father's concession offered to Jonathan several years before, ch. x. 31. and Antiq. B. XIII. ch. ii. § 3. vol. II. Now what makes this date, and these grants, greatly remarkable, is the state of the remaining genuine shekels of the Jews with Samaritan characters, which seem to have been (most of them at least) coined in the four first years of this Simon the Alasmonean, and having upon them these words on one side, *Jerusalem the holy*, and on the reverse, *In the year of freedom*, 1. or 2. or 3. or 4. which shekels therefore are original monuments of these times, and undeniable marks of the truth of the history in these chapters, though it be in great measure omitted by Josephus. See Essay on the Old Test. p. 157. 158. The reason why I rather suppose that his copy of the Maccabees wanted these chapters, than that his own copies are here imperfect, is this, that all their contents are not here omitted, though much the greatest part be.

* How Trypho killed this Antiochus, the epitome of Livy informs us, chap. 55. viz. that he corrupted his physicians or surgeons, who safely pretending to the people that he was perishing with the stone, as they cut him for it, killed him, which exactly agrees with Josephus.

† That this Antiochus, the son of Alexander Balas, was called *the God*, is evident from his coins, which Spanheim assures us bear this inscription, *king Antiochus the God, Epiphanes the Victorious*.

called *Soter*, was not admitted by any of the cities on account of Trypho, Cleopatra sent to him, and invited him to marry her and to take the kingdom. The reasons why she made this invitation were these : That her friends persuaded her to it, and that she was afraid for herself, in case some of the people of Seleucia should deliver up the city to Trypho.

2. As Antiochus was now come to Seleucia, and his forces increased every day, he marched to fight Trypho ; and having beaten him in the battle, he ejected him out of the upper Syria into Phenicia, and pursued him thither, and besieged him in Dora, which was a fortress hard to be taken, whether he had fled. He also sent ambassadors to Simon the Jewish high-priest, about a league of friendship and mutual assistance : Who readily accepted of the invitation, and sent to Antiochus great sums of money, and provisions, for those that besieged Dora, and thereby supplied them very plentifully. so that for a little while he was looked upon as one of his most intimate friends ; but still Trypho fled from Dora to Apamia, where he was taken during the siege, and put to death, when he had reigned three years.

3. However, Antiochus forgot the kind assistance that Simon had afforded him in his necessity ; by reason of his covetous and wicked disposition, and committed an army of soldiers to his friend Cendebeus, and sent him at once to ravage Judea, and to seize Simon. When Simon heard of Antiochus's breaking his league with him, although he were now in years, yet, provoked with the unjust treatment he had met with from Antiochus, and taking a resolution brisker than his age could well bear, he went like a young man to act as general of his army. He also sent his sons before among the most hardy of his soldiers, and he himself marched on with his army another way, and laid many of his men in ambushes in the narrow vallies between the mountains ; nor did he fail of success in any one of his attempts, but was too hard for his enemies in every one of them. So he led the rest of his life in peace, and did also himself make a league with the Romans.

4. Now he was the ruler of the Jews in all eight years ; but at a feast came to his end. It was caused by the treachery of his son-in-law Ptolemy ; who caught also his wife, and put two of his sons, and kept them in bonds. He also sent some to kill John the third son, whose name was *Hyrchanus* ; but the young man perceiving them coming, he * avoided the danger he was in from them, and made haste into the city [Jerusalem,] as relying on the good will of the multitude, because of the

* Here Josephus begins to follow, and to abridge the next sacred Hebrew book, styled in the end of the first book of Maccabeus, *The Chronicle of John [Hyrchanus's] high priesthood*, but in some of the Greek copies, the *fourth book of Maccabeus*. A Greek version of this chronicle was extant not very long ago in the days of Santes Pagninus, and Sixtus Senensis, at Lyons, though it seems to have been there burnt and to be utterly lost. See Sixtus Senensis's account of it, of its many Hebraisms, and its great agreement with Josephus's abridgement, in the Authent. Rec. part. I. p. 206, 207, 208.

benefits they had received from his father, and because of the hatred the same multitude bear to Ptolemy, so that when Ptolemy was endeavouring to enter the city by another gate, they drove him away, as having already admitted of Hyrcanus.

C H A P. VIII.

Hyrcanus receives the High Priesthood, and ejects Ptolemy out of the Country. Antiochus makes War against Hyrcanus, and afterward makes a League with him.

§ 1. **S**O Ptolemy retired to one of the fortresses that was above Jericho, which was called *Dagon*: But Hyrcanus having taken the priesthood that had been his father's before, and in the first place propitiated God by sacrifices, he then made an expedition against Ptolemy; and when he made his attacks upon the place, in other points he was too hard for him, but was rendered weaker than he, by the commiseration he had for his mother and brethren, and by that only, for Ptolemy brought them upon the wall, and tormented them in the sight of all, and threatened that he would throw them down headlong, unless Hyrcanus would leave off the siege. And as he thought that so far he relaxed as to the siege and taking of the place, so much favour did he shew to those that were dearest to him by preventing their misery, his zeal about it was cooled. However, his mother spread out her hands and begged of him that he would not grow remiss on her account, but indulge his indignation so much the more, and that he would do his utmost to take the place quickly, in order to get their enemy under his power, and then to avenge upon him what he had done to those that were dearest to himself; for that death would be to her sweet, though with torment, if that enemy of theirs might but be brought to punishment for his wicked dealings to them. Now when his mother said so, he resolved to take the fortress immediately; but when he saw her beaten, and torn to pieces, his courage failed him, and he could not but sympathize with what his mother suffered, and was thereby overcome. And as the siege was drawn out into length by this means, that year on which the Jews use to rest came on, for the Jews observe this rest every seventh year, as they do every seventh day; so that Ptolemy being * for this

* Hence we learn, that in the days of this excellent high priest John Hyrcanus the observation of the *Sabbatic year*, as Josephus supposed, required a rest from war, as did that of the *weekly Sabbath from work*: I mean this, unless in the case of necessity, when the Jews were attacked by their enemies, in which case indeed, and in which alone, they then allowed defensive fighting to be lawful even on the Sabbath-day, as we see in several places of Josephus, *Antiq. B. xII. ch. vi. § 2. B. XIII. ch. i. § 3. vol. II. Of the War, B. I. ch. vii. § 3. vol. III.* But then it must be noted, that this rest from war no way appears in the first book of *Mac.*

cause released from the war, he slew the brethren of Hyrcanus, and his mother : And when he had so done, he fled to Zeno, who was called *Cotylas*, who was then the tyrant of the city Philadelphia.

2. But Antiochus being very uneasy at the miseries that Simon had brought upon him, he invaded Judea in the fourth year of his reign, and the first year of the principality of Hyrcanus, in the * hundred and sixty second olympiad. And when he had burnt the country, he shut up Hyrcanus in the city, which he encompassed round with seven encampments, but did just nothing at the first, because of the strength of the walls, and because of the valour of the besieged, although they were once in want of water, which yet they were delivered from by a large shower of rain, which fell at the † setting of the Pleiades. However, about the north part of the wall, where it happened, the city was upon a level with the outward ground, the King raised a hundred towers of three stories high and placed bodies of soldiers upon them, and as he made his attacks every day, he cut a double ditch, deep and broad, and confined the inhabitants within it as within a wall ; but the besieged contrived to make frequent sallies out, and if the enemy were not any where upon their guard, they fell upon them, and did them a great deal of mischief, and if they perceived they then retired into the city with ease. But because Hyrcanus discerned the inconvenience of so great a number of men in the city, while the provisions were the sooner spent by them, and yet, as natural to suppose, those great numbers did nothing, he separated the useless part, and excluded them out of the city, and retained that part only which were in the flower of their age, and fit for war. However, Antiochus would not let those that were excluded go away, who therefore wandering about between the walls, and consuming away by famine, died miserably ; but when the feast of tabernacles was at hand, those that were within commiserated their condition, and received them in again. And when Hyrcanus sent to Antiochus, and desired there might be a truce for seven days, be-

cabees, ch. xvi. but the direct contrary ; though indeed the jews, in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, did not venture upon fighting on the Sabbath days, even in the defence of their own lives, till the Asmoneans or Maccabees decreed so to do, 1 Mac. ii. 32—41. Antiq. B. XII. ch. vii. § 2.

* Josephus's copies, both Greek and Latin, have here a gross mistake, when they say, that this first year of John Hyrcanus, which we have just now seen to have been a *Sabbatic year*, was in the 162d olympiad, whereas it was for certain the second year of the 161st. See the like before, B. XII. ch. vii. § 6.

† This heliacal setting of the Pleiades, or seven stars, was, in the days of Hyrcanus and Josephus, early in the spring, about February, the time of the latter rain in Judea : and this, so far as I remember, is the only astronomical character of time, besides one eclipse of the moon in the reign of Herod, that we meet with in all Josephus, the Jews being little accustomed to astronomical observations, any farther than for the uses of their calendar, and utterly forbidden those astrological uses which the heathens commonly made of them.

cause of the festival, he gave way to this piety towards God, and made that truce accordingly: And besides that, he sent in a magnificent sacrifice, bulls with their * horns gilded, with all sorts of sweet spices, and with cups of gold and silver. So those that were at the gates received the sacrifices from those that brought them, and led them to the temple, Antiochus the mean while feasting his army; which was a quite different conduct from Antiochus Epiphanes, who, when he had taken the city, he offered swine upon the altar, and sprinkled the temple with the broth of their flesh, in order to violate the laws of the Jews, and the religion they derived from their forefathers; for which reason our nation made war with him, and would never be reconciled to him: But for this Antiochus, all men called him *Antiochus the Pious*, for the great zeal he had about religion.

3. Accordingly Hyrcanus took this moderation of his kindly; and when he understood how religious he was towards the Deity, he sent an ambassage to him, and desired that he would restore the settlements they received from their forefathers. So he rejected the counsel of those that † would have him utterly destroy the nation by reason of their way of living, which was to others unsociable, and did not regard what they said. But being persuaded that all they did was out of a religious mind, he answered the ambassadors, That if the besieged would deliver up their arms, and pay tribute for Joppa, and the other cities which bordered upon Judea, and admit a garrison of his, on these terms, he would make war against them no longer. But the Jews, although they were content with the other conditions, did not agree to admit the garrison, because they could not associate with other people, nor converse with them; yet were they willing, instead of the admission of the garrison, to give him hostages, and five hundred talents of silver; of which they paid down three hundred, and sent the hostages immediately, which king Antiochus accepted. One of those hostages was Hyrcanus's brother: But still he broke down the fortifications that encompassed the city: And upon these conditions Antiochus broke up the siege, and departed.

4. But Hyrcanus opened the sepulchre of David, who excelled all other kings in riches, and took out of it three thousand talents. He was also the first of the Jews that, relying on this wealth, maintained foreign troops. There was also a league of friendship and mutual assistance made between them: Upon which Hyrcanus admitted him into the city, and furnished him with whatsoever his army wanted in great plenty.

* Dr Hudson tells us here, that this custom of gilding the horns of those oxen that were to be sacrificed, is a known thing both in the poets and orators.

† This account in Josephus, that the pretent Antiochus, was persuaded, though in vain, not to make peace with the jews, but to cut them off utterly, is fully confirmed by Diodorus Siculus, in Photius's extracts out of his 34th Book.

and with great generosity, and marched along with him when he made an expedition against the Parthians; of which Nicolaus of Damascus is a witness for us; who in his history writes thus: "When Antiochus had erected a trophy at the river Lycus, upon his conquest of Indates, the general of the Parthians, he stayed there two days. It was at the desire of Hyrcanus the Jew, because it was such a festival derived to them from their forefathers, whereon the law of the Jews did not allow them to travel." And truly he did not speak falsey in saying so; for that festival, which we call Pentecost, did then fall out to be the next day to the Sabbath: Nor is it * lawful for us to journey, either on the Sabbath day, or on a festival day. But when Antiochus joined battle with Arsaces, the king of Parthia, he lost a great part of his army, and was himself slain; and his brother Demetrius succeeded in the kingdom of Syria, by the permission of Arsaces, who freed him from his captivity, at the same time that Antiochus attacked Parthia, as we have formerly related elsewhere.

C H A P. IX.

How, after the Death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus made an Expedition against Syria, and made a league with the Romans. Concerning the Death of King Demetrius and Alexander.

§ 1. **B**UT when Hyrcanus heard of the death of Antiochus, he presently made an expedition against the cities of Syria, hoping to find them destitute of fighting men, and of such as were able to defend them. However, it was not till the sixth month that he took Medaba, and that not without the great distress of his army. After this he took Samega, and the neighbouring places; and besides these, Shechem and Gerizzim, and the nation of the Cutheans who dwelt at the temple which Alexander permitted Sanballat, the general of his army, to build for the sake of Manasseh, who was son-in-law to Jaddua the high-priest, as we have formerly related; which temple was now deserted two hundred years after it was built. Hyrcanus took also Dora and Marissa, cities of Idumea, and subdued all the Idumeans; and permitted them to stay in that country, if they would circumcise their genitals, and make use of the laws of the Jews; and they were so desirous of living in the country of their forefathers, that they † submitted to the use of circumcision, and of the rest of the

* The Jews were not to march, or journey on the Sabbath, or on such a great festival as was equivalent to the Sabbath, any farther than a *Sabbath-day's journey*, or 2000 cubits, see the note on Antiq. B. XX. ch. viii. sec. 6. Vol. III.

† This account of the Idumeans admitting circumcision, and the entire Jewish law, from this time, or from the days of Hyrcanus, is confirmed by their entire history afterward. See Antiq. B. xiv. ch. viii. sec. 1. B. xv. ch. vii. sec. 9. vol. II.

Jewish ways of living, at which time therefore this befel them, that they were hereafter no other than Jews.

2. But Hyrcanus the high-priest was desirous to renew that league of friendship they had with the Romans : Accordingly he sent an ambassage to them : And when the senate had received their epistle, they made a league of friendship with them, after the manner following : “ Fanius, the son of Marcus the pretor, gathered the senate together on the eighth day before the ides of February, in the senate-house when Lucius Manlius, the son of Lucius, of the Mentine tribe, and Caius Sempronius, the son of Caius, of the Falernian tribe, were present. The occasion was, that the ambassadors sent by the * people of the Jews. Simon the son of Dositheus, and Apollonius, the son of Alexander, and Diodorus, the son of Jason, who were good and virtuous men, had somewhat to propose about that league of friendship and mutual assistance which subsisted between them and the Romans, and about other public affairs, who desired that Joppa, and the havens, and Gazara, and the springs [of Jordan,] and the several other cities and countries of theirs, which Antiochus had taken from them in the war, contrary to the decree of the senate, might be restored to them ; and that it might not be lawful for the king's troops to pass through their country, and the countries of those that are subject to them : And that what attempts Antiochus had made during that war, without the decree of the senate, might be made void : And that they would send ambassadors, who should take care that restitution be made them of what Antiochus had taken from them, and that they should make an estimate of the country that had been laid waste in the

Of the war, B. II. ch. iii. § 1. B. IV. ch. iv. § 5. vol. III. This, in the opinion of Josephus, made them proselytes of justice, or entire Jews, as here and elsewhere, Antiq. B. XIV. ch. viii. § 1. However, Antigonus, the enemy of Herod, though Herod were derived from such a proselyte of justice for several generations, will allow him to be no more than an *half Jew*, B. XV. ch. xv. § 2. But still take out of Dean Prideaux, at the year 129 the words of Ammonius a grammarian, which fully confirm this account of the Idumeans in Josephus : “ The Jews, says he, are such by nature, and from the beginning, whilst the Idumeans were not Jews from the beginning but Phœnicians and Syrians ; but being afterward subdued by the Jews, and compelled to be circumcised, and to unite into one nation, and be subject to the same laws, they were called *Jews*.” Dio also says, as the Dean there quotes him, from book XXXVI. p. 37. “ That country is called *Judea*, and the people *Jews* ; and this name is given also to as many others as embrace their religion, tho' of other nations.” But then upon what foundation so good a governor as Hyrcanus took upon him to *compel* these Idumeans either to become Jews, or to leave the country, deserves great consideration. I suppose it was because they had long ago been driven out of the land of Edom, and had seized on and possessed the tribe of Simeon, and all the southern parts of the tribe of Judea, which was the peculiar inheritance of the worshippers of the true God without idolatry, as the reader may learn from Reland, Palestine, part I. p. 154, 305. and from Prideaux, at the years 140 and 165.

* In this decree of the Roman Senate, it seems, that these ambassadors were sent from the *people of the Jews*, as well as from their prince or high-priest John Hyrcan,

war; and that they would grant them letters of protection to the kings, and free people, in order to their quiet return home. It was therefore decreed, as to these points, to renew their league of friendship and mutual assistance with these good men, and who were sent by a good and a friendly people." But that as to the letters desired, their answer was, that the senate would consult about that matter, when their own affairs would give them leave and that they would endeavour for the time to come, that no like injury should be done them: And that their pretor Fanius, should give them money out of the public treasury to bear their expences home. And thus did Fanius dismiss the Jewish ambassadors, and gave them money out of the public treasury; and gave the decree of the senate to those that were to conduct them, and to take care that they should return home in safety.

3. And thus stood the affairs of Hyrcanus the high priest. But as for king Demetrius, who had a mind to make war against Hyrcanus, there was no opportunity nor room for it, while both the Syrians and the soldiers bare ill-will to him, because he was an ill man. But when they had sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, who was called Physcon, that he would send them one of the family of Seleucus, in order to take the kingdom, and he had sent them Alexander, who was called Zebina, with an army, and there had been a battle between them, Demetrius was beaten in the fight, and fled to Cleopatra his wife to Ptolemais, but his wife would not receive him. He went thence to Tyre, and was there caught, and when he had suffered much from his enemies before his death, he was slain by them. So Alexander took the kingdom, and made a league with Hyrcanus, who yet, when he afterward fought with Antiochus the son of Demetrius, who was called Grypus, was also beaten in the fight, and slain.

C H A P. X.

How upon the quarrel between Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyzicenus, about the Kingdom, Hyrcanus took Samaria, and utterly demolished it; and how Hyrcanus joined himself to the sect of the Sadducees, and left that of the Pharisees.

§ 1. **W**HEN Antiochus had taken the kingdom, he was afraid to make war against Judea, because he heard that his brother by the same mother, who was also called Antiochus, was raising an army against him out of Cyzicum, so he staid in his own land, and resolved to prepare himself for the attack he expected from his brother, who was called Cyzicenus, because he had been brought up in that city. He was the son of Antiochus that was called Soter, who died in Parthia. He was the brother of Demetrius, the father of

Grypus, for it had so happened, that one and the same Cleopatra was married to two, who were brethren, as we have related elsewhere. But Antiochus Cyzicenus coming into Syria, continued many years at war with his brother. Now Hyrcanus lived all this while in peace ; for after the death of Antiochus, he * revolted from the Macedonians, nor did he any longer pay them the least regard, either as their subject or their friend, but his affairs are in a very improving and flourishing condition in the times of Alexander Zebina, and especially under these brethren, for the war which they had with one another gave Hyrcanus the opportunity of enjoying himself in Judea quietly, inasmuch that he got an immense quantity of money. However, when Antiochus Cyzicenus distressed his land, he then openly shewed what he meant. And when he saw that Antiochus was destitute of Egyptian auxiliaries, and that both he and his brother were in an ill condition in the struggles they had one with another, he despised them both.

2. So he made an expedition against Samaria, which was a very strong city ; of whose present name Sebaste, and its rebuilding by Herod, we shall speak at a proper time : But he made his attack against it, and besieged it with a great deal of pains ; for he was greatly displeased with the Samaritans for the injuries they had done to the people of Merissa, a colony of the Jews, and confederate with them, and this in compliance to the kings of Syria. When he had therefore drawn a ditch, and built a double wall round the city, which were fourscore furlongs long, he set his sons Antigonus and Aristobulus over the siege, which brought the Samaritans to that great distress by famine that they were forced to eat what used not to be eaten, and to call for Antiochus Cyzicenus to help them, who came readily to their assistance, but was beaten by Aristobulus, and when he was pursued as far as Scythopolis by the two brethren, he got away : So they returned to Samaria, and shut them again within the wall, till they were forced to send for the same Antiochus a second time to help them, who procured about six thousand men from Ptolemy Lathyrus, which were sent them without his mother's consent, who had then in a manner turned him out of his government. With these Egyptians Antiochus did at first over-run and ravage the country of Hyrcanus after the manner of a robber, for he durst not meet him in the face to fight with him, as not having an army sufficient for that purpose, but only from this supposal that by thus harrassing his land he should force Hyrcanus to raise the siege of Samaria ; but because he fell into snares, and lost many of his soldiers therein, he went away to

* Dean Prideaux takes notice at the year 130, that Justin, in agreement with Josephus, says, " The power of the Jews was now grown so great, that after this Antiochus they would not bear any Macedonian king over them, and that they set up a government of their own, and infested Syria with great wars."

Tripoli, and committed the prosecution of the war against the Jews to Callimander and Epicrates.

3. But as to Callimander, he attacked the enemy too rashly, and was put to flight, and destroyed immediately ; and as to Epicrates, he was such a lover of money, that he openly betrayed Scythopolis, and other places near it, to the Jews, but was not able to make them raise the siege of Samaria. And when Hyrcanus had taken that city, which was not done till after a year's siege, he was not contented with doing that only, but he demolished it entirely, and brought rivulets to it to drown it, for he dug such hollows as might let the water run under it ; nay, he took away the very marks that there had ever been such a city there. Now a very surprising thing is related of this high priest Hyrcanus, how God came to discourse with him : for they say, that on the very same day on which his sons fought with Antiochus Cyzicenus, he was alone in the temple, as high priest offering incense, and heard a voice, that " his sons had just then overcome Antiochus." And this he openly declared before all the multitude upon his coming out of the temple ; and it accordingly proved true : And in this posture were the affairs of Hyrcanus.

4. Now it happened at this time, that not only those Jews who were at Jerusalem and in Judea were in prosperity, but also those of them that were at Alexandria, and in Egypt and Cyprus, for Cleopatra the queen was at variance with her son Ptolemy, who was called Lathyrus, and appointed for her generals Chelcias, and Ananias, the sons of that Onias who built the temple in the prefecture of Heliopolis, like to that at Jerusalem, as we have elsewhere related. Cleopatra intrusted these men with her army ; and did nothing without their advice, as Strabo of Cappadocia attests, when he saith thus, " Now the greater part, both those that came to Cyprus with us, and those that were sent afterward thither, revolted to Ptolemy immediately ; only those that were called Onias's party, being Jews, continued faithful, because their countrymen Chelcias and Ananias were in chief favour with the queen." These are the words of Strabo.

5. However, this prosperous state of affairs moved the Jews to envy Hyrcanus ; but they that were the worst disposed to him were the * Pharisees, who are one of the sects of the Jews, as we have informed you already. These have so great a

* The original of the Sadducees, as a considerable party among the Jews, being contained in this, and the two following sections, take Dean Prideaux's note upon this their first public appearance, which I suppose to be true : " Hyrcanus, says he, went over to the party of the Sadducees, that is, by embracing their doctrine against the traditions of the elders, added to the written law, and made of equal authority with it, but not their doctrine against the resurrection and a future state, for this cannot be supposed of so good and righteous a man as John Hyrcanus is said to be. It is most probable, that at this time the Sadducees had gone no farther in the doctrines of that sect than to deny all their unwritten traditions, which the Pharisees were so fond of ; for Josephus mentions no other difference at this

power over the multitude, that when they say any thing against the king, or against the highpriest, they are presently believed. Now Hyrcanus was a disciple of theirs, and greatly beloved by them. And when he once invited them to a feast, and entertained them very kindly, when he saw them in a good humour, he began to say to them, that "they knew he was desirous to be a righteous man, and to do all things whereby he might please God which was the profession of the Pharisees also. However, he desired, that if they observed him offending in any point, and going out of the right way, they would call him back and correct him." On which occasion they attested to his being entirely virtuous; with which commendation he was well pleased. But still there was one of his guests there, whose name was * Eleazar, a man of an ill temper, and delighting in seditious practices. This man said, since thou desirest to know the truth, if thou wilt be righteous in earnest, lay down the high priest-hood, and content thyself with the civil government of the people." And when he desired to know for what cause he ought to lay down the high priest-hood? the other replied, "We have heard it from old men, that thy mother had been a captive under the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes." This story was false, and Hyrcanus was provoked against him; and all the Pharisees had a very great indignation against him,

6. Now there was one Jonathan, a very great friend of Hyrcanus's, but of the sect of the Sadducees, whose notions are quite contrary to those of the Pharisees. He told Hyrcanus, that "Eleazar had cast such a reproach upon him according to the common sentiments of all the Pharisees, and that this would be made manifest if he would but ask them the question, what punishment they thought this man deserved? for that he might depend upon it, that the reproach was not laid on him with their approbation, if they were for punishing him as his crime deserved." So the Pharisees made answer, that "he deserved stripes and bonds, but that it did not seem right to punish reproaches with death." And indeed the Pharisees, even upon other occasions, are not apt to be severe in punishments. At this gentle sentence, Hyrcanus was very angry, and thought that this man reproached him by their approbation. It was this Jonathan who chiefly irritated him, and influenced him so far, that he made him leave the party of the Pharisees, and abolish the decrees they had imposed on the people, and to punish those that observed them. From this source arose that

time between them: Neither doth he say that Hyrcanus went over to the Sadducees in any other particular than in the abolishing of all the traditionary constitutions of the Pharisees, which our Saviour condemned as well as they." [At the year 108.]

* This slander, that arose from a Pharisee, has been preserved by their successors the Rabbins to these later ages, for Dr. Hudson assures us, that David Gantz, in his chronology *S. Pr* p. 77. in Vorstius's version, relates that Hyrcanus's mother was taken captive in mount Modith. See chap. xiii. sect. 5.

hatred which he and his sons met with from the multitude ; but of these matters we shall speak hereafter. What I would now explain is this, that the Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many observances by succession from their fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses ; and for that reason it is that the Sadducees reject them, and say, that we are to esteem those observances to be obligatory which are in the written word, but are not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers. And concerning these things it is that great disputes and differences have arisen among them, while the Sadducees are able to persuade none but the rich, and have not the populace obsequious to them, but the Pharisees have the multitude of their side. But about these two sects, and that of the Essens, I have treated accurately in the second book of Jewish affairs.

7. But when Hyrcanus had put an end to this sedition, he after that lived happily, and administered the government in the best manner for thirty-one years, and then * died ; leaving behind him five sons. He was esteemed by God worthy of the three greatest privileges, the government of his nation, the dignity of the high-priesthood, and prophecy ; for God was with him, and enabled him to know futurities ; and to foretell this in particular, that as to his two eldest sons, he foretold that they would not long continue in the government of public affairs ; whose unhappy catastrophe will be worth our description, that we may thence learn how very much they were inferior to their father's happiness.

* Here ends the high priesthood, and the life of this excellent person John Hyrcanus ; and together with him the holy *theocracy*, or *divine government* of the Jewish nation, and its concomitant oracle by *Urim*. Now follows the profane and tyrannical Jewish *monarchy*, first of the *Assamoneans* or *Maccabees*, and then of *Herod the Great*, the *Idumean*, till the coming of the *Messiah*. See the note on *Antiq. B. III. ch. viii. § 9* Hear *Strabo's* testimony on this occasion, *B. XVI. page 761, 762*. "Those, says he, that succeeded Moses continued for some time in earnest, both in righteous actions, and in piety ; but after a while, there were others that took upon them the high priesthood ; at first superstitious and afterward tyrannical persons. Such a prophet was Moses, and those that succeeded him, beginning in a way not to be blamed, but changing for the worse. And when it openly appeared that the government was become tyrannical, Alexander was the first that set up himself for a king instead of a priest ; and his sons were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus." All in agreement with *Josephus*, excepting this, that *Strabo* omits the first king *Aristobulus*, who reigned but a single year, seems hardly to have come to his knowledge. Nor indeed does *Aristobulus*, the son of Alexander, pretend that the name of *king* was taken before his father Alexander took it himself, *Antiq. B. XIV. ch. iii. § 2*. See also *chap. xii. sec. 1*. which favours *Strabo* also. And indeed, if we may judge from the very different characters of the Egyptian Jews under high priests, and of the Palestine Jews under kings, in the two next centuries we may well suppose, that the divine *Shechinah* was removed into Egypt, and that, the worshippers at the temple of *Onias* were better men than those at the temple of Jerusalem.

C H A P. XI.

How Aristobulus, when he had taken the Government, first of all put a diadem on his head, and was most barbarously cruel to his mother and his brethren ; and how, after he had slain Antigonus, he himself died.

§ 1. **N**OW when their father Hyrcanus was dead, the eldest son Aristobulus, intending to change the government into a kingdom, for so he resolved to do, first of all put a diadem on his head, four hundred eighty and one years and three months after the people had been delivered from the Babylonish slavery, and were returned to their own country again. This Aristobulus loved his next brother Antigonus, and treated him as his equal, but the others he held in bonds. He also cast his mother into prison, because she disputed the government with him, for Hyrcanus had left her to be mistress of all. He also proceeded to that degree of barbarity, as to kill her in prison with hunger ; nay, he was alienated from his brother Antigonus by calumnies, and added him to the rest whom he slew, yet he seemed to have an affection for him, and made him above the rest a partner with him in the kingdom. Those calumnies he at first did not give credit to, partly because he loved him, and so did not give heed to what was said against him, and partly because he thought the reproaches were derived from the envy of the relaters. But when Antigonus was once returned from the army, and that feast was then at hand when they make tabernacles to [the honour of] God, it happened that Aristobulus was fallen sick, and that Antigonus went up most splendidly adorned, and with his soldiers about him in their armour, to the temple, to celebrate the feast, and to put up many prayers for the recovery of his brother, when some wicked persons, who had a great mind to raise a difference between the brethren, made use of this opportunity of the pompous appearance of Antigonus, and of the great actions which he had done, and went to the king, and spitefully aggravated the pompous shew of his at the feast, and pretended that all these circumstances were not like those of a private person ; that these actions were indications of an affection of royal authority ; and that his coming with a strong body of men must be with an intention to kill him ; and that his way of reasoning was this, that it was a silly thing in him ; while it was in his power to reign himself, to look upon it as a great favour that he was honoured with a lower dignity by his brother.

2. Aristobulus yielded to these imputations, but took care both that his brother should not suspect him, and that he himself might not run the hazard of his own safety ; so he ordered

his guards to lie in a certain place that was under ground, and dark (he himself then lying sick in the tower which was called Antonia), and he commanded them, that in case Antigonus came in to him unarmed, they should not touch any body, but if armed, they should kill him; yet did he send to Antigonus, and desired that he would come unarmed: But the queen, and those that joined with her in the plot against Antigonus, persuaded the messenger to tell him the direct contrary; now his brother had heard that he had made himself a fine suit of armour for war, and desired him to come to him in that armour, that he might see how fine it was. So Antigonus suspecting no treachery, but depending on the good-will of his brother, came to Aristobulus armed, as he used to be, with his entire armour, in order to shew it to him; but when he was come at a place which was called Strato's Tower, where the passage happened to be exceeding dark, the guards slew him; which death of his demonstrates that nothing is stronger than envy and calumny, and that nothing does more certainly divide the good-will and natural affections of men than those passions. But here one may take occasion to wonder at one Judas, who was of the sect of the Essens, and who never missed the truth in his predictions; for this man, when he saw Antigonus passing by the temple, cried out to his companions and friends, who abode with him as his * schollars, in order to learn the art of foretelling things to come, "That it was good for him to die now, since he had spoken falsely about Antigonus, who is still alive, and I see him passing by, although he had foretold he should die at the place called Strato's Tower, that very day, while yet the place is six hundred furlongs off, where he had foretold he should be slain; and still this day is a great part of it already past, so that he was in danger of proving a false prophet." As he was saying this, and that in a melancholy mood, the news came that Antigonus was slain in a place under ground, which itself was called also Strato's Tower, or of the same name with that Cesarea which is seated at the sea. This event put the prophet into a great disorder.

3. But Aristobulus repented immediately of this slaughter of his brother; on which account his disease increased upon him, and he was disturbed in his mind, upon the guilt of such wickedness, insomuch that his entrails were corrupted by his intolerable pain, and he vomited blood: At which time one of the servants that attended upon him, and was carrying his blood away, did, by divine providence, as I cannot but sup-

* Hence we learn, that the Essens pretended to have rules whereby men might foretel things to come, and that this Judas the Essen, taught those rules to his schollars: but whether their pretences were of an astrological or magical nature, which yet in such religious Jews, who were utterly forbidden such arts, is no way probable, or to any Bath Col, spoken of by the latter Rabbins, or otherwise, I cannot tell. See of the War, B. II. ch. viii. § 12. vol. III.

pose, slip down, and shed part of his blood at the very place where there were spots of Antigonus's blood there slain, still remaining ; and when there was a cry made by the spectators, as if the servant had on purpose shed the blood on that place, Aristobulus heard it, and enquired what the matter was ? And as they did not answer him he was the more earnest to know what it was, it being natural to men to suspect that what is thus concealed, is very bad : So upon his threatening, and forcing them by terrors to speak, they at length told him the truth ; whereupon he shed many tears, in that disorder of mind which arose from his consciousness of what he had done, and gave a deep groan, and said, " I am not therefore, I perceive, to be concealed from God, in the impious and horrid crimes I have been guilty of, but a sudden punishment is coming upon me for the shedding the blood of my relations. And now, O thou most impudent body of mine, how long wilt thou retain a soul that ought to die, in order to appease the ghosts of my brother and my mother ? Why dost thou not give it all up at once ? And why do I deliver up my blood drop by drop to those whom I have so wickedly murdered ?" In saying which last words, he died, having reigned a year. He was called a lover of the Grecians ; and had conferred many benefits on his own country, and made war against Iturea, and added a great part of it to Judea, and compelled the inhabitants, if they would continue in that country, to be circumcised, and to live according to the Jewish laws. He was naturally a man of candour, and of great modesty, as Strabo bears witness, in the name of Timagenes ; who says thus : " This man was a person of candour, and very serviceable to the Jews, for he added a country to them, and obtained a part of the nation of the Itureans for them, and bound them to them by the bond of the circumcision of their genitals."

C H A P. XII.

How Alexander, when he had taken the Government, made an Expedition against Ptolemæis, and then raised the Siege out of fear of Ptolemy Lathyrus ; and how Ptolemy made War against him, because he had sent to Cleopatra to persuade her to make War against Ptolemy, and yet pretended to be in Friendship with him, when he beat the Jews in the Battle.

§ 1. **W**HEN Aristobulus was dead, his wife Salome, who, by the Greeks, was called Alexandra, let his brethren out of prison (for Aristobulus had kept them in bonds, as we have said already,) and made Alexander Janneus king, who was the superior in age, and in moderation. This child happened to be hated by his father as soon as he was born, and could never be permitted to come into his father's sight till he

died. The occasion of which hatred is thus reported : When Hyrcanus chiefly loved the two eldest of his sons, Antigonus and Aristobulus, God appeared to him in his sleep, of whom he enquired, which of his sons should be his successor ? Upon God's representing to him the countenance of Alexander, he was grieved that he was to be the heir of all his goods, and suffered him to be brought up in * Galilee. However, God did not deceive Hyrcanus, for after the death of Aristobulus, he certainly took the kingdom ; and one of his brethren, who affected the kingdom, he slew, and the other, who chose to live a private and quiet life, he had in esteem.

2. When Alexander Janneus had settled the government in the manner that he judged best, he made an expedition against Ptolemais ; and having overcome the men in battle, he shut them up in the city, and sat round about it, and besieged it ; for of the maritime cities there remained only Ptolemais and Gaza to be conquered, besides Strato's Tower, and Dora, which were held by the tyrant Zoilus. Now while Antiochus Philometor and Antiochus, who was called Cyzicenus, were making war one against another, and destroying one another's armies, the people of Ptolemais could have no assistance from them ; but when they were distressed with this siege, Zoilus, who possessed Strato's Tower and Dora, and maintained a legion of soldiers, and on occasion of the contest between the kings, affected tyranny himself, came and brought some small assistance to the people of Ptolemais ; nor indeed had the kings such a friendship for them, as that they should hope for any advantage from them. Both those kings were in the case of wrestlers, who finding themselves deficient in strength, and yet being ashamed to yield, put off the fight by laziness, and by lying still as long as they can. The only hope they had remaining was from the kings of Egypt, and from Ptolemy Lathyrus, who now held Cyprus, and who came to Cyprus when he was driven from the government of Egypt by Cleopatra his mother : So the people of Ptolemais sent to this Ptolemy Lathyrus, and desired him to come as a confederate, to deliver them, now they were in such danger, out of the hands of Alexander. And as the ambassadors gave him hopes, that if he would pass over into Syria, he would have the people of Gaza on the side of those of Ptolemais ; as also they said, that Zoilus, and besides these the Sidonians, and many others, would assist them, so he was elevated at this, and got his fleet ready as soon as possible.

3. But in this interval Demenetus, one that was of abilities to persuade men to do as he would have them, and a leader of

* The reason why Hyrcanus suffered not this son of his whom he did not love to come into Judea, but ordered him to be brought up in Galilee, is suggested by Dr. Hudson, that Galilee was not esteemed so happy and well cultivated a country as Judea, Matt. xxvi. 73. Job. vii. 52 Aët. ii. 7. although another obvious reason occurs also, that he was farther out of his sight in Galilee than he would have been in Judea.

the populace, made those of Ptolemais change their opinions ; and said to them, That “ it was better to run the hazard of being subject to the Jews, than to admit of evident slavery by delivering themselves up to a master ; and besides that, to have not only a war at present, but to expect a much greater war from Egypt, for that Cleopatra would not overlook an army raised by Ptolemy for himself out of the neighbourhood, but would come against them with a great army of her own, and this because she was labouring to eject her son out of Cyprus also ; that as for Ptolemy, if he fail of his hopes, he can still retire to Cyprus, but that they will be left in the greatest danger possible.” Now Ptolemy, although he had heard of the change that was made in the people of Ptolemais, yet did he still go on with his voyage, and came to the country called Sycamine, and there set his army on shore. This army of his in the whole, horse and foot together, were about thirty thousand, with which he marched near to Ptolemais, and there pitched his camp : But when the people of Ptolemais neither received his ambassadors, nor would hear what they had to say, he was under a very great concern.

4. But when Zoilus and the people of Gaza came to him, and desired his assistance, because their country was laid waste by the Jews, and by Alexander, Alexander raised the siege for fear of Ptolemy : And when he had drawn off his army into his own country, he used a stratagem afterwards, by privately inviting Cleopatra to come against Ptolemy, but publicly pretending to desire a league of friendship and mutual assistance with him ; and promising to give him four hundred talents of silver, he desired that, by way of requital, he would take off Zoilus the tyrant, and give his country to the Jews. And then indeed Ptolemy with pleasure, made such a league of friendship with Alexander, and subdued Zoilus : But when he afterward heard that he had privily sent to Cleopatra his mother, he broke the league with him, which yet he had confirmed with an oath, and fell upon him, and besieged Ptolemais, because it would not receive him. However, leaving his generals with some part of his forces, to go on with the siege, he went himself immediately with the rest to lay Judea waste ; and when Alexander understood this to be Ptolemy's intention, he also got together about fifty thousand soldiers out of his own country ; nay, * as some writers have said, eighty thousand. He then took his army, and went to meet Ptolemy ; but Ptolemy fell upon Asochis, a city of Galilee, and took it by force on the

* From these, and other occasional expressions, dropped by Josephus, we may learn, that where the sacred books of the Jews were deficient, he had several other histories then extant, but now most of them lost, which he faithfully followed in his own history : Nor indeed have we any other records of those times, relating to Judea, that can be compared to these accounts of Josephus, though when we do meet with authentic fragments of such original records, they almost always confirm his history.

Sabbath-day, and there he took about ten thousand slaves, and a great deal of other prey.

5. He then tried to take Sepphoris, which was a city not far from that which was destroyed, but lost many of his men; yet did he then go to fight with Alexander, which Alexander met him at the river Jordan, near a certain place called *Saphoth*, [not far from the river Jordan,] and pitched his camp near to the enemy. He had however eight thousand in the first rank which he stiled *Hecatontomachi*, having shields of brass. Those in the first rank of Ptolemy's soldiers, also had shields covered with brass: But Ptolemy's soldiers, in other respects were inferior to those of Alexander, and therefore were more fearful of running hazards; but Philostephanus, the camp-master, put great courage into them, and ordered them to pass the river, which was between their camps: Nor did Alexander think fit to hinder their passage over it for he thought, that if the enemy had once gotten the river on their back, that he should the easier take them prisoners, when they could not flee out of the battle: In the beginning of which, the acts on both sides with their hands, and with their alacrity, were alike, and a great slaughter was made by both the armies, but Alexander was superior, till Philostephanus opportunely brought up the auxiliaries to help those that were giving way; but as there were no auxiliaries to afford help to that part of the Jews that gave way, it fell out that they fled, and those near them did not assist them, but fled along with them. However, Ptolemy's soldiers acted quite otherwise; for they followed the Jews, and killed them, till at length those that slew them pursued after them, when they had made them all run away, and slew them so long, that their weapons of iron were blunted, and their hands quite tired with the slaughter; for the report was, that thirty thousand men were then slain. Timagenes says they were fifty thousand. As for the rest, they were part of them taken captives, and the other part ran away to their own country.

6. After this victory, Ptolemy over-ran all the country; and when night came on he abode in certain villages of Judea, which when he found full of women and children, he commanded his soldiers to strangle them, and to cut them in pieces, and then to cast them into boiling caldrons. and then to devour their limbs as sacrifices. This commandment was given, that such as fled from the battle, and came to them, might suppose their enemies were cannibals, and eat men's flesh, and might on that account be still more terrified at them upon such a sight. And both Strabo and Nicholas [of Damascus] affirm, that they used these people after this manner, as I have already related. Ptolemy also took Ptolemais by force, as we have declared elsewhere.

C H A P. XIII.

How Alexander, upon the league of mutual defence which Cleopatra had agreed with him, made an Expedition against Celsyria, and utterly overthrew the City of Gaza; and how he slew many ten thousands of Jews that rebelled against him: Also concerning Antiochus Grypus, Seleucus, Antiochus Cyzicenus, and Antiochus Pius, and others.

§ 1. **W**HEN Cleopatra saw that her son was grown great, and laid Judea waste, without disturbance, and had gotten the city of Gaza under his power, she resolved no longer to overlook what he did, when he was almost at her gates; and she concluded, that now he was so much stronger than before, he would be very desirous of the dominion over the Egyptians, but she immediately marched against him with a fleet at sea, and an army of foot on land, and made Chelcias and Ananias the Jews, generals of her whole army. while she sent the greatest part of her riches, her grand-children, and her testament, to the people of * Cos. Cleopatra also ordered her son Alexander to sail with a great fleet to Phenicia; and when that country had revolted, she came to Ptolemais; and because the people of Ptolemais did not receive her, she besieged the city; but Ptolemy went out of Syria, and made haste unto Egypt, supposing that he should find it destitute of an army, and soon take it, though he failed of his hopes. At this time Chelcias, one of Cleopatra's generals, happened to die in Celsyria, as he was in pursuit of Ptolemy.

2. When Cleopatra heard of her son's attempt, and that his Egyptian expedition did not succeed according to his expectations, she sent thither part of her army, and drove him out of that country; so when he was returned out of Egypt again, he abode during the winter at Gaza, in which time Cleopatra took the garrison that was in Ptolemais by siege, as well as the city: And when Alexander came to her, he gave her presents, and such marks of respect as were but proper, since under the miseries he endured by Ptolemy, he had no other refuge but her. Now there were some of her friends who persuaded her to seize Alexander, and to overrun and take possession of the country, and not to sit still and see such a multitude of brave Jews subject to one man. But Ananias's counsel was contrary to theirs who said, that "she would do an unjust action if she deprived a man that was her ally of that authority which

* This city or island Cos, is not that remote island in the Egean sea, famous for the birth of the great Hyppocrates, but a city or island of the same name adjoining to Egypt, mentioned both by Stephanus and Ptolemy, as Dr. Hudson informs us. Of which Cos, and the treasures there laid up by Cleopatra and the Jews, see Antq. B. XIV. ch. vii. § 2.

belonged to him, and this a man who is related to us; for, said he, I would not have thee ignorant of this, that what injustice thou dost to him will make all us that are Jews to be thy enemies." This desire of Ananias's Cleopatra complied with, and did no injury to Alexander, but made a league of mutual assistance with him at Scythopolis, a city of Celestria.

3. So when Alexander was delivered from the fear he was in of Ptolemy, he presently made an expedition against Celestria. He also took Gadara after a siege of ten months. He took also Amathus, a very strong fortress belonging to the inhabitants above Jordan, where Theodorus the son of Zeno, had his chief treasure, and what he esteemed most precious. This Zeno fell unexpectedly upon the Jews, and slew ten thousand of them, and seized upon Alexander's baggage: Yet did not this misfortune terrify Alexander, but he made an expedition upon the maritime parts of the country, Raphia and Anthedon, (the name of which king Herod afterwards changed to Agrippias,) and took even that by force; but when Alexander saw that Ptolemy was retired from Gazato Cyprus, and his mother Cleopatra was returned to Egypt, he grew angry at the people of Gaza, because they had invited Ptolemy to assist them, and besieged their city, and ravaged their country. But as Apollodotus, the general of the army of Gaza, fell upon the camp of the Jews by night, with two thousand foreign, and ten thousand of his own forces, while the night lasted, those of Gaza prevailed, because the enemy was made to believe that it was Ptolemy who attacked them; but when day was come on, and that mistake was corrected, and the Jews knew the truth of the matter, they came back again and fell upon those of Gaza, and slew of them about a thousand: But as those of Gaza stoutly resisted them, and would not yield for either their want of any thing, nor for the great multitude that were slain, for they would rather suffer any hardship whatever, than come under the power of their enemies, Aretas, king of the Arabians, a person then very illustrious, encouraged them to go on with alacrity, and promised them that he would come to their assistance; but it happened, that before he came, Apollodotus was slain, for his brother Lyfimachus envying him for the great reputation he had gained among the citizens, slew him, and got the army together, and delivered up the city to Alexander, who, when he came in at first, lay quiet, but afterward set his army upon the inhabitants of Gaza, and gave them leave to punish them; so some went one way, and some went another, and slew the inhabitants of Gaza; yet were not they of cowardly hearts; but opposed those that came to slay them, and slew as many of the Jews; and some of them, when they saw themselves deserted, burnt their own houses, that the enemy might get none of their spoils; nay some of them with their own hands slew their children and their wives, having no other way but this of avoiding slavery for

them ; but the senators, who were in all five hundred, fled to Apollo's temple (for this attack happened to be made as they were sitting) whom Alexander slew ; and when he had utterly overthrown their city, he returned to Jerusalem, having spent a year in that siege.

4. About this very time * Antiochus, who was called Grypus died. His death was caused by Heracleon's treachery, when he had lived forty-five years, and had reigned † twenty-nine. His son Seleucus succeeded him in the kingdom ; and made war with Antiochus, his father's brother, who was called Antiochus Cyzicenus, and beat him and took him prisoner, and slew him. But after a while ‡ Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, who was called Pius, came to Aradus, and put the diadem on his own head ; and made war with Seleucus, and beat him and drove him out of all Syria. But when he fled out of Syria, he came to Mopsuestia again, and levied money upon them ; but the people of Mopsuestia had indignation at what he did, and burnt down his palace, and slew him, together with his friends. But when Antiochus the son of Cyzicenus, was king of Syria, || Antiochus the brother of Seleucus, made war upon him and was overcome, and destroyed, he and his army. After him, his brother Philip put on the diadem, and reigned over some part of Syria ; but Ptolemy Lathyrus sent for his fourth brother Demetrius, who was called Eucerus, from Cnidus, and made him king of Damascus. Both these brothers did Antiochus vehemently oppose, but presently died ; for when he was come as an auxiliary to Laodice ¶ queen of the Gileadites when she was making war against the Parthians, and he was fighting courageously he fell, while Demetrius and Philip governed Syria, as hath been elsewhere related.

5. As to Alexander, his own people were seditious against him ; for at a festival which was then celebrated, when he stood upon the altar, and was going to sacrifice, the nation

* This account of the death of Antiochus Grypus is confirmed by Appian, *Syriac*. p. 132. here cited by Spanheim.

† Porphyry says, that this Antiochus Grypus reigned but 26 years, as Dr. Hudson observes.

‡ The copies of Josephus, both Greek, and Latin, have here so grossly false a reading, *Antiochus* and *Antoninus*, or *Antonius Pius*, for *Antiochus Pius*, that the editors are forced to correct the text from the other historians, who all agree that this King's name was nothing more than *Antiochus Pius*.

|| These two brothers, Antiochus and Philippus, are called *twins* by Porphyry ; the fourth brother was King of Damascus : Both which are the observations of Spanheim.

¶ This Laodicea was a city of Gilead beyond Jordan. However, Porphyry says, that this Antiochus Pius did not die in this battle, but running away was drowned in the river Orontes. Appian says, that he was deprived of the kingdom of Syria by Tigraes ; but Porphyry makes this Laodice Queen of the Calamans : All which is noted by Spanheim. In such confusion of the later historians, we have no reason to prefer any of them before Josephus, who had original ones before him.

rose upon him, and pelted him with citrons, [which they then had in their hands, because, the law of the Jews required, that at the feast of tabernacles every one should have branches of the palm-tree and citron-tree; which thing we have elsewhere related. They also reviled him, as * derived from a captive, and so unworthy of his dignity, and of sacrificing. At this he was in a rage, and slew of them about six thousand. He also built a partition wall of wood round the altar, and the temple, as far as that partition within which it was only lawful for the priests to enter, and by this means he obstructed the multitude from coming at him. He also maintained foreigners of Pisidia and Cilicia, for as to the Syrians, he was at war with them, and so made no use of them. He also overcame the Arabians, such as the Moabites, and Gilead and made them bring tribute. Moreover, he demolished Amathus, while † Theodorus durst not fight with him; but as he had joined battle with Obedas, king of the Arabians, and fell into an ambush in the places that were rugged and difficult to be travelled over, he was thrown down into a deep valley, by the multitude of the camels at Gadara, a village of Gilead, and hardly escaped with his life. From thence he fled to Jerusalem, where, besides his other ill success, the nation insulted him, and he fought against them for six years, and slew no fewer than fifty thousand of them. And when he desired that they would desist from their ill will to him, they hated him so much the more, on account of what had already happened; and when he had asked them what he ought to do? they all cried out, that "he ought to kill himself." They also sent to Demetrius Eucerus, and desired him to make a league of mutual defence with them.

C H A P. XIV.

How Demetrius Eucerus overcame Alexander, and yet in a little time retired out of the Country for fear of the Jews: As also how Alexander slew many of the Jews, and thereby got clear of his troubles. Concerning the Death of Demetrius.

§ 1. **S**O Demetrius came with an army, and took those that invited him, and pitched his camp near the city Shechem; upon which Alexander, with his six thousand two hundred mercenaries, and about twenty thousand Jews, who were of his party, went against Demetrius who had three thousand horsemen, and forty thousand footmen. Now there were great

* This reproach upon Alexander, that he was sprung from a captive, seems only the repetition of the old Pharisaical calumny upon his father, chap. x. § 5.

† This Theodorus was the son of Zeno, and was in possession of Amathus, as we learn from § 3, foregoing.

endeavours used on both sides, Demetrius trying to bring off the mercenaries that were with Alexander, because they were Greeks, and Alexander trying to bring off the Jews that were with Demetrius. However, when neither of them could persuade them so to do, they came to a battle, and Demetrius was the conqueror in which all Alexander's mercenaries were killed, when they had given demonstration of their fidelity and courage. A great number of Demetrius's soldiers were slain also.

2. Now as Alexander fled to the mountains six thousand of the Jews hereupon came together, [from Demetrius] to him, out of pity at the change of his fortune : Upon which Demetrius was afraid, and retired out of the country ; after which the Jews fought against Alexander and being beaten, were slain in great numbers in the several battles which they had : And when he had shut up the most powerful of them in the city Bethome, he besieged them therein ; and when he had taken the city, and gotten the men into his power, he brought them to Jerusalem, and did one of the most barbarous actions in the world to them ; for as he was feasting with his concubines, in the sight of all the city, he ordered about eight hundred of them to be crucified, and while they were living, he ordered the throats of their children and wives to be cut before their eyes. This was indeed by way of revenge for the injuries they had done him ; which punishment yet was of an inhuman nature, though we suppose that he had been never so much distressed, as indeed he had been, by his wars with them, for he had by their means come to the last degree of hazard, both of his life and of his kingdom, while they were not satisfied by themselves only to fight against him, but introduced foreigners also for the same purpose ; nay, at length they reduced him to that degree of necessity, that he was forced to deliver back to the king of Arabia the land of Moab and Gilead, which he had subdued, and the places that were in them, that they might not join with them in the war against him as they had done ten thousand other things that tended to affront and reproach him. However, this barbarity seems to have been without any necessity, on which account he bare the name of a * Thracian among the Jews ; whereupon the soldiers that had fought against him being about eight thousand in number, ran away by night, and continued fugitives all the time that Alexander lived ; who being now freed from any further disturbance from them, reigned the rest of his time in the utmost tranquility.

3. But when Demetrius was departed out of Judea, he went to Berea, and besieged his brother Philip, having with him ten

* This name *Thracida*, which the Jews gave Alexander, must, by the coherence, denote as barbarous as a *Thracian*, or somewhat like it ; but what it properly signifies is not known.

thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen. However, Strato the tyrant of Berea, the confederate of Philip, called in Zizon, the ruler of the Arabian tribes, and Mithridates Sinax, the ruler of the Parthians, who coming with a great number of forces, and besieging Demetrius in his encampment, into which they had driven him with their arrows, they compelled those that were with him by thirst to deliver up themselves. So they took a great many spoils out of that country, and Demetrius himself, whom they sent to Mithridates, who was then king of Parthia, but as to those whom they took captives of the people of Antioch, they restored them to the Antiochians without any reward. Now Mithridates, the king of Parthia, had Demetrius in great honour, till Demetrius ended his life by sickness. So Philip, presently after the fight was over, came to Antioch, and took it, and reigned over Syria,

C H A P. XV.

How Antiochus, who was called Dionysus, and after him Aretas, made Expeditions into Judea; as also how Alexander took many cities, and then returned to Jerusalem, and after a sickness of three years died; and what counsel he gave to Alexandra.

§ I. **A**FTER this, Antiochus, who was called * Dionysus, and was Philip's brother, aspired to the dominion, and came to Damascus, and got the power into his hands, and there he reigned: But as he was making war against the Arabians, his brother Philip heard of it, and came to Damascus, where Milesius, who had been left governor of the citadel, and the Damascens themselves, delivered up the city to him; yet because Philip was become ungrateful to him, and had bestowed upon him nothing of that in hopes whereof he had received him into the city, but had a mind to have it believed that it was rather delivered up out of fear than by the kindness of Milesius, and because he had not rewarded him as he ought to have done, he became suspected by him, and so he was obliged to leave Damascus again; for Milesius caught him marching out into the Hippodrome, and shut him up in it, and kept Damascus for Antiochus [Eucerus,] who hearing how Philip's affairs stood, came back out of Arabia. He also came immediately, and made an expedition against Judea, with eight thousand armed footmen, and eight hundred horsemen. So Alexander, out of fear of his coming, dug a deep ditch, beginning at Chabarzaba, which is now called Antipa-

* Spanheim takes notice, that this Antiochus Dionysus [the brother of Philip, and of Demetrius Eucerus, and of two others] was the fifth son of Antiochus Grypus; and that he is styled on the coins, *Antiochus Epiphanes Dionysus*.

tris, to the sea of Joppa, on which part only his army could be brought against him. He also raised a wall, and erected wooden towers, and intermediate redoubts, for one hundred and fifty furlongs in length, and there expected the coming of Antiochus, but he soon burnt them all, and made his army pass by that way into Arabia. The Arabian king [Aretas] at first retreated, but afterward appeared on the sudden with ten thousand horsemen. Antiochus gave them the meeting, and fought desperately; and indeed when he had gotten the victory, and was bringing some auxiliaries to that part of his army that was in distress, he was slain. When Antiochus was fallen, his army fled to the village Cana, where the greatest part of them perished by famine.

2. After him * Aretas reigned over Celestria, being called to the government by those that held Damascus, by reason of the hatred they bare to Ptolemy Menneus. He also made thence an expedition against Judea, and beat Alexander in battle, near a place called Adida. yet did he, upon certain conditions agreed on between them, retire out of Judea.

3. But Alexander marched again to the city Dios. and took it; and then made an expedition against Essa, where was the best part of Zeno's treasures, and there he encompassed the place with three walls; and when he had taken the city by fighting, he marched to Golan and Seleucia: And when he had taken these cities, he, besides them, took that valley which is called the valley of Antiochus, as also the fortrels of Gamala. He also accused Demetrius, who was governor of those places, of many crimes, and turned him out: And after he had spent three years in this war he returned to his own country, when the Jews joyfully received him upon this his good success.

4. Now at this time the Jews were in possession of the following cities that had belonged to the Syrians, and Idumeans, and Phenicians: At the sea side, Strato's tower, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Ashdod, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, and Rhinocolura; in the middle of the country, near to Idumea, Adora, and Marissa; near the country of Samaria, mount Garmel, and mount Taber, Scythopolis, and Gadara; of the country of Gaulonites, Seleucia, and Gabala; in the country of Moab, Heshbon and Medaba, Lemba, and Oronas, Gelithon, Zara, the valley of the Cilices, and Pella; which last they utterly destroyed, because its † inhabitants would not bear to change their religious rites for those peculiar to

* This Aretas was the first king of the Arabians who took Damascus, and reigned there: Which name became afterwards common to such Arabian kings, both at Petra and at Damascus, as we learn from Josephus in many places, and from St. Paul, 2 Cor. xi. 32. See the note on Antiq. B. AVI ch. ix. § 4.

† We may here, and elsewhere, take notice, that whatever countries or cities the Asamoneans conquered from any of the neighbouring nations, or whatever countries or cities they gained from them, that had not belonged to them before, they, after

the Jews. The Jews also possessed others of the principal cities of Syria, which had been destroyed.

5. After this, king Alexander, although he fell into a distemper by hard drinking, and had a quartan ague, which held him three years, yet would not leave off going out with his army, till he was quite spent with the labours he had undergone, and died in the bounds of Ragaba, a fortress beyond Jordan. But when his Queen saw that he was ready to die, and had no longer any hopes of surviving, she came to him weeping, and lamenting, and bewailing herself, and her sons, on the desolate condition they should be left in : And said to him, " To whom dost thou thus leave me, and my children, who are destitute of all other supports, and this when thou knowest how much ill-will thy nation bears thee ?" But he gave her the following advice, " That she need but follow what he would suggest to her, in order to retain the kingdom securely, with her children, that she should conceal his death from the soldiers till she should have taken that place ; after this, she should go in triumph, as upon a victory, to Jerusalem, and put some of her authority into the hands of the Pharisees, for that they would commend her for the honour she had done them, and would reconcile the nation to her ; for he told her, they had authority among the Jews, both to do hurt to such as they hated, and to bring advantages to those to whom they were friendly disposed, for that they are then believed best of all by the multitude when they speak any severe thing against others, though it be only out of envy at them. And he said, that it was by their means that he had incurred the displeasure of the nation, whom indeed he had injured. Do thou, therefore, said he, when thou art come to Jerusalem, send for the leading men among them, and shew them my body, and with great appearance of sincerity, give them leave to use it as they themselves please, whether they will dishonour the dead body by refusing it burial, as having severely suffered by my means, or whether in their anger they will offer any other injury to that body. Promise them also, that thou wilt do nothing without them in the affairs of the kingdom. If thou dost but say this to them, I shall have the honour of a more glorious funeral from them than thou couldst have made for me : And when it is in their power to abuse my dead body, they will do it no injury at all, and thou wilt rule in safety *." So when he had

the days of Hyrcanus, compelled the inhabitants to leave their idolatry, and intirely to receive the law of Moses, as proselytes of justice, or else banished them into other lands. That excellent prince, John Hyrcanus, did it to the Idumeans, as I have noted on ch. ix. § 1 already, who lived then in the promised land, and this I suppose justly ; but by what right the rest did it, even to the countries or cities that were no part of that land, I do not at all know. This looks too like unjust persecution for religion.

* It seems by this dying advice of Alexander Janneus to his wife, that he had

given his wife this advice, he died, after he had reigned twenty-seven years, and lived fifty years within one.

CHAP. XVI.

How Alexandra, by gaining the good-will of the Pharisees, retained the Kingdom nine years, and then having done many Glorious actions died.

§ 1. **S**O Alexandra, when she had taken the fortrefs, acted as her husband had suggested to her, and spake to the Pharisees, and put all things into their power, both as to the dead body, and as to the affairs of the kingdom, and thereby pacified their anger against Alexander, and made them bear good-will and friendship to him; who then came among the multitude, and made speeches to them, and laid before them the actions of Alexander, and told them, that they had lost a righteous king; and by the commendation they gave him, they brought them to grieve, and to be in heaviness for him, so that he had a funeral more splendid than had any of the kings before him. Alexander left behind him two sons, Hyrcanus, and Aristobulus, but committed the kingdom to Alexandra. Now, as to these two sons, Hyrcanus was indeed unable to manage public affairs, and delighted rather in a quiet life; but the younger, Aristobulus, was an active and a bold man; and for this woman herself, Alexandra, she was loved by the multitude, because she seemed displeased at the offences her husband had been guilty of.

2. So she made Hyrcanus highpriest, because he was the elder, but much more because he cared not to meddle with politics,

himself pursued the measures of his father Hyrcanus, and taken part with the Sadducees, who kept close to the written law, against the Pharisees, who had introduced their own traditions, ch. xvi. § 2. and that he now saw a political necessity of submitting to the Pharisees, and their traditions hereafter, if his widow and family minded to retain their monarchical government or tyranny over the Jewish nation: Which sect yet, thus supported, were at last in great measure the ruin of the religion, government, and nation of the Jews, and brought them into so wicked a state, that the vengeance of God came upon them to their utter excision. Just thus did Caiaphas politically advise the Jewish sanhedrim, John xi. 50. *That it was expedient for them that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not*; and this in consequence of their own political supposal, ver. 48. *that If they let Jesus alone, with his miracles, all men would believe on him, and the Romans would come and take away both their place and nation*. Which political crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth brought down the vengeance of God upon them, and occasioned those very Romans, of whom they seemed so much afraid, that to prevent it they put him to death, actually to come and take away both their place and nation, within 38 years afterwards. I heartily wish the politicians of Christendom would consider these and the like examples, and no longer sacrifice all virtue and religion to their pernicious schemes of government, to the bringing down the judgments of God upon themselves, and the several nations intrusted to their care. But this is a digression: I wish it were an unseasonable one also. Josephus himself several times makes such digressions, and I here venture to follow him: See one of them at the conclusion of the very next chapter.

and permitted the Pharisees to do every thing ; to whom also she ordered the multitude to be obedient. She also restored again those practices which the Pharisees had introduced, according to the traditions of their forefathers, and which her father-in-law, Hyrcanus, had abrogated. So she had indeed the name of the Regent, but the Pharisees had the authority ; for it was they who restored such as had been banished, and set such as were prisoners at liberty, and, to say all at once, they differed in nothing from lords. However, the queen also took care of the affairs of the kingdom, and got together a great body of mercenary soldiers, and increased her own army to such a degree, that she became terrible to the neighbouring tyrants, and took hostages of them : And the country was entirely at peace, excepting the Pharisees ; for they disturbed the queen, and desired that she would kill those who persuaded Alexander to slay the eight hundred men ; after which they cut the throat of one of them, Diogenes : And after him they did the same to several, one after another, till the men that were the most potent came into the palace, and Aristobulus with them, for he seemed to be displeased at what was done, and it appeared openly, that if he had an opportunity, he would not permit his mother to go on so. “ These put the queen in mind what great dangers they had gone through, and great things they had done, whereby they had demonstrated the firmness of their fidelity to their master, insomuch that they had received the greatest marks of favour from him : And they begged of her, that she would not utterly blast their hopes, as it now happened, that when they had escaped the hazards that arose from their [open] enemies, they were to be cut off at home by their [private] enemies, like brute beasts, without any help whatsoever. They said also, that if their adversaries would be satisfied with those that had been slain already, they would take what had been done patiently, on account of their natural love to their governors ; but if they must expect the same for the future also, they implored of her a dismissal from her service ; for they could not bear to think of attempting any method for their deliverance without her, but would rather die willingly before the palace-gate, in case she would not forgive them. And that it was a great shame both for themselves, and for the queen, that when they were neglected by her, they should come under the lash of her husband’s enemies ; for that Aretas, the Arabian king, and the monarchs, would give any reward, if they could get such men as foreign auxiliaries, to whom their very names, before their voices be heard, may perhaps be terrible : But if they could not obtain this their second request, and if she had determined to prefer the Pharisees before them, they still insisted that she would place them every one in her fortresses ; for it some fatal demon hath a constant spite against Alexander’s house, they would be willing to bear their part, and to live in a private station there.”

3. As these men said thus, and called upon Alexander's ghost for commiseration of those already slain, and those in danger of it, all the bystanders brake out into tears : But Aristobulus chiefly made manifest what were his sentiments, and used many reproofful expressions to his mother [saying], "Nay indeed, the case is this, that they have been themselves the authors of their own calamities, who have permitted a woman who, against reason, was mad with ambition, to reign over them, when there were sons in the flower of their age fitter for it." So Alexandra, not knowing what to do with any decency, committed the fortresses to them all but Hyrcania and Alexandrium, and Macherus, where her principal treasures were. After a little while also, she sent her son Aristobulus with an army to Damascus against Ptolemy who was called Menneus, who was such a bad neighbour to the city ; but he did nothing considerable there, and so returned home.

4. About this time news was brought that Tigranes, the king of Armenia, had made an irruption into Syria with * five hundred thousand soldiers, and was coming against Judea. This news, as may well be supposed, terrified the queen and the nation. Accordingly they sent him many and very valuable presents, as also ambassadors, and that as he was besieging Ptolemais ; for Selene the queen, the same that was also called Cleopatra, ruled then over Syria, who had persuaded the inhabitants to exclude Tigranes. So the Jewish ambassadors interceded with him, and entreated him that he would determine nothing that was severe about their queen or nation. He commended them for the respects they paid him at so great a distance : And gave them good hopes of his favour. But as soon as Ptolemais was taken, news came to Tigranes, that Lucullus, in his pursuit of Mithridates, could not light upon him, who was fled into Iberia, but was laying waste Armenia, and besieging its cities. Now, when Tigranes knew this, he returned home.

5. After this, when the queen was fallen into a dangerous distemper, Aristobulus resolved to attempt the seizing of the government ; so he stole away secretly by night, with only one of his servants, and went to the fortresses, wherein his friends, that were such from the days of his father, were settled : For as he had been a great while displeased at his mother's conduct, so he was now much more afraid, lest, upon her death, their whole family should be under the power of the Pharisees, for he saw the inability of his brother, who was to succeed in the government : Nor was any one conscious of what he was doing but only his wife, whom he left at Jerusa-

* The number of 500,000 or even 300,000, as one Greek copy, with the Latin copies, have it, for Tigranes's army, that came out of Armenia into Syria and Judea, seems much too large. We have had already several such extravagant numbers in Josephus's present copies, which are not to be at all ascribed to him. Accordingly I incline to Dr. Hudson's emendation here, which supposes them but 40,000.

lem with their children. He first of all came to Agaba, where was Galestes, one of the potent men before mentioned, and was received by him. When it was day the queen perceived that Aristobulus was fled; and for some time she supposed that his departure was not in order to make any innovation, but when messengers came one after another, with the news that he had secured the first place, the second place, and all the places, for as soon as one had begun, they all submitted to his disposal, then it was that the queen and the nation were in the greatest disorder, for they were aware that it would not be long ere Aristobulus would be able to settle himself firmly in the government. What they were principally afraid of was this, that he would inflict punishment upon them for the mad treatment his house had had from them: So they resolved to take his wife and children into custody, and keep them in the * fortress that was over the temple. Now there was a mighty conflux of people that came to Aristobulus from all parts, in so much that he had a kind of royal attendants about him; for in a little more than fifteen days, he got twenty-two strong places, which gave him the opportunity of raising an army from Libanus and Trachonitis, and the monarchs; for men are easily led by the greater number, and easily submit to them. And besides this, that by affording him their assistance, when he could not expect it, they, as well as he, should have the advantages that would come by his being king, because they had been the occasion of his gaining the kingdom. Now the elders of the Jews, and Hyrcanus with them, went in unto the queen, and desired, "That she would give them her sentiments about the present posture of affairs, for that Aristobulus was in effect lord of almost all the kingdom, by possessing of so many strong holds, and that it was absurd for them to take any counsel by themselves, how ill soever she were, while she was alive, and that the danger would be upon them in no long time." But she "bid them do what they thought proper to be done: That they had many circumstances in their favour still remaining, a nation in good heart, an army, and money in their several treasuries, for that she had small concern about public affairs now, when the strength of her body already failed her."

6. Now a little while after she had said this to them, she died, when she had reigned nine years, and had in all lived seventy-three. A woman she was who shewed no signs of the weakness of her sex, for she was sagacious to the greatest degree in her ambition of governing; and demonstrated by her doings at once, that her mind was fit for action, and that sometimes men themselves shew the little understanding they have by the

* This fortress, castle, citadel, or tower, whither the wife and children of Aristobulus were now sent, and which overlooked the temple, could be no other than what Hyrcanus I. built, Antiq. B. XVIII. ch. iv. § 3. vol. II. and Herod the Great rebuilt, and called the *Tower of Antonia*, Antiq. B. XV. ch. xi. § 5.

frequent mistakes they make in point of government; for she always preferred the present to futurity, and preferred the power of an imperious dominion above all things, and in comparison of that had no regard to what was good, or what was right. However, she brought the affairs of her house to such an unfortunate condition, that she was the occasion of the taking away that authority from it, and that in no long time afterward, which she had obtained by a vast number of hazards and misfortunes, and this out of a desire of what does not belong to a woman, and all by a compliance in her sentiments with those that bare ill-will to their family, and by leaving the administration destitute of a proper support of great men; and indeed, her management during her administration, while she was alive, was such, as filled the palace after her death with calamities and disturbance. However, although this had been her way of governing, she preserved the nation in peace. And this is the conclusion of the affairs of Alexandra.

B O O K XIV.

Containing the interval of thirty-two years.

[From the Death of Queen ALEXANDRA to the Death of ANTIGONUS.]

C H A P. I.

The War between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus about the Kingdom; and how they made an agreement, that Aristobulus should be King, and Hyrcanus live a private life; as also how Hyrcanus a little afterward, was persuaded by Antipater to fly to Aretas.

1. **W**E have related the affairs of queen Alexandra, and her death in the foregoing book, and will now speak of what followed, and was connected with those histories; declaring before we proceed, that we have nothing so much at heart as this, that we may * omit no facts either through ignorance or laziness, for we are upon the history and explication of such things as the greatest part are unacquainted withal, because of their distance from our times; and we aim to do it with a proper beauty of stile, so far as that is derived from proper words harmonically disposed and from such ornaments of speech also as may contribute to the pleasure of our readers, that they may entertain the knowledge of what we write with some agreeable satisfaction and pleasure. But the principal scope that authors ought to aim at above all the rest, is to speak accurately, and to speak truly, for the satisfaction of those that are otherwise unacquainted with such transactions, and obliged to believe what these writers inform them of.

2. Hyrcanus then began his high priesthood on the third year of the hundred seventy-seventh olympiad, when Quintus Hortensius and Quintus Metellus, who was called Metellus of Crete, were consuls at Rome; when presently Aristobulus began to make war against him, and as it came to a battle with Hyrcanus at Jericho, many of his soldiers deserted him, and went over to his brother: Upon which Hyrcanus fled into the citadel, where Aristobulus's wife and children were imprisoned by their mother, as we have said already, and attacked and overcame those his adversaries that had fled thither,

* Reland takes notice here, very justly, how Josephus's declaration, that it was his great concern not only to write *an agreeable, an accurate, and a true history*, but also distinctly *not to omit any thing* [of consequence]. either through *ignorance*, or *laziness*, implies, that he could not, consistently with that resolution, omit the mention of [so famous a person as] *Jesus Christ*.

and lay within the walls of the temple. So when he had sent a message to his brother about agreeing the matters between them, he laid aside his enmity to him on these conditions, that Aristobulus should be king ; that he should live without intermeddling with public affairs, and quietly enjoy the estate he had acquired. When they had agreed upon these terms in the temple, and had confirmed the agreement with oaths, and the giving one another their right hands and embracing one another in the sight of the whole multitude, they departed, the one, Aristobulus, to the palace, and Hyrcanus as a private man to the former house of Aristobulus.

3. But there was a certain friend of Hyrcanus's, an Idumean, called Antipater, who was very rich, and in his nature an active and a seditious man ; who was at enmity with Aristobulus, and had differences with him on account of his goodwill to Hyrcanus. It is true that Nicolaus of Damascus says, that Antipater was of the stock of the principal Jews who came out of Babylon into Judea, but that assertion of his was to gratify Herod who was his son, and who, by certain revolutions of fortune, came afterward to be king of the Jews, whose history we shall give you in its proper place hereafter. However, this Antipater was at first called * Antipas, and that was his father's name also ; of whom they relate this, that king Alexander and his wife made him general of all Idumea, and that he made a league of friendship with those Arabians, and Gazites, and Ascalonites, that were of his own party, and had, by many and large presents, made them his fast friends. But now, this younger Antipater was suspicious of the power of Aristobulus, and was afraid of some mischief he might do him, because of his hatred to him, so he stirred up the most powerful of the Jews and talked against him to them privately ; and said, that " it was unjust to overlook the conduct of Aristobulus, who had gotten the government unrighteously, and ejected his brother out of it, who was the elder, and ought to retain what belonged to him by prerogative of his birth." And the same speeches he perpetually made to Hyrcanus ; and told him, that his own life would be in danger, unless he guarded himself, and got shut of Aristobulus ; for he said, that the friends of Aristobulus omitted no opportunity of advising him to kill him, as being then, and not before, sure to retain his principality. Hyrcanus gave no credit to these words of his, as being of a gentle disposition, and one that did not easily admit of calumnies against other men. This temper of his not disposing him to meddle with public affairs, and want of spirit occasioned him to appear to spectators to be degenerate and

* That the famous Antipater's or Antipas's father was also *Antipater* or *Antipas*, (which two may justly be esteemed one and the same name, the former with a Greek or Gentile, the latter with an Hebrew or Jewish termination,) Josephus here assures us, though Eusebius indeed says it was Herod.

unmanly ; while Aristobulus was of a contrary temper, an active man, and one of a great and generous soul.

4. Since therefore Antipater saw that Hyrcanus did not attend to what he said, he never ceased, day by day, to charge feigned crimes upon Aristobulus, and to calumniate him before him, as if he had a mind to kill him ; and so, by urging him perpetually he advised him, and persuaded him to fly to Aretas, the king of Arabia ; and promised, that if he would comply with his advice, he would also himself assist him, [and go with him]. When Hyrcanus heard this, he said, that it was for his advantage to fly away to Aretas. Now Arabia is a country that borders upon Judea. However, Hyrcanus sent Antipater first to the king of Arabia, in order to receive assurances from him, that when he should come in the manner of a suppliant to him, he will not deliver him up to his enemies. So Antipater having received such assurances, returned to Hyrcanus to Jerusalem. A while afterward he took Hyrcanus, and stole out of the city by night, and went a great journey, and came and brought him to the city called Petra, where the palace of Aretas was ; and as he was a very familiar friend of that king's, he persuaded him to bring back Hyrcanus, into Judea, and this persuasion he continued every day without any remission. He also proposed to make him presents on that account. At length he prevailed with Aretas in his suit. Moreover Hyrcanus promised him that when he had been brought thither, and had received his kingdom, he would restore that country, and those twelve cities which his father Alexander had taken from the Arabians, which were these, Medaba, Naballo, Libias, Tharabasa, Agala, Athone, Zoar, Orone, Marissa, Rudda, Lulsa, and Oruba.

CHAP. II.

How Aretas and Hyrcanus made an Expedition against Aristobulus, and besieged Jerusalem ; and how Scaurus, the Roman General, raised the siege. Concerning the Death of Onias.

§ I. **A**FTER these promises had been given to Aretas, he made an expedition against Aristobulus, with an army of fifty thousand horse and foot, and beat him in the battle. And when after that victory many went over to Hyrcanus as deserters, Aristobulus was left desolate, and fled to Jerusalem ; upon which the king of Arabia took all his army and made an assault upon the temple, and besieged Aristobulus therein, the people still supporting Hyrcanus, and assisting him in the siege, while none but the priests continued with Aristobulus. So Aretas united the forces of the Arabians and of the Jews together, and pressed on the siege vigorously. As this happened at the time when the feast of unleavened bread was celebrated,

which we call the passover, the principal men among the Jews left the country, and fled into Egypt. Now there was one, whose name was Onias, a righteous man he was, and beloved of God, who, in a certain drought, had prayed to God to put an end to the intense heat, and whose prayers God had heard, and had sent them rain. This man had hid himself, because he saw that this seditious would last a great while. However, they brought him to the Jewish camp, and desired, that as by his prayers he had once put an end to the drought, so he would in like manner make imprecations on Aristobulus and those of his faction. And when, upon his refusal, and the excuses that he made, he was still by the multitude compelled to speak, he stood up in the midst of them, and said, "O God, the king of the whole world! since those that stand now with me are thy people, and those that are besieged are also thy priests, I beseech thee that thou wilt neither hearken to the prayers of those against these, nor bring to effect what these pray against those." Whereupon such wicked Jews as stood about him, as soon as he had made this prayer, stoned him to death.

2. But God punished them immediately for this their barbarity, and took vengeance of them for the murder of Onias, in the manner following: While the priests and Aristobulus were besieged, it happened that the feast call the *Passover* was come, at which it is our custom to offer a great number of sacrifices to God; but those that were with Aristobulus wanted sacrifices, and desired that their countrymen without would furnish them with such sacrifices, and assured them they should have as much money for them as they should desire; and when they required them to pay a thousand drachmæ for each head of cattle, Aristobulus and the priests willingly undertook to pay for them accordingly and those within let down the money over the walls, and gave it them. But when the others had received it, they did not deliver the sacrifices, but arrived at that height of wickedness as to break the assurances they had given, and to be guilty of impiety towards God, by not furnishing those that wanted them with sacrifices. And when the priests found they had been cheated, and that the agreements they had made were violated, they prayed to God, that he would avenge them on their countrymen. Nor did he delay that their punishment, but sent a strong and vehement storm of wind that destroyed the fruits of the whole country, till a modious of wheat was then bought for eleven drachmæ.

3. In the mean time Pompey sent Scaurus into Syria, while he was himself in Armenia, and making war with Tigranes: But when Scaurus was come to Damascus, and found that Lollius and Metellus had newly taken the city, he came himself hastily into Judea. And when he was come thither, ambassadors came to him, both from Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, and both desired he would assist them. And when both of them promised to give him money, Aristobulus four hundred talents,

and Hyrcanus no less, he accepted of Aristobulus's promise, for he was rich and had a great soul, and desired to obtain nothing but what was moderate ; whereas the other was poor, and tenacious, and made incredible promises in hopes of greater advantages ; for it was not the same thing to take a city, that was exceeding strong and powerful, as it was to eject out of the country some fugitives, with a greater number of Nabateans, who were no very warlike people. He therefore made an agreement with Aristobulus, for the reasons before mentioned, and took his money, and raised the siege, and ordered Aretas to depart, or else he should be declared an enemy to the Romans. So Scaurus returned to Damascus again ; and Aristobulus, with a great army, made war with Aretas and Hyrcanus, and fought them at a place called *Papyron*, and beat them in the battle, and slew about six thousand of the enemy ; with whom fell Phalion also, the brother of Antipater

C H A P. III.

How Aristobulus and Hyrcanus came to Pompey, in order to argue who ought to have the Kingdom ; and how, upon the flight of Aristobulus to the Fortrefs Alexandrium, Pompey led his Army against him, and ordered him to deliver up the Fortresses whereof he was possessed.

§ I. A LITTLE afterward Pompey came to Damascus, and marched overy Celestia ; at which time there came ambassadors to him from all Syria, and Egypt, and out of Judea also, for Aristobulus had sent him a great present, which was a * golden vine, of the value of five hundred talents. Now Strabo of Cappadocia mentions this present in these words : “ There came also an embassage out of Egypt, and a crown of the value of four thousand pieces of gold ; and out of Judea there came another, whether you call it a vine or a garden : They called the thing TERPULE, *The delight*. However, we ourselves saw that present repositied at Rome, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, with this inscription, *The gift of Alexander the king of the Jews*. It was valued at five hundred

¹ * This golden vine or garden, seen by Strabo at Rome, has its inscription here, as if it were the gift of Alexander, the father of Aristobulus, and not of Aristobulus himself, to whom yet Josephus ascribes it ; and in order to prove the truth of that part of his history, introduces this testimony of Strabo's ; so that the ordinary copies seem to be here either erroneous or defective, and the original reading seems to have been either *Aristobulus*, instead of *Alexander*, with one Greek copy, or else *Aristobulus the son of Alexander*, with the Latin copies ; which last seems to me the most probable : For as to archbishop Usher's conjectures, that Alexander made it, and dedicated it to God in the temple, and that thence Aristobulus took it, and sent it to Pompey, they are both very improbable, and no way agreeable to Josephus, who would hardly have avoided the recording both these uncommon points of history, had he known any thing of them ; nor would either the Jewish nation, or even Pompey himself, then have relished such a flagrant instance of sacrilege.

talents ; and the report is, that Aristobulus, the governor of the Jews, sent ii."

2. In a little time afterward came ambassadors again to him, Antipater from Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus from Aristobulus ; which last also accused such as had taken bribes, first Gabinius, and then Scaurus, the one three hundred talents, and the other four hundred ; by which procedure he made these two his enemies, besides those he had before. And when Pompey had ordered those that had controversies one with another to come to him in the beginning of the spring, he brought his army out of their winter quarters, and marched into the country of Damascus ; and as he went along he demolished the citadel that was at Apamia, which Antiochus Cyzicenus had built, and took cognisance of the country of Ptolemy Menneus, a wicked man, and not less so than Dionisius of Tripoli, who had been beheaded who was also his relation by marriage ; yet did he buy off the punishment of his crimes for a thousand talents, with which money Pompey paid the soldiers their wages. He also conquered the place called *Lyfias*, of which Silas a Jew, was tyrant. And when he had passed over the cities of Heliopolis and Chalcis, and got over the mountain which is on the limit of Celestria, he came from Pella to Damascus ; and there it was that he heard the causes of the Jews, and of their governors Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were at difference one with another, as also of the nation against them both, which did not desire to be under kingly government, because the form of government they received from their forefathers was that of subjection to the priests of that god whom they worshipped, and [they complained,] that though these two were the posterity of priests, yet did they seek to change the government of their nation to another form, in order to enslave them. Hyrcanus complained, that although he were the elder brother, he was deprived of the prerogative of his birth by Aristobulus, and that he hath but a small part of the country under him, Aristobulus having taken away the rest from him by force. He also accused him, that the incursions which had been made into their neighbour's countries, and the piracies that had been at sea, were owing to him ; and that the nation would not have revolted, unless Aristobulus had been a man given to violence and disorder : And there were no fewer than a thousand Jews, of the best esteem among them who confirmed this accusation ; which confirmation was procured by Antipater. But Aristobulus alleged against him, that it was Hyrcanus's own temper, which was inactive, and on that account contemptible, which caused him to be deprived of the government ; and that for himself he was necessitated to take it upon him, for fear lest it should be transferred to others. And that as to his title [of king,] it was no other than what his father had taken [before him.] He also called for witnesses of what he said, some persons who were both young and insolent : Whose purple gar-

ments, fine heads of hair and other ornaments, were detested [by the court,] and which they appeared in, not as though they were to plead their cause in a court of justice, but as if they were marching in a pompous procession.

3. When Pompey had heard the causes of these two, and had condemned Aristobulus for his violent procedure, he then spake civilly to them, and sent them away; and told them, that when he came again into their country he would settle all their affairs, after he had first taken a view of the affairs of the Nabateans. In the mean time, he ordered them to be quiet; and treated Aristobulus civilly, lest he should make the nation revolt, and hinder his return: Which yet Aristobulus did; for without expecting any farther determination, which Pompey had promised them, he went to the city Delius, and thence marched into Judea.

4. At this behaviour Pompey was angry; and taking with him that army which he was leading against the Nabateans and the auxiliaries that came from Damascus, and the other parts of Syria, with the other Roman legions which he had with him, he made an expedition against Aristobulus: But as he passed by Pella, and Scythopolis, he came to Coreæ, which is the first entrance into Judea when one passes over the mid-land countries, where he came to a most beautiful fortress that was built on the top of a mountain called *Alexandrium*, whether Aristobulus had fled, and thence Pompey sent his commands to him, that he should come to him. Accordingly, at the persuasions of many, that he would not make war with the Romans, he came down: And when he had disputed with his brother about the right to the government, he went up again to the citadel, as Pompey gave him leave to do; and this he did two or three times, as flattering himself with the hopes of having the kingdom granted him; so that he still pretended he would obey Pompey in whatsoever he commanded, although at the same time he retired to his fortress, that he might not depress himself too low, and that he prepared for a war, in case it should prove as he feared, that Pompey would transfer the government to Hyrcanus. But when Pompey enjoined Aristobulus to deliver up the fortresses he held, and to send an injunction to their governors, under his own hand, for that purpose; for they had been forbidden to deliver them up upon any other commands, he submitted indeed to do so, but still he retired in displeasure to Jerusalem, and made preparation for war. A little after this, certain persons came out of Pontus, and informed Pompey, as he was on the way, and conducting his army against Aristobulus, that Mithridates was dead, and was slain by his son Pharnaces.

C H A P. IV.

How Pompey, when the Citizens of Jerusalem shut the Gates against him, besieged the City, and took it by force; as also what other things he did in Judea.

§ 1. **N**OW when Pompey had pitched his camp at Jericho (where the * palm-tree grows, and that balsam which is an ointment of all the most precious, which upon any incision made in the wood with a sharp stone, distills out thence like a juice,) he marched in the morning to Jerusalem. Hereupon Aristobulus repented of what he was doing, and came to Pompey, and [promised to] give him money, and received him into Jerusalem, and desired that he would leave off the war, and do what he pleased peaceably. So Pompey, upon his entreaty, forgave him, and sent Gabinius, and soldiers with him to receive the money and the city: Yet was no part of this performed but Gabinius came back, being both excluded out of the city, and receiving none of the money promised, because Aristobulus's soldiers would not permit the agreements to be executed. At this Pompey was very angry, and put Aristobulus into prison, and came himself to the city, which was strong on every side, excepting the north, which was not so well fortified, for there was † a broad and deep ditch that encompassed the city, and included within it the temple, which was itself encompassed about with a very strong stone wall.

2. Now there was a sedition of the men that were within the city, who did not agree what was to be done in their present circumstances, while some thought it best to deliver up the city to Pompey; but Aristobulus's party exhorted them to shut the gates, because he was kept in prison. Now these prevented the others, and seized upon the temple, and cut off the bridge which reached from it to the city, and prepared themselves to abide a

* These express testimonies of Josephus's here, and Antiq. B. VIII. ch. vi. § 6. vol. I. and B. XV. ch. iv. § 2. vol. II. that the only balsam gardens, and the best palm-trees, were, at least in his days, near Jericho and Engaddi, about the north part of the dead sea, (whereabout also Alexander the Great saw the balsam drop,) shew the mistake of those that understand Eusebius and Jerom, as if one of those gardens were at the south part of that sea, at Zoar or Segor, whereas they must either mean another Zoar or Segor, which was between Jericho and Engaddi, agreeably to Josephus, which yet they do not appear to do, or else they directly contradict Josephus, and were therein greatly mistaken; I mean this, unless that balsam, and the best palm-trees, grew much more southward in Judea in the days of Eusebius and Jerom than they did in the days of Josephus.

† The particular depth and breadth of this ditch, whence the stones for the wall about the temple were probably taken, are omitted in our copies of Josephus, but set down by Strabo, B. XVI. p. 763. from whom we learn, that this ditch was 60 feet deep, and 250 feet broad. However, its depth is, in the first section, said by Josephus to be *immense* which exactly agrees to Strabo's description, and which number in Strabo are a strong confirmation of the truth of Josephus's description also.

siege; but the others admitted Pompey's army in, and delivered up both the city and the king's palace to him. So Pompey sent his lieutenant Piso with an army, and placed garrisons both in the city and in the palace, to secure them, and fortified the houses that joined to the temple; and all those which were more distant, and without it. And in the first place, he offered terms of accommodation to those within; but when they would not comply with what was desired, he encompassed all the places there about with a wall, wherein Hyrcanus did gladly assist him on all occasions, but Pompey pitched his camp within [the wall,] on the north part of the temple, where it was most practicable; but even on that side there were great towers, and a ditch had been dug, and a deep valley begirt it round about, for on the parts towards the city were precipices, and the bridge on which Pompey had gotten in, was broken down; however, a bank was raised day by day, with a great deal of labour while the Romans cut down materials for it from the places round about: And when this bank was sufficiently raised, and the ditch filled up, though but poorly, by reason of its immense depth, he brought his mechanical engines and battering rams from Tyre, and placing them on the bank, he battered the temple with the stones that were thrown against it. And had it not been our practice, from the days of our forefathers, to rest on the seventh day, this bank could never have been perfected, by reason of the opposition the Jews would have made; for though our law gives us leave then to defend ourselves against those that begin to fight with us, and assault us, yet does it not permit us to meddle with our enemies while they do any thing else.

3. Which thing when the Romans understood, on those days which we call Sabbaths, they threw nothing at the Jews, nor came to any pitched battle with them, but raised up their earthen banks, and brought their engines into such forwardness, that they might do execution the next days. And any one may hence learn how very great piety we exercise towards God, and the observance of his laws, since the priests were not at all hindered from their sacred ministrations, by their fear during this siege, but did still twice a day, in the morning, and about the ninth hour, offer their sacrifices on the altar; nor did they omit those sacrifices, if any melancholy accident happened, by the stones that were thrown among them; for although the city were taken on * the third month, on the day of the fast, upon the hundred seventy-ninth olympiad, when Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero, were consuls, and the enemy then fell upon them, and cut the throats of those that were in the temple, yet could not those that offered the sacrifice be compelled to run away, neither by the fear

* That is, on the 23d of Sivan, the annual fast for the defection and idolatry of Jeroboam, who made Israel to sin; or possibly some other fast might fall into that month, before and in the days of Josephus.

they were in of their own lives, nor by the number that were already slain, as thinking it better to suffer whatever came upon them, at their very altars, than to omit any thing that their laws required of them. And that this is not a mere brag, or an encomium to manifest a degree of our piety that was false, but is the real truth, I appeal to those that have written of the acts of Pompey; and among them to Strabo and Nicolaus [of Damascus]; and besides these two, Titus Livius, the writer of the Roman history, who will bear witness to this thing*.

4. But when the battering engine was brought near, the greatest of the towers was shaken by it, and fell down, and brake down a part of the fortifications, so the enemy poured in apace; and Cornelius Fauftus, the son of Sylla, with his soldiers, first of all ascended the wall, and next to him Furius the centurion, with those that followed, on the other part, while Fabius, who was also a centurion, ascended it in the middle, with a great body of men after him. But now all was full of slaughter; some of the Jews being slain by the Romans, and some by one another; nay some there were who threw themselves down the precipices, or put fire to their houses, and burnt them, as not able to bear the miseries they were under. Of the Jews there fell twelve thousand, but of the Romans very few. Absalom, who was at once both uncle and father-in-law to Aristobulus, was taken captive. And no small enormities were committed about the temple itself, which, in former ages, had been inaccessible, and seen by none; for Pompey went into it, and not a few of those that were with him also, and saw all that which it was unlawful for any other men to see but only for the high-priests. There were in that temple the golden table, the holy candlestick, and the pouring vessels, and a great quantity of spices; and besides these, there were among the treasures two thousand talents of sacred money: Yet † did Pompey touch nothing of all this, on account of his regard to religion; and in this point also he acted in a manner that was worthy of his virtue. The next day he gave order to those that had the charge of the temple to cleanse it, and to bring what offerings the law required to

* It deserves here to be noted, that this Pharisaical superstitious notion, that offensive fighting was unlawful to Jews, even under the utmost necessity, on the Sabbath day; of which we hear nothing before the times of the Maccabees, was the proper occasion of Jerusalem's being taken by Pompey, Sosius, and by Titus, as appears from the places already quoted in the note on Antiq. B. XIII. ch. viii. § 1, which scrupulous superstition, as to the observation of such a rigorous rest upon the Sabbath-day, our Saviour always opposed, when the Pharisaical Jews insisted on it, as is evident in many places in the New Testament, though he still intimated how pernicious that superstition might prove to them in their flight from the Romans, Matt. xxv. 20.

† This is fully confirmed by the testimony of Cicero, who says, in his oration for Flaccus, That "Cneius Pompeius, when he was conqueror, and had taken Jerusalem, did not touch any thing belonging to that temple."

God ; and restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, both because he had been useful to him in other respects, and because he hindered the Jews in the country from giving Aristobulus any assistance in his war against him. He also cut off those that had been the authors of that war ; and bestowed proper rewards on Faustus, and those others that mounted the wall with such alacrity ; and he made Jerusalem tributary to the Romans ; and took away those cities of Celestria which the inhabitants of Judea had subdued, and put them under the government of the Roman president, and confined the whole nation, which had elevated itself so high before, within its own bounds. Moreover he * rebuilt Gadara, which had been demolished a little before, to gratify Demetrius of Gadara, who was his freed man, and restored the rest of the cities, Hippos, and Scythopolis, and Pella, and Dios, and Samaria, as also Marissa, and Ashdod, and Jamnia, and Arethusa, to their own inhabitants : These were in the inland parts. Besides those that had been demolished, and also of the maritime cities, Gaza and Joppa, and Dora, and Strato's Tower ; which last Herod rebuilt after a glorious manner, and adorned with havens, and temples, and changed its name to Cesarea. All these Pompey left in a state of freedom, and joined them to the province of Syria.

5. Now the occasions of this misery which came upon Jerusalem, were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, by raising a sedition one against the other ; for now we lost our liberty, and became subject to the Romans, and were deprived of that country which we had gained by our arms from the Syrians, and were compelled to restore it to the Syrians. Moreover, the Romans exacted of us, in a little time, above ten thousand talents. And the royal authority, which was a dignity formerly bestowed on those that were high-priests, by the right of their family, became the property of private men. But of these matters we shall treat in their proper places. Now Pompey committed Celestria, as far as the river Euphrates and Egypt, to Scaurus, with two Roman legions, and then went away to Cilicia, and made haste to Rome. He also carried bound along with him Aristobulus and his children ; for he had two daughters, and as many sons ; the one of which ran away, but the younger, Antigonus, was carried to Rome, together with his sisters.

* Of this destruction of Gadara here presupposed, and its restoration by Pompey, see the note on the War, B. I. ch. vii. § 7. vol. III.

of the same place, and the
city, but was a Roman
province, and a Roman
mens, which were the
However, Alexander
and armed many of his
thousand armed foot
foresaw Alexander's
near the mountains
on him having sent
ers, being. There
and, together with the
whole leaders were
with them, also then
Alexander, while
Herennus Alexander
upon the other hand
the Romans few that
took a like number
of the Romans. Ca
vied those that were
quels, and promising
forgiven, that after
their camp before
Marcus Antonius
and seemed to come

us left part of his army there, in order to take the place, and he himself went into other parts of Judea, and gave order to rebuild all the cities that he met with that had been demolished; at which time were rebuilt Samaria, Ashdod, Scythopolis, Anthedon, Raphia, and Dora; Marissa also, and Gaza, and not a few others besides. And as the men acted according to Gabinus's command, it came to pass, that at this time these cities were securely inhabited, which had been desolate for a long time.

4. When Gabinus had done thus in the country, he returned to Alexandrium; and when he urged on the siege of the place, Alexander sent an ambassage to him, desiring that he would pardon his former offences; he also delivered up the fortresses, Hyrcania, and Macherus; and at last Alexandrium itself, which fortresses Gabinus demolished. But when Alexander's mother, who was of the side of the Romans, as having her husband and other children at Rome, came to him, he granted her whatsoever she asked; and when he had settled matters with her, he brought Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and committed the care of the temple to him. And when he had ordained five councils, he distributed the same nation into the same number of parts: So these councils governed the people; the first was at Jerusalem, the second at Gadara, the third at Amathus, the fourth at Jericho and the fifth at Sepphoris, in Galilee. So the Jews were now freed from monarchic authority, and were governed by an * aristocracy.

C H A P. VI.

How Gabinus caught Aristobulus after he had fled from Rome, and sent him back to Rome again; and how the same Gabinus, as he returned out of Egypt, overcame Alexander and the Nabateans in Battle.

§ 1. **N**OW Aristobulus ran away from Rome to Judea, and set about the rebuilding of Alexandrium, which had been newly demolished: Hereupon Gabinus sent soldiers against him, and for their commanders Sisenna, and Antonius, and Servilius, in order to hinder him from getting possession of the country, and to take him again. And indeed many of the Jews ran to Aristobulus, on account of his former glory, as also because they should be glad of an innovation. Now, there was one Pitholaus, a lieutenant at Jerusalem, who deserted to him with a thousand men, although a great number of those that came to him were unarmed; and when Aristobulus

* Dean Prideaux well observes, "That notwithstanding the clamour against Gabinus at Rome, Josephus gives him a laudable character, as if he had acquitted himself with honour in the charge committed to him" [in Judea]. See at the year 53.

had resolved to go to Macherus, he dismissed those people, because they were unarmed, for they could not be useful to him in what actions they were going about, but he took with him eight thousand that were armed, and marched on : And as the Romans fell upon them severely, the Jews fought valiantly, but were beaten in the battle ; and when they had fought with alacrity, but were overborn by the enemy, they were put to flight ; of whom were slain about five thousand, and the rest being dispersed, tried, as well as they were able, to save themselves. However Aristobulus had with him still above a thousand, and with them he fled to Macherus, and fortified the place, and though he had had ill success, he still had good hope of his affairs : But when he had struggled against the siege for two days time, and had received many wounds, he was brought as a captive to Gabinius, with his son Antigonus, who also fled with him from Rome. And this was the fortune of Aristobulus, who was sent back again to Rome, and was there retained in bonds, having been both king and high-priest for three years and six months ; and was indeed an eminent person, and one of a great soul. However, the senate let his children go, upon Gabinius's writing to them, that he had promised their mother so much when she delivered up the fortresses to him ; and accordingly they then returned into Judea.

2. Now when Gabinius was making an expedition against the Parthians, and had already passed over Euphrates, he changed his mind, and resolved to return into Egypt, in order to * restore Ptolemy to his kingdom. This hath also been related elsewhere. However, Antipater supplied his army, which he sent against Archelaus, with corn and weapons, and money. He also made those Jews, who were above Pelusium, his friends and confederates, and had been the guardians of the passes that led into Egypt. But when he came back out of Egypt, he found Syria in disorder, with seditions and troubles ; for Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, having seized on the government a second time by force, made many of the Jews revolt to him, and so he marched over the country with a great army, and slew all the Romans he could light upon, and proceeded to besiege the mountain called Gerizzim, whither they had retreated.

3. But when Gabinius found Syria in such a state, he sent Antipater, who was a prudent man, to those that were seditious, to try whether he could cure them of their madness, and persuade them to return to a better mind ; and when he came to them, he brought many of them to a sound mind, and induced them to do what they ought to do, but he could not restrain Alexander, for he had an army of thirty thousand Jews, and

* This history is best illustrated by Dr. Hudson out of Livy, who says, That " A. Gabinius the præconsul, restored Ptolemy to his kingdom of Egypt, and ousted Archelaus, whom they had set up for King," &c. See Prid. at the years 64 and 65.

met Gabinus, and joining battle with him, was beaten and lost ten thousand of his men about mount Tabor.

4 So Gabinus settled the affairs which belonged to the city Jerusalem, as was agreeable to Antipater's inclination, and went against the Nabateans, and overcame them in battle. He also sent away in a friendly manner Mithridates and Orsanes, who were Parthian deserters, and came to him, though the report went abroad that they had run away from him. And when Gabinus had performed great and glorious actions, in his management of the affairs of war, he returned to Rome, and delivered the government to Crassus. Now, Nicolaus of Damascus, and Strabo of Cappadocia, both describe the expeditions of Pompey and Gabinus against the Jews, while neither of them say any thing new which is not in the other.

C H A P. VII.

How Crassus came into Judea, and pillaged the Temple; and then marched against the Parthians, and perished, with his Army. Also how Cassius obtained Syria; and put a stop to the Parthians, and then went up to Judea.

§ 1. **N**OW Crassus, as he was going upon his expedition against the Parthians, came into Judea, and carried off the money that was in the temple, which Pompey had left; being two thousand talents, and was disposed to spoil it of all the gold belonging to it, which was eight thousand talents. He also took a beam which was made of solid beaten gold, of the weight of three hundred minæ; each of which weighed two pounds and an half. It was the priest who was guardian of the sacred treasures, and whose name was *Eleazar*, that gave him this beam, not out of a wicked design, for he was a good and a righteous man, but being entrusted with the custody of the veils belonging to the temple, which were of admirable beauty, and of very costly workmanship, and hung down from this beam, when he saw that Crassus was busy in gathering money, and was in fear for the entire ornaments of the temple, he gave him this beam of gold, as a ransom for the whole, but this not till he had given his oath that he would remove nothing else out of the temple, but be satisfied with this only which he should give him, being worth many ten thousand [shekels]. Now this beam was contained in a wooden beam that was hollow, but was known to no others, but *Eleazar* alone knew it; yet did Crassus take away this beam, upon the condition of touching nothing else that belonged to the temple, and then brake his oath, and carried away all the gold that was in the temple.

2. And let no one wonder that there was so much wealth in our temple, since all the Jews throughout the habitable earth, and those that worshipped God, nay, even those of Asia and

Europe, sent their contributions to it, and this from very ancient times. Nor is the largeness of these sums without its attestation; nor is that greatness owing to our vanity, as raising it without ground to so great an height: But there are many witnesses to it, and particularly Strabo of Cappadocia, who says thus: "Mithridates sent to Cos, and took the money which queen Cleopatra had deposited there, as also eight hundred talents belonging to the Jews." Now, we have no public money but as only what appertains to God; and it is evident that the Asian Jews removed this money out of fear of Mithridates, for it is not probable that those of Judea, who had a strong city and temple, should send their money to Cos; nor is it likely that the Jews, who are inhabitants of Alexandria, should do so neither, since they were in no fear of Mithridates. And Strabo himself bears witness to the same thing in another place, that at the same time that Sylla passed over into Greece, in order to fight against Mithridates, he sent Lucullus to put an end to a sedition that our nation, of whom the habitable earth is full, had raised in Cyrene; where he speaks thus: "There were four classes of men among those of Cyrene, that of citizens, that of husbandmen, the third of strangers, and the fourth of Jews. Now these Jews are already gotten into all cities, and it is hard to find a place in the habitable earth that hath not admitted this tribe of men, and is not possessed by it: And it hath come to pass that Egypt and Cyrene, as having the same governors, and a great number of other nations, imitate their way of living, and maintain great bodies of these Jews in a peculiar manner, and grow up to greater prosperity with them, and make use of the same laws with that nation also. Accordingly the Jews have places assigned them in Egypt, wherein they inhabit, besides what is peculiarly allotted to this nation at Alexandria, which is a large part of that city. There is also an ethnarch allowed them, who governs the nation, and distributes justice to them, and takes care of their contracts, and of the laws to them belonging, as if he were the ruler of a free republic. In Egypt, therefore, this nation is powerful, because the Jews were originally Egyptians and because the land wherein they inhabit, since they went thence, is near to Egypt. They also removed into Cyrene, because that this land adjoined to the government of Egypt, as well as does Judea, or rather was formerly under the same government." And this is what Strabo says.

3. So when Crassus had settled all things as he himself pleased, he marched into Parthia, where both he himself and all his army perished, as hath been related elsewhere. But Cassius, as he fled from Rome to Syria, took possession of it, and was an impediment to the Parthians, who by reason of their victory over Crassus, made incursions upon it: And as he came back to Tyre he went up into Judea also, and fell upon Taricheæ, and presently took it, and carried about thirty thou-

and Jews captives ; and slew Pitholaus, who succeeded Aristobulus in his seditious practices, and that by the persuasion of Antipater, who proved to have great interest in him, and was at that time in great repute with the Idumeans also : Out of which nation he married a wife, who was the daughter of one of their eminent men, and her name was * *Cypros*, by whom he had four sons, Phasaël. and Herod, who was afterwards made king, and Joseph, and Pheroras ; and a daughter, named *Salome*. This Antipater cultivated also a friendship and mutual kindness with other potentates, but especially with the king of Arabia, to whom he committed his children, while he fought against Aristobulus. So Cassius removed his camp, and marched to Euphrates, to meet those that were coming to attack him, as hath been related by others.

4. But some time afterward Cæsar, when he had taken Rome, and after Pompey and the senate were fled beyond the Ionian sea, freed Aristobulus from his bonds, and resolved to send him into Syria, and delivered two legions to him, that he might see matters right, as being a potent man in that country : But Aristobulus had no enjoyment of what he hoped for from the power that was given him by Cæsar, for those of Pompey's party prevented it, and destroyed him by poison, and those of Cæsar's party buried him. His dead body also lay for a good while embalmed in honey, till Antony afterward sent it to Judea, and caused him to be buried in the royal sepulchre. But Scipio, upon Pompey's sending to him to slay Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, because the young man was accused of what offences he had been guilty of at first against the Romans, cut off his head ; and thus did he die at Antioch. But Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, who was the ruler of Chalcis, under mount Libanus, took his brethren to him, and sent his son Philippion to Askelon to Aristobulus's wife, and desired her to send back with him her son Antigonus, and her daughters : The one of which, whose name was *Alexandra*, Philippion fell in love with, and married her, though afterward his father Ptolemy slew him, and married Alexandra, and continued to take care of her brethren.

* Dr. Hudson observes, that the name of this wife of Antipater's in Josephus was *Cypras*, as an Hebrew termination, but not *Cypris* the Greek name for Venus, as some critics were ready to correct it.

C H A P. VIII.

The Jews become Confederates with Cesar when he fought against Egypt. The glorious Actions of Antipater, and his Friendship with Cesar. The Honours which the Jews received from the Romans and Athenians.

§ 1. **N**OW after Pompey was dead, and after that victory Cesar had gained over him, Antipater, who managed the Jewish affairs, became very useful to Cesar, when he made war against Egypt, and that by the order of Hyrcanus : For when Mithridatus of Pergamus was bringing his auxiliaries, and was not able to continue his march through Pelusium, but obliged to stay at Askelon, Antipater came to him, conducting three thousand of the Jews armed men : He had also taken care the principal men of the Arabians should come to his assistance ; and on his account it was that all the Syrians assisted him also, as not willing to appear behind hand in their alacrity for Cesar, viz. Jamblicus the ruler, and Ptolemy his son, and Tholomy the son of Sohemus, who dwelt at mount Libanus, and almost all the cities. So Mithridates marched out of Syria, and came to Pelusium ; and when its inhabitants would not admit him he besieged the city. Now Antipater signalized himself here, and was the first who plucked down a part of the wall, and so opened a way to the rest, whereby they might enter the city, and by this means Pelusium was taken : But it happened that the Egyptian Jews, who dwelt in the country called Onion, would not let Antipater and Mithridates, with their soldiers, pass to Cesar, but Antipater persuaded them to come over to their party, because he was of the same people with them, and that chiefly by shewing them the epistles of Hyrcanus the high priest, wherein he exhorted them to cultivate friendship with Cesar, and to supply his army with money, and all sorts of provisions which they wanted : And accordingly when they saw Antipater and the high priest of the same sentiments, they did as they were desired. And when the Jews about Memphis heard that these Jews were come over to Cesar, they also invited Mithridates, to come to them ; so he came and received them also into his army.

2. And when Mithridates, had gone over all Delta, as the place is called, he came to a pitched battle with the enemy, near the place called the Jewish Camp. Now Mithridates had the right wing, and Antipater the left ; and when it came to a fight, that wing where Mithridates was gave way, and was likely to suffer extremely, unless Antipater had come running to him with his own soldiers along the shore, when he had already beaten the enemy that opposed him : So he delivered Mithridates, and put those Egyptians who had been too hard

for him, to flight. He also took their camp and continued in the pursuit of them. He also recalled Mithridates, who had been worsted, and was retired a great way off; of whose soldiers eight hundred tell, but of Antipater's fifty. So Mithridates sent an account of this battle to Cesar, and openly declared, that Antipater was the author of this victory, and of his own preservation, insomuch that Cesar commended Antipater then, and made use of him all the rest of that war in the most hazardous undertakings: He happened also to be wounded in one of those engagements.

3. However, when Cesar, after some time, had finished that war, and was sailed away from Syria, he honoured Antipater greatly, and confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood; and bestowed on Antipater the privileges of a citizen of Rome, and a freedom from taxes every where: And it is reported by many, that Hyrcanus went along with Antipater in this expedition, and came himself into Egypt. And Strabo of Cappadocia bears witness to this, when he says thus, in the name of Asinius: "After Mithridates had invaded Egypt, and with him Hyrcanus the high priest of the Jews." Nay, the same Strabo says thus again, in another place, in the name of Hypsicrates, that "Mithridates at first went out alone, but that Antipater, who had the care of the Jewish affairs, was called by him to Askelon, and that he had gotten ready three thousand soldiers to go along with him, and encouraged other governors of the country to go along with him also; and that Hyrcanus the high priest, was also present in this expedition." This is what Strabo says.

4. But Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came at this time to Cesar, and lamented his father's fate; and complained, that it was by Antipater's means that Aristobulus was taken off by poison, and his brother was beheaded by Scipio, and desired that he would take pity of him who had been ejected out of that principality which was due to him." He also accused Hyrcanus and Antipater as governing the nation by violence, and offering injuries to himself. Antipater was present and made his defence as to the accusations that were laid against him. He demonstrated, that "Antigonus and his party were given to innovation, and were seditious persons. He also put Cesar in mind what difficult services he had undergone when he assisted him in his wars, and discoursed about what he was a witness of himself. He added that Aristobulus was justly carried away to Rome, as one that was an enemy to the Romans, and could never be brought to be a friend to them, and that his brother had no more than he deserved from Scipio, as being seized in committing robberies; and that this punishment was not inflicted on him in a way of violence or injustice by him that did it."

5. When Antipater had made this speech, Cesar appointed Hyrcanus to be high priest; and gave Antipater what princi-

pality he himself should choose, leaving the determination to himself : So he made him procurator of Judea. He also gave Hyrcanus leave to raise up the walls of his own city, upon his asking that favour of him, for they had been demolished by Pompey. And this grant he sent to the consuls to Rome, to be engraven in the capitol. The * decree of the senate was this that follows : “ Lucius Valerius, the son of Lucius the pretor, referred this to the senate, upon the ides of December, in the temple of Concord. There were present at the writing of this decree Lucius Coponius, the son of Lucius of the Colline tribe, and Papirius of the Quirine tribe, concerning the affairs which Alexander the son of Jason, and Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Alexander the son of Dositheus, ambassadors of the Jews, good and worthy men, proposed, who came to renew that league of good-will and friendship with the Romans which was in being before. They also brought a shield of gold, as a mark of confederacy, valued at fifty thousand pieces of gold ; and desired that letters might be given them, directed both to the free cities and to the kings, that their country and their havens might be at peace, and that no one among them might receive any injury. It therefore pleased [the senate] to make a league of friendship and good-will with them, and to bestow on them whatsoever they stood in need of, and to accept of the shield which was brought by them. This was done in the ninth year of Hyrcanus the high-priest and ethnarch, in the month Panemus.” Hyrcanus also received honours from the people of Athens, as having been useful to them on many occasions. And when they wrote to him, they sent him this decree, as it here follows : “ Under the prutaneia and priesthood of Dionysius, the son of Esculapius, on the fifth day of the latter part of the month Panemus, this decree of the Athenians was given to their commanders, when Agathocles was archon, and Eucles, the son of Menander of Alimusia, was the scribe. In the month Munychion, on the eleventh day of the Prutaneia, a council of the presidents was held in the theatre. Dorotheus the high-priest, and the fellow presidents with him, put it to the vote of the people. Dionysius, the son of Dionysius, gave the sentence : Since Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high-priest and ethnarch of the Jews, continues to bear good-will to our people in general,

* Take Dr. Hudson's note upon this place, which I suppose to be the truth : “ Here is some mistake in Josephus : For when he had promised us a decree for the restoration of Jerusalem, he brings in a decree of far greater antiquity, and that a league of friendship and union only. . One may easily believe that Josephus gave order for one thing, and his amanuensis performed another, by transposing decrees that concerned the Hyrcani, and as deluded by the sameness of their names ; for that belongs to the *first* high priest of this name, [John Hyrcanus.] which Josephus here ascribes to one that lived *later*, [Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander Janneus.] However, the decrees which he proposes to set down follows a little lower, in the collection of Roman decrees, that concerned the Jews, and is that dated when Cæsar was consul the fifth time.” See chap. x. § 5.

and to every one of our citizens in particular, and treat them with all sorts of kindness ; and when any of the Athenians come to him, either as ambassadors, or on any occasion of their own, he receives them in an obliging manner, and sees that they are conducted back in safety, of which we have had several former testimonies, it is now also decreed, at the report of Theodosius, the son of Theodorus, and upon his putting the people in mind of the virtue of this man and that his purpose is to do us all the good that is in his power, to honour him with a crown of gold, the usual reward according to the law, and to erect his statue in brass in the temple of Demus, and of the graces ; and that this present of a crown shall be proclaimed publicly in the theatre, in the Dionysian shews, while the new tragedies are acting ; and in the Panathenean and Eleusinian, and Gymnical shews also ; and that the commanders shall take care, while he continues in his friendship, and preserves his good-will to us, to return all possible honour and favour to the man for his affection and generosity ; that by this treatment it may appear how our people receive the good kindly, and repay them a suitable reward ; and he may be induced to proceed in his affection towards us, by the honours we have already paid him. That ambassadors be also chosen out of all the Athenians, who shall carry this decree to him, and desire him to accept of the honours we do him, and to endeavour always to be doing some good to our city." And this shall suffice us to have spoken as to the honours that were paid by the Romans and the people of Athens, to Hyrcanus.

C H A P. IX.

How Antipater committed the care of Galilee to Herod, and that of Jerusalem to Phasaelus : As also, how Herod, upon the Jews envy at Antipater, was accused before Hyrcanus.

§ 1. **N**OW when Cæsar had settled the affairs of Syria, he sailed away : And as soon as Antipater had conducted Cæsar out of Syria, he returned to Judea. He then immediately raised up the wall which had been thrown down by Pompey ; and, by coming thither, he pacified that tumult which had been in the country, and this by both threatening and advising them to be quiet : For that, " If they would be of Hyrcanus's side, they would live happily, and lead their lives without disturbance, in the enjoyment of their own possessions ; but if they were addicted to the hopes of what might come by innovation, and aimed to get wealth thereby they, should have him a severe master, instead of a gentle governor, and Hyrcanus a tyrant, instead of a king, and the Romans, together with Cæsar, their bitter enemies, instead of rulers, for that they would never bear him to be set aside whom they had

appointed to govern " And when Antipater had said this to them, he himself settled the affairs of this country.

2. And seeing that Hyrcanus was of a slow and slothful temper, he made Phasaëlus, his eldest son, governor of Jerusalem, and of the places that were about it, but committed Galilee to Herod, his next son, who was then a very young man, for he was but * fifteen years of age : But that youth of his was no impediment to him ; but as he was a youth of great mind, he presently met with an opportunity of signalizing his courage : For finding that there was one Hezekias, a captain of a band of robbers, who overran the neighbouring parts of Syria, with a great troop of them, he seized him, and slew him, as well as a great number of the other robbers that were with him ; for which action he was greatly beloved by the Syrians, for when they were very desirous to have their country freed from this nest of robbers, he purged it of them : So they sung songs in his commendation in their villages and cities, as having procured them peace, and the secure enjoyment of their possessions ; and on this account it was that he became known to Sextus Cæsar, who was a relation of the great Cæsar's, and was now president of Syria. Now Phasaëlus, Herod's brother, was moved with emulation at his actions, and envied the fame he had thereby gotten, and became ambitious not to be behindhand with him in deserving it : So he made the inhabitants of Jerusalem bear him the greatest good will while he held the city himself, but did neither manage its affairs improperly, nor abuse his authority therein. This conduct procured from the nation to Antipater such respect as is due to kings, and such honours as he might partake of if he were an absolute lord of the country. Yet did not this splendor of his, as frequently happens in the least diminish in him that kindness and fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

3. But now the principal men among the Jews, when they saw Antipater and his sons to grow so much in the good will the nation bear to them, and in the revenues which they received out of Judea ; and out of Hyrcanus's own wealth they became ill disposed to him : For indeed Antipater had contracted a friendship with the Roman emperors ; and when he had prevailed with Hyrcanus to send them money, he took it to himself, and purloined the present intended, and sent it, as if it were his own, and not Hyrcanus's gift to them. Hyrcanus heard of this his management, but took no care about it, nay, he rather was very glad of it : But the chief men of the Jews

* Those who will carefully observe the several occasional numbers and chronological characters in the life and death of this Herod, and of his children, hereafter noted, will see, that *twenty five* years, and not *fifteen* must for certain have been here. Josephus's own number for the age of Herod, when he was made governor of Galilee. See chap. xxiii. § 5. and ch. xxiv. § 7. and particularly Antiq. B. XVII. ch. viii. § 1. Vol. II. where about 44 years afterwards Herod dies an old man at about 70.

were therefore in fear, because they saw that Herod was a violent and bold man, and very desirous of acting tyrannically; so they came to Hyrcanus, and now accused Antipater openly, and said to him, "How long wilt thou be quiet under such actions as are now done? Or dost thou not see that Antipater and his sons have already seized upon the government? and that it is only the name of a king which is given thee? But do not thou suffer these things to be hidden from thee; nor do thou think to escape danger, by being so careless of thyself and of thy kingdom; for Antipater and his sons are not now stewards of thine affairs: Do not thou deceive thyself with such a notion, they are evidently absolute lords; for Herod, Antipater's son, hath slain Hezekiah and those that were with him, and hath thereby transgressed our law, which hath forbidden to slay any man, even though he were a wicked man, unless he had been first * condemned to suffer death by the sanhedrim; yet hath he been so insolent as to do this, and that without any authority from thee."

4. Upon Hyrcanus's hearing this, he complied with them. The mothers also of those that had been slain by Herod raised his indignation; for these women continued every day in the temple, persuading the king, and the people, that Herod might undergo a trial before the sanhedrim for what he had done. Hyrcanus was so moved by these complaints, that he summoned Herod to come to his trial, for what was charged upon him. Accordingly he came; but his father had persuaded him to come not like a private man, but with a guard, for the security of his person; and that when he had settled the affairs of Galilee in the best manner he could for his own advantage, he should come to his trial, but still with a body of men sufficient for his security on his journey, yet so that he should not come with so great a force as might look like terrifying Hyrcanus, but still such an one as might not expose him naked and unguarded [to his enemies]. However, Sextus Cæsar, president of Syria, wrote to Hyrcanus, and desired him to clear Herod, and dismiss him at his trial, and threatened him before hand, if he did not do it. Which epistle of his was the occasion of Hyrcanus's delivering Herod from suffering any harm from the sanhedrim, for he loved him as his own son. But when Herod stood before the sanhedrim, with his body of men about him, he affrighted them all, and no one of his former accusers durst after that bring any charge against him, but there was a deep silence, and no body knew

* It is here worth our while to remark, that none could be put to death in Judea but by the approbation of the Jewish sanhedrim, their being an excellent provision in the law of Moses, that even in criminal causes, and particularly where life was concerned, an appeal should lie from the lesser councils of seven in the other cities, to the supreme council of seventy-one at Jerusalem. And this is exactly according to our Saviour's words, when he says, *it could not be that a prophet should perish out of Jerusalem*, Luke xiii. 33.

what was to be done. When affairs stood thus, one whose name was * *Sameas*, a righteous man he was, and for that reason above all fear, who rose up, and said, "O you that are assessors with me, and O thou that art our king, I neither have ever myself known such a case, nor do I suppose that any one of you can name its parallel, that one who is called to take his trial by us ever stood in such a manner before us; but every one, whosoever he be, that comes to be tried by this sanhedrim, presents himself in a submissive manner, and like one that is in fear of himself, and that endeavours to move us to compassion, with his hair dishevelled, and in a black and mourning garment: But this admirable man Herod, who is accused of murder, and called to answer so heavy an accusation, stands here clothed in purple, and with the hair of his head finely trimmed, and with his armed men about him, that if we shall condemn him by our law, he may slay us, and by overbearing justice may himself escape death. Yet do not I make this complaint against Herod himself; he is to be sure more concerned for himself than for the laws; but my complaint is against yourselves, and your king, who give him a license so to do. However, take you notice, that God is great, and that this very man, whom you are going to absolve and dismiss, for the sake of Hyrcanus, will one day punish both you and your king himself also." Nor did *Sameas* mistake in any part of this prediction: For when Herod had received the kingdom, he slew all the members of this sanhedrim, and Hyrcanus himself also, excepting *Sameas*, for he had a great honour for him on account of his righteousness, and because, when the city was afterward besieged by Herod and *Sossius*, he persuaded the people to admit Herod into it; and told them, "That for their sins they would not be able to escape his hands." Which things will be related by us in their proper places.

5. But when Hyrcanus saw that the members of the sanhedrim were ready to pronounce the sentence of death upon Herod, he put off the trial to another day, and sent privately to Herod, and advised him to fly out of the city, for that by this means, he might escape. So he retired to Damascus, as though he fled from the king: And when he had been with *Sextus Cæsar*, and had put his own affairs in a sure posture, he resolved to do thus, that in case he were again summoned before the sanhedrim to take his trial, he would not obey that summons. Hereupon the members of the sanhedrim had great indignation at this posture of affairs, and endeavoured to persuade Hyrcanus, that all these things were against him. Which state of matters he was not ignorant of; but his temper was so unmanly, and so foolish, that he was able to do nothing at all. But when *Sextus* had made Herod general of the army of Cæ-

* This account, as *Reland* observes, is confirmed by the Talmudists, who call this *Sameas*, *Simeon the son of Shetach*.

lesyria, for he told him that post for money, Hyrcanus was in fear lest Herod should make war upon him : Nor was the effect of what he feared long in coming upon him, for Herod came, and brought an army along with him, to fight with Hyrcanus, as being angry at the trial he had been summoned to undergo before the sanhedrim : But his father Antipater, and his brother [Phasælus], met him, and hindered him from assaulting Jerusalem. They also pacified his vehement temper, and persuaded him to do no overt action, but only to affright them with threatenings, & to proceed no farther against one who had given him the dignity he had : They also desired him not only to be angry that he was summoned, and obliged to come to his trial, but to remember withal, how he was dismissed without condemnation, and how he ought to give Hyrcanus thanks for the same, and that he was not to regard only what was disagreeable to him, and be unthankful for his deliverance. So they desired him to consider, that since it is God that turns the scales of war, there is great uncertainty in the issues of battles, and that therefore he ought not to expect the victory, when he should fight with his king, and him that had supported him, and bestowed many benefits upon him, and had done nothing itself very severe to him ; for that his accusation, which was derived from evil counsellors, and not from himself, had rather the suspicion of some severity, than any thing really severe in it. Herod was persuaded by these arguments, and believed that it was sufficient for his future hopes to have made a shew of his strength before the nation, and done no more to it : And in this state were the affairs of Judea at this time.

C H A P. X.

The honours that were paid the Jews ; and the Leagues that were made by the Romans, and other nations, with them.

§ 1. **N**OW when Cæsar was come to Rome, he was ready to sail into Africa to fight against Scipio and Cato, when Hyrcanus sent ambassadors to him, and by them desired that he would ratify that league of friendship and mutual alliance which was between them. And it seems to me to be necessary here to give an account of all the honours that the Romans and their emperors paid to our nation, and of the leagues of mutual assistance they have made with it, that all the rest of mankind may know what regard the kings of Asia and Europe have had to us, and that they have been abundantly satisfied of our courage and fidelity ; for, whereas many will not believe what hath been written about us by the Persians and Macedonians, because those writings are not every where to be met with, nor do lie in public places, but among us ourselves and certain other barbarous nations, while there is no contra-

diction to be made against the decrees of the Romans, for they are laid up in the public places of the cities, and are extant still in the capitol, and engraven upon pillars of brass; nay, besides this, Julius Cæsar made a pillar of brass for the Jews at Alexandria, and declared publicly that they were citizens of Alexandria. Out of these evidences will I demonstrate what I say; and will now set down the decrees made both by the senate, and by Julius Cæsar, which relate to Hyrcanus, and to our nation.

2. "Caius Julius Cæsar, imperator and high priest, and dictator the second time, to the magistrates senate, and people of Sidon, sendeth greeting: If you be in health it is well. I also, and the army are well. I have sent you a copy of that decree, registered on the tables, which concerns Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, that it may be laid up among the public records; and I will that it be openly proposed in a table of brass, both in Greek, and in Latin. It is as follows: I Julius Cæsar, imperator the second time, and high priest, have made this decree, with the approbation of the senate: Whereas Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander the Jew, hath demonstrated his fidelity and diligence about our affairs, and this both now and in former times, both in peace, and in war, as many of our generals have borne witness, and came to our assistance in the last Alexandrian war with fifteen hundred soldiers; and when he was sent by me to Mithridates, shewed himself superior in valour to all the rest of that army: For these reasons I will, that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his children, be ethnarchs of the Jews, and have the high priesthood of the Jews for ever according to the customs of their forefathers, and that he and his sons be our confederates; and that besides this, every one of them be reckoned among our particular friends. I also ordain, that he and his children retain whatsoever privileges belong to the office of high priest, or whatsoever favours have been hitherto granted them. And if at any time hereafter there arise any questions about the Jewish customs, I will that he determine the same. And I think it not proper that they should be obliged to find us winter quarters, or that any money should be required of them."

3. "The decrees of Caius Cesar, consul, containing what hath been granted and determined, are as follows: That Hyrcanus and his children bear rule over the nation of the Jews, and have the profits of the places to them bequeathed; and that he as himself the high-priest and ethnarch of the Jews, defend those that are injured. And that ambassadors be sent to Hyrcanus the son of Alexander, the high-priest of the Jews that may discourse with him about a league of friendship and mu-

* That Hyrcanus was himself in Egypt, along with Antipater, at this time, to whom accordingly the bold and prudent actions of his deputy Antipater are here ascribed, as this decree of Julius Cæsar supposes, we are farther assured by the testimony of Strabo, already produced by Josephus, chap. viii § 2.

tual assistance, and that a table of brasse, containing the premises, be openly proposed in the capitol, and at Sidon, and Tyre, and Askelon, and in the temple, engraven in Roman and Greek letters : That this decree may also be communicated to the questors and pretors of the several cities, and to the friends of the Jews : And that the ambassadors may have presents made them, that these decrees be sent every where "

4. " Caius Cesar, imperator, dictator, consul, hath granted, That out of regard to the honour and virtue, and kindness of the man, and for the advantage of the senate, and of the people of Rome, Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, both he and his children be high-priests and priests of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish nation, by the same right, and according to the same laws, by which their progenitors have held the priesthood."

5. " Caius Cesar, consul the fifth time, hath decreed, That the Jews shall possess Jerusalem, and may encompass that city with walls ; and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high-priest and ethnarch of the Jews, retain in the manner he himself pleases ; and that the Jews be allowed to deduct out of their tribute every second year the land is let [in the sabbatic period] a corus of that tribute, and that the tribute they pay be not let to farm, nor that they pay always the same tribute."

6. " Caius Cesar, imperator the second time, hath ordained, That all the country of the Jews, excepting Joppa, do pay a tribute yearly for the city Jerusalem, excepting the seventh, which they call the Sabbatical year, because thereon they neither receive the fruits of their trees, nor do they sow their land ; and that they pay their tribute in Sidon on the second year [of that Sabbatical period,] the fourth part of what was sown : And besides this, they are to pay the same tithes to Hyrcanus and his sons, which they paid to their forefathers. And that no one, neither president, nor lieutenant, nor ambassador, raise auxiliaries within the bounds of Judea, nor my soldiers exact money of them for winter quarters, or under any other pretence, but that they be free from all sorts of injuries : And that whatsoever they shall hereafter have, and are in possession of, or have bought, they shall retain them all. It is also our pleasure, that the city Joppa, which the Jews had originally, when they made a league of friendship with the Romans, shall belong to them, as it formerly did, and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his sons, have as tribute of that city from those that occupy the land for the country, and for what they export every year to Sidon, twenty thousand, six hundred and seventy-five modii every year, the seventh year, which they call the Sabbatic year, excepted, whereon they neither plough, nor receive the product of their trees. It is also the pleasure of the senate, that as to the villages which are in the great plain, which Hyrcanus and his forefathers formerly possessed, Hyrcanus and the Jews have them

with the same privileges with which they formerly had them also, and that the same original ordinances remain still in force, which concern the Jews, with regard to their high-priests; and that they enjoy the same benefits which they have had formerly by the concession of the people, and of the senate; and let them enjoy the like privileges in Lydda. It is the pleasure also of the senate, that Hyrcanus the ethnarch, and the Jews, retain those places, countries, and villages, which belonged to the kings of Syria and Phenicia, the confederates of the Romans, and which they had bestowed on them as their free gifts. It is also granted to Hyrcanus, and to his sons, and to the ambassadors by them sent to us, that in the fights between single gladiators and in those with beasts, they shall sit among the senators to see those shews; and that when they desire an audience, they shall be introduced into the senate by the dictator or by the general of the horse; and when they have introduced them, their answers shall be returned them in ten days at the farthest, after the decree of the senate is made about their affairs."

7. "Caius Cesar, imperator, dictator the fourth time, and consul the fifth time, declared to be perpetual dictator, made this speech concerning the rights and privileges of Hyrcanus the son of Alexander, the high-priest and ethnarch of the Jews. Since those * imperators that have been in the provinces before me have borne witness to Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, and to the Jews themselves, and this before the senate and people of Rome, when the people and senate returned their thanks to them, it is good that we now also remember the same, and provide that a requital be made to Hyrcanus, to the nation of the Jews, and to the sons of Hyrcanus, by the senate and people of Rome, and that suitably to what good will they have shewn us, and to the benefits they have bestowed upon us."

8. "Julius Caius, pretor [consul] of Rome, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Parians, sendeth greeting: The Jews of Delos, and some other Jews that sojourn there, in the presence of your ambassadors, signified to us, that by a decree of yours, you forbid them to make use of the customs of their forefathers, and their way of sacred worship. Now it does not please me, that such decrees should be made against our friends and confederates, whereby they are forbidden to live according to their own customs, or to bring in contributions, for common suppers, and holy festivals, while they are not forbidden so to do even at Rome itself; for even Caius Cesar our imperator and consul, in that decree wherein he forbade the Bacchanal rioters to meet in the city, did yet permit these

* Dr. Hudson justly supposes, that the Roman imperators, or generals of armies, meant both here and § 2. who gave testimony to Hyrcanus's and the Jews faithfulness and good will to the Romans before the senate and people of Rome, were principally Pompey, Scaurus, and Gabinius: Of all whom Josephus had already given us the history, so far as the Jews were concerned with them.

Jews, and these only, both to bring in their contributions, and to make their common suppers. Accordingly, when I forbid other Bacchanal rioters I permit these Jews to gather themselves together, according to the customs and laws of their forefathers, and to persist therein. It will be therefore good for you, that if you have made any decree against these our friends and confederates, to abrogate the same, by reason of their virtue, and kind disposition towards us."

9. Now after Caius was slain, when Marcus Antonius, and Publius Dolabella, were consuls, they both assembled the senate, and introduced Hyrcanus's ambassadors into it, and discoursed of what they desired, and made a league of friendship with them. The senate also decreed, to grant them all they desired. I add the decree itself, that those who read the present work, may have ready by them a demonstration of the truth of what we say: The decree was this:

10. "The decree of the senate, copied out of the treasury, from the public tables belonging to the questors, when Quintus Rutilius and Caius Cornelius were questors, and taken out of the second table of the first class, on the third day before the ides of April, in the temple of Concord. There were present at the writing of this decree, Lucius Calpurnius, Piso of the Menenian tribe, Servius Papinius Potitus of the Lemonian tribe, Caius Caninius Rebilus of the Terentine tribe, Publius Tidetius, Lucius Apulinus, the son of Lucius, of the Sergian tribe, Flavius, the son of Lucius, of the Lemonian tribe, Publius Plautius, the son of Publius of the Papyrian tribe, Marcus Acilius, the son of Marcus, of the Mecian tribe, Lucius Erucius, the son of Lucius, of the Stellatine tribe, Marcus Quintius Plancillus, the son of Marcus of the Pollian tribe, and Publius Serius. Publius Dolabella, and Marcus Antonius, the consuls, made this reference to the senate, that as to those things which by the decree of the senate, Caius Cesar had adjudged about the Jews, and yet had not hitherto that decree brought into the treasury, it is our will, as it is also the desire of Publius Dolabella, and Marcus Antonius, our consuls to have these decrees put into the public tables, and brought to the city questors, that they may take care to have them put upon the double tables. This was done before the fifth of the ides of February, in the temple of Concord. Now the ambassadors from Hyrcanus the high-priest were these, Lyfimachus the son of Pausanius, Alexander the son of Theodorus, Patroclus the son of Chereas, and Jonathan the son of Onias."

11. Hyrcanus sent also one of these ambassadors to Dolabella, who was then the pretest of Asia, and desired him to dismiss the Jews from military services, and to preserve to them the customs of their forefathers, and to permit them to live according to them. And when Dolabella had received Hyrcanus's letter, without any farther deliberation, he sent an epistle to all

the Asiatics, and particularly to the city of the Ephesians, the Metropolis of Asia about the Jews; a copy of which epistle here follows:

12. "When Artemon was prytanis on the first day of the month Leneon, Dolabella imperator to the senate, and magistrates, and people of the Ephesians sendeth greeting: Alexander, the son of Theodorus, the ambassador of Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander the high-priest and ethnarch of the Jews, appeared before me, to shew that his countrymen could not go into their armies, because they are not allowed to bear arms, or to travel on the Sabbath days, nor there to procure themselves those sorts of food which they have been used to eat from the times of their forefathers; I do therefore grant them a freedom from going into the army, as the former prefects have done, and permit them to use the customs of their forefathers, in assembling together for sacred and religious purposes, as their law requires, and for collecting oblations necessary for sacrifices: And my will is that you write this to the several cities under your jurisdiction."

13. And these were the concessions that Dolabella made to our nation, when Hyrcanus sent an embassy to him. But Lucius the consul's decree run thus: "I have at my tribunal set these Jews, who are citizens of Rome, and follow the Jewish religious rites, and yet live at Ephesus, free from going into the army, on account of the superstition they are under. This was done before the twelfth of the calends of October, when Lucius Lentulus, and Caius Marcellus, were consuls in the presence of Titus Appius Balbus, the son of Titus, and lieutenant of the Horatian tribe, of Titus Tongius, the son of Titus of the Crustamine tribe, of Quintus Relius, the son of Quintus, of Titus Pompeius Longinus, the son of Titus, of Caius Servilius, the son of Caius of the Terentine tribe, of Bracchus the military tribune, of Publius Lucius Gallus, the son of Publius of the Veturian tribe, of Caius Sentius, the son of Caius of the Sabbatine tribe, of Titus Atilius Bulbus, the son of Titus, lieutenant and vice pretor, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting: Lucius Lentulus the consul freed the Jews that are in Asia from going into the armies at my intercession for them. And when I had made the same petition sometime afterward to Phanius the imperator, and to Lucius Antonius the vice questor, I obtained that privilege of them also; and my will is, that you take care that no one give them any disturbance."

14. The decree of the Delians. "The answer of the pretors, when Beotus was archon, on the twentieth day of the month Thargeleon, while Marcus Piso the lieutenant lived in our city, who was also appointed over the choice of the soldiers, he called us, and many other of the citizens, and gave order, that if there be here any Jews, who are Roman citizens, no one is to give them any disturbance about going into the ar-

my, because Cornelius Lentulus the consul freed the Jews from going into the army, on account of the superstition they are under; you are therefore obliged to submit to the pretor." And the like decree was made by the Sardians about us also.

15. "Caius Phanius, the son of Caius, imperator and consul, to the magistrates of Cos, sendeth greeting: I would have you know that the ambassadors of the Jews have been with me, and desired they might have those decrees which the senate had made about them; which decrees are here subjoined. My will is, that you have a regard to, and take care of these men, according to the senate's decree, that they may be safely conveyed home through your country."

16. The declaration of Lucius Lentulus the consul: "I have dismissed those Jews who are Roman citizens, and who appear to me to have their religious rites, and to observe the laws of the Jews at Ephesus, on account of the superstition they are under. This act was done before the thirteenth of the calends of October."

17. "Lucius Antonius, the son of Marcus, vice questor, and vice pretor, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Sardians, sendeth greeting: Those Jews that are our fellow-citizens of Rome, came to me, and demonstrated that they had an assembly of their own, according to the laws of their fore-fathers, and this from the beginning, as also a place of their own, wherein they determined their suits and controversies with one another: Upon their petition therefore to me, that these might be lawful for them, I give order that these their privileges be preserved, and they be permitted to do accordingly."

18. The declaration of Marcus Publius, the son of Spurius, and of Marcus the son of Marcus, and of Lucius the son of Publius: "We went to the proconsul, and informed him of what Dositheus, the son of Cleopatrida of Alexandria desired, that, if he thought good, he would dismiss those Jews who were Roman citizens, and were wont to observe the rites of the Jewish religion, on account of the superstition they were under. Accordingly he did dismiss them. This was done before the thirteenth of the calends of October."

19. "In the month Quintilis, when Lucius Lentulus and Caius Marcellus were consuls; and there were present Titus Appius Balbus, the son of Titus, lieutenant of the Horatian tribe. Titus Tongius of the Crustumine tribe, Quintus Resius the son of Quintus, Titus Pompeius the son of Titus, Cornelius Longinus, Caius Servilius Bracchus, the son of Caius, a military tribune, of the Terentine tribe, Publius Clusius Gallus, the son of Publius, of the Veturian tribe, Caius Teutius the son of Caius, a military tribune, of the Emilian tribe, Sextus Atilius Serrannus, the son of Sextus, of the Esquiline tribe, Caius Pompeius the son of Caius, of the Sabbatine tribe, Titus Appius Menander, the son of Titus, Publius Servilius

Strabo, the son of Publius, Lucius Paccius Capito, the son of Lucius, of the Colline tribe, Aulus Furius Tertius, the son of Aulus, and Appius Menas. In the presence of these it was that Lentulus pronounced this decree : I have before the tribunal dismissed those Jews that are Roman citizens, and are accustomed to observe the sacred rites of the Jews at Ephesus, on account of the superstition they are under."

20. "The magistrates of the Laodiceans to Caius Rubilius, the son of Caius, the consul. sendeth greeting : Sopater, the ambassador of Hyrcanus, the high-priest, hath delivered us an epistle from thee, whereby he lets us know, that certain ambassadors were come from Hyrcanus, the high-priest of the Jews, and brought an epistle written concerning their nation, wherein they desire that the Jews may be allowed to observe their Sabbaths, and other sacred rites, according to the laws of their forefathers, and that they may be under no command, because they are our friends and confederates, and that nobody may injure them in our provinces. Now although the Trallians there present contradicted them, and were not pleased with these decrees, yet didst thou give order that they should be observed, and informedst us that thou hadst been desired to write this to us about them. We therefore, in obedience to the injunctions we have received from thee, have received the epistle which thou sentest us, and have laid it up by itself among our public records. And as to the other things about which thou didst send to us, we will take care that no complaint be made against us."

21. "Publius Servilius, the son of Publius, of the Galban tribe, the proconsul to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Milesians, sendeth greeting : Prytanes the son of Hermes, a citizen of yours, came to me when I was at Tralles, and held a court there, and informed me that you used the Jews in a way different from my opinion, and forbade them to celebrate their Sabbaths, and to perform the sacred rites received from their forefathers, and to manage the fruits of the land, according to their ancient custom, and that he had himself been the promulger of your decree, according as your laws require : I would therefore have you know, that upon hearing the pleadings on both sides, I gave sentence that the Jews should not be prohibited to make use of their own customs."

22. The decree of those of Pergamus. When Cratippus was prytanis, on the first day of the month Desius, the decree of the pretors was this : "Since the Romans, following the conduct of their ancestors, undertake dangers for the common safety of all mankind, and are ambitious to settle their confederates and friends in happiness, and in firm peace, and since the nation of the Jews, and their high-priest Hyrcanus, sent as ambassadors to them, Strato, the son of Theodatus, and Apollonius, the son of Alexander, and Eneas, the son of Antipater, and Aristobulus, the son of Amyntas, and Sosipater,

the son of Philip, worthy and good men, who gave a particular account of their affairs, the senate thereupon made a decree about what they had desired of them, that Antiochus the king, the son of Antiochus, should do no injury to the Jews, the confederates of the Romans; and that the fortresses, and the havens, and the country, and whatsoever else he had taken from them, should be restored to them; and that it may be lawful for them to export their goods out of their own havens; and that no king nor people may have leave to export any goods, either out of the country of Judea, or out of their havens, without paying customs, but only Ptolemy the king of Alexandria, because he is our confederate and friend: And that according to their desire, the garrison that is in Joppa may be ejected. Now Lucius Pettius one of our senators, a worthy and good man, gave order that we should take care that these things should be done according to the senate's decree; and that we should take care also that their ambassadors might return home in safety. Accordingly we admitted Theodorus into our senate and assembly, and took the epistle out of his hands, as well as the decree of the senate: And as he discoursed with great zeal about the Jews, and described Hyrcanus's virtue and generosity, and how he was a benefactor to all men in common, and particularly to every body that comes to him, we laid up the epistle in our public records; and made a decree ourselves, that since we also are in confederacy with the Romans, we would do every thing we could for the Jews, according to the senate's decree. Theodorus also, who brought the epistle, desired of our pretors, that they would send Hyrcanus a copy of that decree, as also ambassadors to signify to him the affection of our people to him, and to exhort them to preserve and augment their friendship for us, and be ready to bestow other benefits upon us, as justly expecting to receive proper requitals from us; and desiring them to remember that our * ancestors were friendly to the Jews even in the days of Abraham, who was the father of all the Hebrews, as we have [also] found it set down in our public records "

23. The decree of those of Halicarnassus. When Memnon

* We have here a most remarkable and authentic attestation of the citizens of Pergamus, that Abraham was the father of all the Hebrews; that their own ancestors were, in the oldest time, the friends of those Hebrews; and that the public acts of their city, then extant, confirmed the same; which evidence is too strong to be evaded by our present ignorance of the particular occasion of such ancient friendship and alliance between those people. See the like full evidence of the kindred of the Lacedemonians and the Jews; and that because they were both the posterity of Abraham, by a public epistle of those people the Jews, preserved in the first book of the Maccabees xii. 19,—23. and thence by Josephus, *Antiq. B. XII. ch. iv. § 10* both which authentic records are highly valuable. It is also well worthy of observation, what Moses Choronenus, the principal Armenian historian, informs us of, p. 83. that Arsaces, who raised the Parthian Empire, was of the seed of Abraham by Chetura; and that thereby was accomplished that prediction which said, *kings of nations shall proceed from thee*, Gen. xvii. 6

the son of Orestidas by descent, but by adoption of Eunonymus, was priest, on the * * * day of the month Aristerion, the decree of the people, upon the representation of Marcus Alexander, was this: " Since we have ever a great regard to piety towards God, and to holiness, and since we aim to follow the people of the Romans, who are the benefactors of all men, and what they have written to us about a league of friendship and mutual assistance between the Jews and our city, and that their sacred offices, and accustomed festivals and assemblies may be observed by them, we have decreed, that as many men and women of the Jews as are willing so to do, may celebrate their Sabbaths, and perform their holy offices, according to the Jewish laws; and may make their proseuchæ at the sea side, according to the customs of their forefathers; and if any one, whether he be a magistrate or private person, hindereth them from so doing, he shall be liable to a fine, to be applied to the uses of the city."

24. The decree of the Sardians. This decree was made by the senate and people, upon the representation of the pretors: " Whereas those Jews who are our fellow-citizens, and live with us in this city, have ever had great benefits heaped upon them by the people, and have come now into the senate, and desired of the people that upon the restitution of their law, and their liberty, by the senate and people of Rome, they may assemble together according to their ancient legal custom, and that we will not bring any suit against them about it; and that a place may be given them where they may have their congregations, with their wives and children and may offer, as did their forefathers, their prayers and sacrifices to God: Now the senate and people have decreed to permit them to assemble together on the days formerly appointed, and to act according to their own laws; and that such a place be set apart for them by the pretors, for the building and inhabiting the same, as they shall esteem fit for that purpose: And that those that take care of the provisions for the city, shall take care that such sorts of food as they esteem fit for their eating, may be imported into the city."

25. The decree of the Ephesians. When Menophilus was prytanis, on the first day of the month Artemisius, this decree was made by the people: " Nicanor the son of Euphemus, pronounced it, upon the representation of the pretors. Since the Jews that dwell in this city have petitioned Marcus Julius Pompeius, the son of Brutus, the proconsul, that they might be allowed to observe their Sabbaths, and to act in all things according to the customs of their forefathers, without impediment from any body, the pretor hath granted their petition. Accordingly, it was decreed by the Senate and people, that in this affair that concerned the Romans, no one of them should be hindered from keeping the Sabbath-day, nor be fined for

so doing, but that they may be allowed to do all things according to their own laws."

26. Now there are * many such decrees of the senate and imperators of the Romans, and those different from these before us, which have been made in favour of Hyrcanus, and of our nation ; as also, there have been more decrees of the cities and rescripts of the pretors, to such epistles as concerned our rights and privileges : And certainly such as are not ill disposed to what we write, may believe that they are all to this purpose, and that by the specimens which we have inserted ; for since we have produced evident marks that may still be seen, of the friendship we have had with the Romans, and demonstrated that those marks are engraven upon columns and tables of brass in the capitol, that are still in being, and preserved to this day, we have omitted to set them all down, as needless and disagreeable ; for I cannot suppose any one so perverse as not to believe the friendship we have had with the Romans, while they have demonstrated the same by such a great number of their decrees relating to us ; nor will they doubt of our fidelity as to the rest of those decrees, since we have shewed the same in those we have produced. And thus have we sufficiently explained that friendship and confederacy we at those times had with the Romans.

C H A P. XI.

How † Marcus succeeded Sextus when he had been slain by Bassus's treachery ; and how, after the Death of Cæsar, Cassius came into Syria, and distressed Judea ; as also, how Malchus slew Antipater, and was himself slain by Herod.

§ 1. **N**OW it so fell out, that about this very time the affairs of Syria were in great disorder, and this on the occasion following : Cecilius Bassus, one of Pompey's party, laid a treacherous design against Sextus Cæsar, and slew him, and then took his army, and got the management of public affairs into his own hand ; so there arose a great war about Apamia, while Cæsar's generals came against him with an army of horsemen and footmen : To these Antipater also sent succours,

* If we compare Josephus's promise in § 1. to produce *all* the public decrees of the Romans in favour of the Jews with his excuse here for omitting *many* of them, we may observe, that when he came to transcribe all those decrees he had collected, he found them so numerous that he thought he should too much tire his readers if he had attempted it, which he thought a sufficient apology for his omitting the rest of them ; yet do those by him produced afford such a strong confirmation to his history, and give such great light to even the Roman antiquities themselves, that I believe the curious are not a little sorry for such his omissions.

† For Marcus, the president of Syria, sent as successor to Sextus Cæsar, the Roman historians require us to read *Marcus* in Josephus, and this perpetually, both in these Antiquities, and in his history *Of the War*, as the learned generally agree.

and his sons with them, as calling to mind the kindnesſes they had received from Cæſar, and on that account he thought it but juſt to require puniſhment for him, and to take vengeance on the man that had murdered him. And as the war was drawn out into a great length, Marcus came from Rome to take Sex-tus's government upon him; but Cæſar was ſlain by Caſſius and Brutus in the ſenate-houſe, after he had retained the gov-ernment three years and fix months. This fact, however, is related elſewhere.

2. As the war that aroſe upon the death of Cæſar was now begun, and the principal men were all gone, ſome one way, and ſome another, to raiſe armies, Caſſius came from Rome into Syria, in order to receive the [army that lay in the] camp at Apamia; and having raiſed the ſiege, he brought over both Baſſus and Marcus to his party. He then went over the cities, and got together weapons and ſoldiers, and laid great taxes upon thoſe cities; and he chiefly oppreſſed Judea, and exacted of it ſeven hundred talents: But Antipater when he ſaw the ſtate to be in ſo great conſternation and diſorder, he divided the collection of that ſum, and appointed his two ſons to gather it; and ſo that part of it was to be exacted by Malichus, who was ill-diſpoſed to him, and part by others. And becauſe Herod did exact what is required of him from Galilee before others, he was in the greateſt favour with Caſſius; for he tho't it a part of prudence to cultivate a friendſhip with the Romans, and to gain their good-will at the expence of others; whereas the curators of the other cities, with their citizens, were ſold for ſlaves; and Caſſius reduced four cities into ſlavery, the two moſt potent of which were Gophna and Emmaus; and, beſides theſe, Lydia and Thamna. Nay, Caſſius was ſo very angry at Malichus, that he had killed him, (for he aſſaulted him,) had not Hyrcanus, by the means of Antipater, ſent him an hundred talents of his own, and thereby pacified his anger againſt him.

3. But after Caſſius was gone out of Judea, Malichus laid ſnares for Antipater, as thinking that his death would be the preſervation of Hyrcanus's government: But his deſign was not unknown to Antipater, which when he perceived, he retired beyond Jordan, and got together an army, partly of A-rabs, and partly of his own countrymen. However, Malichus being one of great cunning, denied that he had laid any ſnares for him, and made his defence with an oath, both to himſelf and his ſons; and ſaid, that while Phafaelus had a gar-riſon in Jeruſalem, and Herod had the weapons of war in his cuſtody, he could never have a thought of any ſuch thing. So Antipater, perceiving the diſtreſs that Malichus was in, was reconciled to him, and made an agreement with him: This was when Marcus was preſident of Syria; who yet per-ceiving that this Malichus was making a diſturbance in Judea,

proceeding so far that he had almost killed him, but still at the intercession of Antipater he saved him.

4. However Antipater little thought that by saving Malichus, he had saved his own murderer ; for, now Cassius and Marcus had together an army, and intrusted the entire care of it with Herod, and made him general of the forces of Cœlesyria, and gave him a fleet of ships, and an army of horsemen and footmen : And promised him, that after the war was over, they would make him king of Judea, for a war was already begun between Antony and the younger Cæsar : But as Malichus was most afraid of Antipater, he took him out of the way ; and by the offer of money, persuaded the butler of Hyrcanus, with whom they were both to feast, to kill him by poison. This being done, and he having armed men with him, settled the affairs of the city. But when Antipater's sons, Herod and Phasaelus, were acquainted with this conspiracy against their father, and had indignation at it, Malichus denied all, and utterly renounced any knowledge of the murder. And thus died Antipater, a man that had distinguished himself for piety and justice, and love to his country. And whereas one of his sons, Herod, resolved immediately, to revenge their father's death, and was coming upon Malichus with an army for that purpose, the elder of his sons Phasaelus, thought it best rather to get this man into their hands by policy. lest they should appear to begin a civil war in the country ; so he accepted of Malichus's defence for himself, and pretended to believe him that he had had no hand in the violent death of Antipater his father, but erected a fine monument for him. Herod also went to Samaria ; and when he found them in great distress, he revived their spirits, and composed their differences.

5. However, a little after this, Herod, upon the approach of a festival, came with his soldiers into the city ; whereupon Malichus was affrighted, and persuaded Hyrcanus not to permit him to come into the city. Hyrcanus complied ; and for a pretence of excluding him alleged, that a rout of strangers ought not to be admitted when the multitude were purifying themselves, But Herod had little regard to the messengers that were sent to him, and entered the city in the night time, and affrighted Malichus ; yet did he remit nothing of his former dissimulation, but wept for Antipater, and bewailed him as a friend of his with a loud voice : But Herod and his friends thought it proper not openly to contradict Malichus's hypocrisy, but to give him tokens of mutual friendship, in order to prevent his suspicion of them.

6. However, Herod sent to Cassius, and informed him of the murder of his father ; who knowing what sort of man Malichus was as to his morals, sent him back word, that he should revenge his father's death ; and also sent privately, to the commanders of his army at Tyre, with orders to assist Herod in the execution of a very just design of his. Now when Cassius had

taken Laodicea, they all went together to him, and carried him garlands and money : And Herod thought that Malichus might be punished while he was there ; but he was somewhat apprehensive of the thing, and designed to make some great attempt, and because his son was then an hostage at Tyre, he went to that city, and resolved to steal him away privately ; and to march thence into Judea ; and as Cassius was in haste to march against Antony, he thought to bring the country to revolt, and to procure the government for himself. But providence opposed his counsels ; and Herod being a shrewd man, and perceiving what his intention was, he sent thither before hand a servant in appearance indeed to get a supper ready, for he had said before, that he would feast them all there, but in reality to the commanders of the army, whom he persuaded to go out against Malichus, with their daggers. So they went out and met the man near the city, upon the sea shore, and stabbed him. Whereupon Hyrcanus was so astonished at what had happened, that his speech failed him : And when after some difficulty, he had recovered himself, he asked Herod, what the matter could be, and who it was that slew Malichus ? And when he said that it was done by the command of Cassius, he commended the action ; for that Malichus was a very wicked man, and one that conspired against his own country. And this was the punishment that was inflicted on Malichus for what he wickedly did to Antipater.

7. But when Cassius was marched out of Syria, disturbances arose in Judea : For Felix, who was left at Jerusalem with an army, made a sudden attempt against Phasælus, and the people themselves rose in arms ; but Herod went to Fabius, the prefect of Damascus, and was desired to run to his brother's assistance, but was hindered by a distemper that seized upon him, till Phasælus by himself had been too hard for Felix, and had shut him up in the tower, and there, on certain conditions, dismissed him. Phasælus also complained of Hyrcanus, that although he had received a great many benefits from them, yet did he support their enemies ; for Malichus's brother made many places to revolt, and kept garrisons in them, and particularly Masada, the strongest fortress of them all. In the mean time, Herod was recovered of his disease, and came and took from Felix all the places he had gotten ; and upon certain conditions, dismissed him also.

C H A P. XII.

Herod ejects Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, out of Judea, and gains the Friendship of Antony, who was now come into Syria by sending him much money; on which account he would not admit of those that would have accused Herod: And what it was that Antony wrote to the Tyrians of the Jews.

§ 1. **N**OW * Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, brought back into Judea Antigonus the son of Aristobulus, who had already raised an army, and had, by money, made Fabius to be his friend, and this because he was of kin to him. Marion also gave him assistance. He had been left by Cassius to tyrannize over Tyre, for this Cassius was a man that seized on Syria, and then kept it under, in the way of a tyrant. Marion also marched into Galilee, which lay in his neighbourhood, and took three of its fortresses, and put garrisons into them to keep them. But when Herod came, he took all from him; but the Tyrian garrison he dismissed in a very civil manner; nay, to some of the soldiers he made presents out of the good will he bare to that city. When he had dispatched these affairs, and was gone to meet Antigonus, he joined battle with him, and beat him, and drove him out of Judea presently, when he was just come into its borders. But when he was come to Jerusalem, Hyrcanus and the people put garlands about his head; for he had already contracted an affinity with the family of Hyrcanus by having espoused a descendant of his, and for that reason Herod took the greater care of him, as being to marry the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and the grand daughter of Hyrcanus, by which wife he became the father of three male, and two female children. He had also married before this another wife, out of a lower family of his own nation, whose name was Doris, by whom he had his eldest son Antipater.

2. Now Antonius and Cesar had beaten Cassius near Philippi, as others have related; but after the victory, Cesar went into Gaul, [Italy] and Antony marched for Asia, who when he was arrived at Bithynia, he had ambassadors that met him from all parts. The principal men also of the Jews came

* In this and the following chapters the reader will easily remark, how truly Gronovius observes, in his notes on the Roman decrees in favour of the Jews, that their rights and privileges were commonly purchased of the Romans with money. Many examples of this sort, both as to the Romans, and others in authority, will occur in our Josephus, both now and hereafter, and need not be taken particular notice of on the several occasions in these notes. Accordingly the chief captain confesses to St. Paul, that *with a great sum he had obtained his freedom*. Acts xxii. 28. as had St. Paul's ancestors, very probably, purchased the like freedom for their family by money; as the same author justly concludes also.

thither, to accuse Phasaclus, and Herod, and they said, that Hyrcanus had indeed the appearance of reigning, but that these men had all the power; but Antony paid great respect to Herod, who was come to him to make his defence against his accusers, on which account his adversaries could not so much as obtain an hearing; which favour Herod had gained of Antony by money. But still, when Antony was come to Ephesus, Hyrcanus the high priest, and our nation sent an embassy to him which carried a crown of gold with them, and desired that he would write to the governors of the provinces, to set those Jews free who had been carried captive by Cassius, and this without their having fought against him, and to restore them that country, which, in the days of Cassius, had been taken from them. Antony thought the Jews desires were just, and wrote immediately to Hyrcanus, and to the Jews. He also sent, at the same time, a decree to the Tyrians; the contents of which were to the same purpose.

3 “ Marcus Antonius imperator, to Hyrcanus the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, sendeth greeting: If you be in health, it is well; I am also in health, with the army. Lyfimachus, the son of Pausanius, and Josephus the son of Menneus, and Alexander the son of Theodorus, your ambassadors, met me at Ephesus, and have renewed that embassy which they had formerly been upon at Rome and have diligently acquitted themselves of the present embassy, which thou and thy nation have intrusted to them, and have fully declared the good will thou hast for us. I am therefore satisfied, both by your actions, and your words, that you are well disposed to us; and I understand that your conduct of life is constant and religious; so I reckon upon you as our own: But when those that were adversaries to you, and to the Roman people, and abstained neither from cities nor temples, and did not observe the agreement they had confirmed by oath, it was not only on account of our contest with them, but on account of all mankind in common, that we have taken vengeance on those who have been the authors of great injustice towards men, and of great wickedness towards the gods; for the sake of which we suppose it was that the * sun turned away his light from us, as unwilling to view the horrid crime they were guilty of in the case of Cesar. We have also overcome their conspiracies, which threatened the gods themselves, which Macedonia received, as it is a climate peculiarly proper for impious and insolent attempts; and we have overcome that confused rout of men, half mad with spite against us, which they got together at Philippi, in Macedonia, when they seized on the places that

* This clause plainly alludes to that well known but unusual and very long darkness of the sun, which happened upon the murder of Julius Caesar by Brutus and Cassius; which is greatly taken notice of by Virgil, Pliny, and other Roman authors. See Virgil's Georgicks, Book I. just before the end; and Pliny's Nat. Hist. B. II. ch. xxx.

were proper for their purpose, and, as it were, walled them round with mountains to the very sea, and where the passage was open only through a single gate. This victory we gained, because the gods had condemned these men for their wicked enterprises. Now Brutus, when he had fled as far as Phillippi, was shut up by us, and became a partaker of the same perdition with Cassius; and now these have received their punishment we suppose, that we may enjoy peace for the time to come, and that Asia may be at rest from war. We therefore make that peace which God hath given us common to our confederates also, insomuch that the body of Asia is now recovered out of that distemper it was under by the means of our victory. I, therefore, bearing in mind both thee, and your nation, shall take care of what may be for your advantage. I have also sent epistles in writing to the several cities, that if any persons, whether freemen or bondmen, have been sold under the spear by Caius Cassius, or his subordinate officers, they may be set free. And I will that you kindly make use of the favours which I and Dolabella have granted you. I also forbid the Tyrians to use any violence with you; and for what places of the Jews they now possess, I order them to restore them. I have withal accepted of the crown which thou sendest me."

4. "Marcus Antonius imperator, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, sendeth greeting: The ambassadors of Hyrcanus the high priest and ethnarch [of the Jews] appeared before me at Ephesus and told me, that you are in possession of part of their country which you entered upon under the government of our adversaries. Since, therefore we have undertaken a war for the obtaining the government, and have taken care to do what was agreeable to piety and justice and have brought to punishment those that had neither any remembrance of the kindnesses they had received nor have kept their oaths, I will that you be at peace with those that are our confederates; as also that what you have taken by the means of our adversaries shall not be reckoned your own, but be returned to those from whom you took them; for none of them took their provinces or their armies by the gift of the senate, but they seized them by force, and bestowed them by violence upon such as become useful to them in their unjust proceedings. Since, therefore, those men have received the punishment due to them, we desire that our confederates may retain whatsoever it was that they formerly possessed without disturbance, and that you restore all the places which belong to Hyrcanus the ethnarch of the Jews which you have had, tho' it were but one day before Caius Cassius began an unjustifiable war against us, and entered into our province; nor do you use any force against him, in order to weaken him, that he may not be able to dispose of that which is his own, but if you have any contest with him about your respective rights, it

shall be lawful for you to plead your cause when we come upon the places concerned for we shall alike preserve the rights, and hear all the causes of our confederates."

5. "Marcus Antonius imperator, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre. sendeth greeting: I have sent you my decree, of which I will that ye take care that it be engraven on the public tables, in Roman and Greek letters, and that it stand engraven in the most illustrious places that it may be read by all." Marcus Antonius, imperator, one of the triumvirate over the public affairs, made this declaration: "Since Caius Cassius in this revolt he hath made, hath pillaged that province which belonged not to him, and was held by garri-sons there encamped, while they were our confederates, and hath spoiled that nation of the Jews that was in friendship with the Roman people, as in war; and since we have overcome his madness by arms, we now correct by our decrees and judicial determination what he hath laid waste, that those things may be restored to our confederates. And as for what hath been sold of the Jewish possessions, whether they be bodies or possessions let them be released the bodies into that state of freedom they were originally in, and the possessions to their former owners. I also will, that he who shall not comply with this decree of mine, shall be punished for his disobedience; and if such an one be caught, I will take care that the offenders suffer condign punishment."

6. The same thing did Antony write to the Sidonians, and the Antiochians, and the Aradians. We have produced these decrees, therefore, as marks for futurity of the truth of what we have said, that the Romans had a great concern about our nation.

C H A P. XIII.

How Antony made Herod and Phasaelus Tetrarchs, after they had been accused to no purpose; and how the Parthians, when they brought Antigonus into Judea, took Hyrcanus and Phasaelus captives. Herod's flight; and what afflictions Hyrcanus and Phasaelus endured.

§ 1. **W**HEN after this Antony came into Syria, Cleopatra met him in Cilicia, and brought him to fall in love with her. And there came now also an hundred of the most potent of the Jews to accuse Herod and those about him, and set the men of the greatest eloquence among them to speak. But Messala contradicted them, on behalf of the young men, and all this in the presence of Hyrcanus, who was * Her-

* We may here take notice, that *espousals* alone were of old esteemed a sufficient foundation for *affinity*, Hyrcanus being here called *father-in-law* to Herod, because his grand-daughter Mariamne was betrothed to him, although the marriage were not completed till four years afterward. See Matt. i. 16.

od's father-in-law already. When Antony had heard both sides at Daphne, he asked Hyrcanus who they were that governed the nation best? He replied, Herod and his friends. Hereupon Antony, by reason of the old hospitable friendship he had made with his father [Antipater], at that time when he was with Gabinius, he made both Herod and Phasaclus tetrarchs, and committed the public affairs of the Jews to them, and wrote letters to that purpose. He also bound fifteen of their adversaries, and was going to kill them, but that Herod obtained their pardon.

2. Yet did not these men continue quiet when they were come back, but a thousand of the Jews came to Tyre to meet him there, whither the report was that he would come. But Antony was corrupted by the money which Herod and his brother had given him, and so he gave order to the governor of the place to punish the Jewish ambassadors, who were for making innovations, and to settle the government upon Herod: But Herod went out hastily to them, and Hyrcanus was with him (for they stood upon the shore before the city), and he charged them to go their ways, because great mischief would befall them if they went on with their accusation. But they did not acquiesce: Whereupon the Romans ran upon them with their daggers, and slew some, and wounded more of them, and the rest fled away, and went home, and lay still in great consternation: And when the people made a clamour against Herod, Antony was so provoked at it that he slew the prisoners.

3. Now, in the second year, Pacorus, the king of Parthia's son, and Barzapharnes, a commander of the Parthians, possessed themselves of Syria. Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, also was now dead, and Lysanias his son took his government, and made a league of friendship with Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus; and in order to obtain it, made use of that commander who had great interest in him. Now Antigonus had promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents, and five hundred women, upon condition they would take the government away from Hyrcanus, and bestow it upon him, and withal kill Herod. And although he did not give them what he had promised, yet did the Parthians make an expedition into Judea on that account, and carried Antigonus with them. Pacorus went along the maritime parts, but the commander Barzapharnes, through the midland. Now the Tyrians excluded Pacorus, but the Sidonians, and those of Ptolemais, received him. However, Pacorus sent a troop of horsemen into Judea, to take a view of the state of the country, and to assist Antigonus; and sent also the king's butler, of the same name with himself. So when the Jews that dwelt about mount Carmel came to Antigonus, and were ready to march with him into Judea, Antigonus hoped to get some part of the country by their assistance. The place is called

Drymi; and when some other came and met them, the men privately fell upon Jerusalem; and when some more were come to them, they got together in great numbers, and came against the king's palace, and besieged it. But as Phasaëlus's and Herod's party came to the other's assistance, and a battle happened between them in the market-place, the young men beat their enemies, and pursued them into the temple, and sent some armed men into the adjoining houses, to keep them in, who yet being destitute of such as should support them, were burnt, and the houses with them, by the people who rose up against them. But Herod was revenged on these seditious adversaries of his a little afterward for this injury they had offered him, when he fought with them, and slew a great number of them.

4. But while there were daily skirmishes, the enemy waited for the coming of the multitude out of the country to Pentecost, a feast of ours so called: And when that day was come, many ten thousands of the people were gathered together about the temple, some in armour, and some without. Now those that came, guarded both the temple and the city, excepting what belonged to the palace, which Herod guarded with a few of his soldiers; and Phasaëlus had the charge of the wall, while Herod, with a body of his men, sallied out upon the enemy, who lay in the suburbs, and fought courageously, and put many ten thousands to flight, some flying into the city, and some into the temple, and some into the outer fortifications, for some such fortifications there were in that place. Phasaëlus came also to his assistance; yet was Pacorus, the general of the Parthians, at the desire of Antigonius, admitted into the city, with a few of his horsemen, under pretence indeed as if he would still the sedition, but in reality to assist Antigonius in obtaining the government. And when Phasaëlus met him, and received him kindly, Pacorus persuaded him to go himself as ambassador to Barzapharnes, which was done fraudulently. Accordingly, Phasaëlus, suspecting no harm, complied with his proposal, while Herod did not give his consent to what was done, because of the perfidiousness of these Barbarians, but desired Phasaëlus rather to fight those that were come into the city.

5. So both Hyrcanus and Phasaëlus went on the embassy; but Pacorus left with Herod two hundred horsemen, and ten men, who were called, *The freemen*; and conducted the others on their journey; and when they were in Galilee, the governors of the cities there met them in their arms. Barzapharnes also received them at the first with cheerfulness, and made them presents, though he afterward conspired against them; and Phasaëlus, with his horsemen were conducted to the sea side: But when they heard that Antigonius had promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents, and five hundred women, to assist him, against them, they soon had a suspicion of the Barbarians. Moreover, there was one who informed

them that snares were laid for them by night, while a guard came secretly, and they had then been seized upon, had not they waited for the seizure of Herod by the Parthians, that were about Jerusalem, lest, upon the slaughter of Hyrcanus and Phasaëlus, he should have an intimation of it, and escape out of their hands. And these were the circumstances they were now in; and they saw who they were that guarded them. Some persons indeed would have persuaded Phasaëlus to fly away immediately on horseback, and not stay any longer; and there was one Ophellius who, above all the rest, was earnest with him to do so, for he had heard of this treachery from Saramalla, the richest of all the Syrians at that time, who also promised to provide him ships to carry him off; for the sea was just by them: But he had no mind to desert Hyrcanus, nor bring his brother into danger; but he went to Barzapharnes, and told him, he did not act justly when he made such a contrivance against them, for that if he wanted money, he would give him more than Antigonus; and besides, that it was an horrible thing to slay those that came to him upon the security of their oaths, and that when they had done them no injury. But the Barbarians swore to him, that there was no truth in any of his suspicions, but that he was troubled with nothing but false proposals, and then went away to Pacorus.

6. But as soon as he was gone away, some men came and bound Hyrcanus and Phasaëlus, while Phasaëlus, greatly reproached the Parthians for their perjury. However, that butler who was sent against Herod had it in command to get him without the walls of the city and seize upon him; but messengers had been sent by Phasaëlus to inform Herod of the perfidiousness of the Parthians: And when he knew that the enemy had seized upon them, he went to Pacorus, and to the most potent of the Parthians, as to the lords of the rest, who, although they knew the whole matter, dissembled with him in a deceitful way; and said, "That he ought to go out with them before the walls, and meet those which were bringing him his letters, for that they were not taken by his adversaries, but were coming to give him an account of the good success Phasaëlus had had." Herod did not give credit to what they said; for he had heard that his brother was seized upon by others also: And the daughter of Hyrcanus, whose daughter he had espoused, was his monitor also [not to credit them,] which made him still more suspicious of the Parthians, for although other people did not give heed to her, yet did he believe her, as a woman of very great wisdom.

7. Now while the Parthians were in consultation what was fit to be done; for they did not think it proper to make an open attempt upon a person of his character; and while they put off the determination to the next day, Herod was under great disturbance of mind, and rather inclining to believe the reports he heard about his brother and the Parthians, than to

give heed to what was said on the other side, he determined, that when the evening came on, he would make use of it for his flight, and not make any longer delay. as if the dangers from the enemy were not yet certain. He therefore removed with the armed men whom he had with him: And set his wives upon the beasts, as also his mother, and sister, and her whom he was about to marry, [Mariamne] the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, with her mother, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and his youngest brother, and all their servants, and the rest of the multitude that was with him, and without the enemies privity pursued his way to Idumea: Nor could any enemy of his, who then saw him in this case be so hard hearted, but would have commiserated his fortune, while the women drew along their infant children, and left their own country, and their friends in prison, with tears, in their eyes and said lamentations, and in expectation of nothing but what was of a melancholy nature.

8. But for Herod himself, he raised his mind above the miserable state he was in, and was of good courage in the midst of his misfortunes; and, as he passed along, he bid them every one to be of good cheer, and not to give themselves up to sorrow, because that would hinder them in their flight, which was now the only hope of safety that they had. Accordingly they tried to bear with patience the calamity they were under, as he exhorted them to do; yet was he once almost going to kill himself, upon the overthrow of a waggon, and the danger his mother was then in of being killed, and this on two accounts, because of his great concern for her, and because he was afraid lest, by this delay, the enemy should overtake him in the pursuit; but as he was drawing his sword, and going to kill himself therewith, those that were present restrained him. and being so many in number were too hard for him; and told them, that he ought to desert them and leave them a prey to their enemies, for that it was not the part of a brave man to free himself from the distresses he was in, and to overlook his friends that were in the same distresses also. So he was compelled to let that horrid attempt alone; partly out of shame at what they said to him, and partly out of regard to the great number of those that would not permit him to do what he intended. So he encouraged his mother, and took all the care of her the time would allow, and proceeded on the way he proposed to go with the utmost haste, and that was to the fortress of Masada. And as he had many skirmishes with such of the Parthians as attacked him, and pursued him he was conqueror in them all.

9. Nor indeed was he free from the Jews all along as he was in his flight; for by that time he was gotten sixty furlongs out of the city, and was upon the road. they fell upon him, and fought hand to hand with him, whom they also put to flight, and overcame, not like one that was in distress, and in necessity, but like one that was excellently prepared for war, and had

what he wanted in great plenty. And in this very place where he overcame the Jews it was that he some time afterward built a most excellent palace, and a city round about it, and called it *Herodium*. And when he was come to Idumea, at a place called *Thressa*, his brother Joseph met him, and he then held a council to take advice about all his affairs, and what was fit to be done in his circumstances, since he had a great multitude that followed him, besides his mercenary soldiers, and the place Masada, whither he proposed to fly, was too small to contain so great a multitude; so he sent away the greater part of his company, being above nine thousand, and bid them go, some one way, and some another, and so save themselves in Idumea, and gave them what would buy them provisions in their journey; but he took with him those that were least incumbered, and were most intimate with him, and came to the fortress, and placed there his wives, and his followers, being eight hundred in number, there being in the place a sufficient quantity of corn and water, and other necessities, and went directly for Petra, in Arabia. But when it was day, the Parthians plundered all Jerusalem, and the palace, and abstained from nothing but Hyrcanus's money, which was three hundred talents. A great deal of Herod's money escaped, and principally all that the man had been so provident as to send into Idumea before-hand: Nor indeed did what was in the city suffice the Parthians, but they went out into the country, and plundered it, and demolished the city Marisfa.

10. And thus was Antigonus brought back into Judea, by the king of the Parthians, and received Hyrcanus and Phasaelus for his prisoners; but he was greatly cast down because the women had escaped, whom he intended to have given the enemy, as having promised they should have them, with the money, for their reward: But being afraid that Hyrcanus, who was under the guard of the Parthians, might have his kingdom restored to him by the multitude, he cut off his ears, and thereby took care that the high priesthood should never come to him any more, because he was maimed, while the * law required that this dignity should belong to none but such as had all their members entire. But now one cannot but here admire the fortitude of Phasaelus, who perceiving that he was to be put to death, did not think death any terrible thing at all, but to die thus by the means of his enemy, this he thought a most pitiable and dishonourable thing, and therefore, since he had not his hands at liberty, but the bonds he was in, prevented him from killing himself thereby, he dashed his head against a great stone, and thereby took away his own life, which he thought to be the best thing he could do in such a distress as

* This law of Moses, that the priests were to be *without blemish*, as to all the parts of their bodies, is in Levit. xxi. 17,—24.

he was in, and thereby put it out of the power of the enemy to bring him to any death he pleased. It is also reported, that when he had made a great wound in his head, Antigonus sent Physicians to cure it, and by ordering them to infuse poison into the wound, killed him. However, Phasaelus hearing, before he was quite dead, by a certain woman, that his brother Herod had escaped the enemy, underwent his death cheerfully, since he now left behind him one who would revenge his death, and who was able to inflict punishment on his enemies.

C H A P. XIV.

How Herod got away from the King of Arabia, and made haste to go into Egypt, and thence went in haste also to Rome; and how, by promising a great deal of Money to Antony, he obtained of the Senate, and of Cæsar to be made King of the Jews.

§ 1. **A**S for Herod, the great miseries he was in did not discourage him, but made him sharp in discovering surprising undertakings; for he went to Malchus, king of Arabia, whom he had formerly been very kind to, in order to receive somewhat by way of requital, now he was in more than ordinary want of it, and desired he would let him have some money, either by way of loan, or as his free gift, on account of the many benefits he had received from him, for not knowing what was become of his brother, he was in haste to redeem him out of the hand of his enemies, as willing to give three hundred talents for the price of his redemption. He also took with him the son of Phasaelus, who was a child of but seven years of age. for this very reason that he might be an hostage for the repayment of the money: But there came messengers from Malchus to meet him, by whom he was desired to be gone, for that the Parthians had laid a charge upon him not to entertain Herod. This was only a pretence, which he made use of that he might not be obliged to repay him what he owed him; and this he was farther induced to, by the principal men among the Arabians, that they might cheat him of what sums they had received from [his father] Antipater, and which he had committed to their fidelity. He made answer, that he did not intend to be troublesome to them by his coming thither, but that he desired only to discourse with them about certain affairs that were to him of the greatest importance.

2. Hereupon he resolved to go away, and did go very prudently the road to Egypt; and then it was that he lodged in a certain temple, for he had left a great many of his followers there. On the next day he came to Rhinocolura, and there it was that he heard what was befallen his brother. Though Malchus soon repented of what he had done, and came run-

ning after Herod, but with no manner of success, for he was gotten a very great way off, and made haste into the road to Pelusium ; and when the stationary ships that lay there hindered him from sailing to Alexandria, he went to their captains, by whose assistance, and that out of much reverence of and great regard to him, he was conducted into the city [Alexandria,] and was retained there by Cleopatra, yet was she not able to prevail with him to stay there, because he was making haste to Rome, even though the weather was stormy, and he was informed that the affairs of Italy was very tumultuous, and in great disorder.

3. So he set sail from thence to Pamphylia, and falling into a violent storm, he had much ado to escape to Rhodes, with the loss of the ship's burden ; and there it was that two of his friends, Sappinas and Ptolemeus met with him : And as he found that city very much damaged in the war against Cassius, though he were in necessity himself, he neglected not to do it a kindness, but did what he could to recover it to its former state. He also built there a three decked ship, and set sail thence, with his friends, for Italy, and came to the port of Brundisium : And when he was come from thence to Rome, he first related to Antony what had befallen him in Judea, and how Phasaëlus his brother was seized on by the Parthians, and put to death by them, and how Hyrcanus was detained captive by them, and how they had made Antigonus king, who had promised them a sum of money, no less than a thousand talents, with five hundred women, who were to be of the principal families, and of the Jewish stock, and that he had carried off the women by night, and that, by undergoing a great many hardships, he had escaped the hands of his enemies ; as also, that his own relations were in danger of being besieged and taken, and that he had sailed thro' a storm, and contemned all these terrible dangers of it, in order to come, as soon as possible, to him, who was his hope and only succour at this time.

4. This account made Antony commiserate * the change that had happened in Herod's condition ; and reasoning with himself that this was a common case among those that are placed in such great dignities, and that they are liable to the mutations that come from fortune, he was very ready to give him the assistance he desired, and this because he called to mind the friendship he had had with Antipater, because Herod offered him money to make him king, as he had formerly given it him to make him tetrarch, and chiefly because of his hatred to Antigonus, for he took him to be a seditious person, and an enemy to the Romans. Cesar was also the forwarder

* Concerning the chronology of Herod, and the time when he was first made king at Rome, and concerning the time when he began his second reign, without a rival, upon the conquest and slaughter of Antigonus, both principal v derived from this and the two next chapters in Josephus, see the note on § 6. and ch. xv.

to raise Herod's dignity, and to give him his assistance in what he desired, on account of the toils of war which he had himself undergone with Antipater his father in Egypt, and of the hospitality he had treated him withal, and the kindness he had always shewed him as also to gratify Antony, who was very zealous for Herod. So a senate was convoked; and Messala first, and then Atratinus, introduced Herod into it, and enlarged upon the benefits they had received from his father, and put them in mind of the good will he had borne to the Romans. At the same time, they accused Antigonus, and declared him an enemy, not only because of his former opposition to them, but that he had now overlooked the Romans, and taken the government from the Parthians. Upon this the senate was irritated; and Antony informed them farther, that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king. This seemed good to all the senators; and so they made a decree accordingly.

5. And this was the principal instance of Antony's affection for Herod, that he not only procured him a kingdom which he did not expect, (for he did not come with an intention to ask the kingdom for himself, which he did not suppose the Romans would grant him, who used to bestow it on some of the royal family, but intended to desire it for his wife's brother, who was grandson by his father to Aristobulus, and to Hyrcanus by his mother), but that he procured it for him so suddenly that he obtained what he did not expect, and departed out of Italy in so few days as seven in all. This young man [the grandson] Herod afterward took care to have slain, as we shall shew in its proper place. But when the senate was dissolved, Antony and Cesar went out of the senate house, with Herod between them, and with the consuls and other magistrates before them, in order to offer sacrifices, and to lay up their decrees in the capitol. Antony also feasted Herod the first day of his reign. And thus did this man receive the kingdom, having obtained it on the hundred and eighty-fourth olympiad, when Caius Domitius Calvinus was consul the second time, and Caius Asinius Pollio [the first time].

6. All this while Antigonus besieged those that were in Massada, who had plenty of all other necessaries, but were only in want * of water, insomuch that on this occasion Josephus, Herod's brother, was contriving to run away from it, with two hundred of his dependants, to the Arabians; for he had heard that Malchus repented of the offences he had been guilty of with regard to Herod; but God, by sending rain in the night time, prevented his going away, for their cisterns were thereby filled, and he was under no necessity of running away on that account: But they were now of good courage, and

* This grievous want of water at Massada, till the place had like to have been taken by the Parthians, mentioned both here, and Of the War, B. I. ch. xv. § 1. vol. III. is an indication that it was now summer time.

the more so, because the sending that plenty of water which they had been in want of seemed a mark of divine providence; so they made a sally, and fought hand to hand with Antigonus's soldiers, with some openly, with some privately, and destroyed a great number of them. At the same time, Ventidius, the general of the Romans, was sent out of Syria, to drive the Parthians out of it, and marched after them into Judea, in pretence indeed to succour Joseph, but in reality, the whole affair was no more than a stratagem, in order to get money of Antigonus; so they pitched their camp very near to Jerusalem, and wiped Antigonus of a great deal of money, and then he retired himself with the greater part of the army; but that the wickedness he had been guilty of might not be found out, he left Silo there, with a certain part of his soldiers, with whom also Antigonus cultivated an acquaintance, that he might cause him no disturbance, and was still in hopes that the Parthians would come again and defend him.

C H A P. XV.

How Herod Sailed out of Italy to Judea, and Fought with Antigonus; and what other things happened in Judea about that time.

§ 1. **B**Y this time Herod had sailed out of Italy to Ptolemais, and had gotten together no small army, both of strangers and of his own countrymen, and marched through Galilee against Antigonus. Silo also, and Ventidius, came and assisted him, being persuaded by Dellius, who was sent by Antony to assist in bringing back Herod. Now for Ventidius, he was employed in composing the disturbances that had been made in the cities by the means of the Parthians; and for Silo, he was in Judea indeed, but corrupted by Antigonus. However as Herod went along his army increased every day, and all Galilee, with some small exception, joined him; but as he was marching to those that were at Massada, for he was obliged to endeavour to save those that were in that fortress, now they were besieged, because they were his relations; Joppa was an hindrance to him, for it was necessary for him to take that place first, it being a city at variance with him, that no strong hold might be left in his enemies hands behind him when he should go to Jerusalem: And when Silo made this a pretence for rising up from Jerusalem, and was thereupon pursued by the Jews, Herod fell upon them with a small body of men, and both put the Jews to flight and saved Silo, when he was very poorly able to defend himself; but when Herod had taken Joppa, he made haste to set free those of his family that were in Massada. Now of the people of the country, some joined him because of the friendship they had had with his fa-

ther, and some because of the splendid appearance he made, and others by way of requital for the benefits they had received from both of them, but the greatest number came to him in hopes of getting somewhat from him afterward, if he were once firmly settled in the kingdom.

2. Herod had now a strong army ; and as he marched on, Antigonus laid snares and ambushes in the passes and places most proper for them, but in truth he thereby did little or no damage to the enemy : So Herod received those of his family out of Massada, and the fortrefs Ressa, and then went on for Jerusalem. The soldiery also that was with Silo accompanied him all along, as did many of the citizens, being afraid of his power : And as soon as he had pitched his camp on the west side of the city, the soldiers that were set to guard that part shot their arrows, and threw their darts at him ; and when some sallied out in a crowd, and came to fight hand to hand with the first ranks of Herod's army, he gave orders that they should, in the first place, make proclamation about the wall, That " he came for the good of the people, and for the preservation of the city, and not to bear any old grudge at even his most open enemies, but ready to forget the offences which his greatest adversaries had done him." But Antigonus by way of reply to what Herod had caused to be proclaimed; and this before the Romans, and before Silo also, said, That " they would not do justly, if they gave the kingdom to Herod, who was no more than a private man, and an Idumean, i. e. * an half Jew, whereas they ought to bestow it on one of the royal family, as their custom was ; for, that in case they at present bear an ill-will to him, and had resolved to deprive him of the kingdom, as having received it from the Parthians yet were there many others of his family that might by their law take it, and these such as had no way offended the Romans, and being of the sacerdotal family, it would be an unworthy thing to put them by." Now, while they said thus, one to another, and fell to reproaching one another on both sides, Antigonus permitted his own men that were upon the wall to defend themselves, who using their bows, and showing great alacrity against their enemies, easily drove them away from the towers.

3. And now it was that Silo discovered that he had taken bribes : For he set a good number of his soldiers to complain aloud of want of provisions they were in, and to require money to buy them food, and that it was fit to let them go into places proper for winter quarters, since the places near the

* This affirmation of Antigonus's spoken in the days of Herod, and in a manner to his face, that he was an *Idumean*, i. e. an *half Jew*, seems to me of much greater authority than that pretence of his favourite and flatterer Nicolaus of Damascus, that he derived his pedigree from Jews as far backward as the Babylonish captivity, ch. i. § 3. Accordingly Josephus always esteems him an Idumean, though he says his father Antipater was of the same people with the Jews, ch. viii. § 1. and by birth a Jew, Antiq. B. XX. ch. viii. § 7 as indeed all such proselytes of justice as the Idumeans were in time esteemed the very same people with the Jews.

city were a desert, by reason that Antigonus's foldiers had carried all away ; so he set the army upon removing, and endeavoured to march away : But Herod pressed Silo not to depart ; and exhorted Silo's captains and soldiers not to desert him, when Cæsar and Antony, and the senate, had sent him thither, for that he would provide them plenty of all the things they wanted, and easily procure them a great abundance of what they required ; after which intreaty, he immediately went out into the country, and left not the least pretence to Silo for his departure, for he brought an unexpected quantity of provisions, and sent to those friends of his who inhabited about Samaria, to bring down corn, and wine, and oil, and cattle, and all other provisions, to Jericho, that there might be no want of a supply for the soldiers for the time to come. Antigonus was sensible of this, and sent presently over the country such as might restrain and lie in ambush for those that went out for provisions. So these men obeyed the orders of Antigonus, and got together a great number of armed men about Jericho, and sat upon the mountains, and watched those that brought the provisions. However, Herod was not idle in the mean time, for he took ten bands of soldiers, of whom five were of the Romans, and five of the Jews, with some mercenaries among them, and with some few horsemen, and came to Jericho ; and as they found the city deserted, but that five hundred of them had settled themselves on the tops of the hills, with their wives and children, those he took and sent away ; but the Romans fell upon the city, and plundered it, and found the houses full of all sorts of good things. So the king left a garrison at Jericho, and came back again, and sent the Roman army to take their winter quarters in the countries that were come over to him, Judea and Galilee, and Samaria. And so much did Antigonus gain of Silo for the bribes he gave him, that part of the army should be quartered at Lidda, in order to please Antony. So the Romans laid their weapons aside, and lived in plenty of all things.

4. But Herod was not pleased with lying still, but sent out his brother Joseph against Idumea with two thousand armed footmen, and four hundred horsemen, while he himself came to Samaria, and left his mother and his other relations there, for they were already gone out of Masada, and went into Galilee, to take certain places which were held by the garrisons of Antigonus ; and he passed on to Sepphoris, as God sent a snow, while Antigonus's garrisons withdrew themselves, and had great plenty of provisions. He also went thence, and resolved to destroy those robbers that dwelt in the caves, and did much mischief in the country ; so he sent a troop of horsemen, and three companies of armed footmen against them. They were very near to a village called *Arbela* ; and on the fortieth day after he came himself, with his whole army : And as the enemy sallied out boldly upon him the left wing of his

army gave way, but he appearing with a body of men, put those to flight who were already conquerors, and recalled his men that ran away. He also pressed upon his enemies, and pursued them as far as the river Jordan, though they ran away by different roads. So he brought over to him all Galilee, excepting those that dwelt in the caves, and distributed money to every one of his soldiers, giving them a hundred and fifty drachmæ apiece, and much more to their captains, and sent them into winter quarters : At which time Silo came to him, and his commanders with him, because Antigonus would not give them provisions any longer, for he supplied them for no more than one month ; nay, he had sent to all the country about, and ordered them to carry off the provisions that were there, and retire to the mountains, that the Romans might have no provisions to live upon, and so might perish by famine : But Herod committed the care of that matter to Pheroras, his youngest brother, and ordered him to repair Alexandrium also. Accordingly he quickly made the soldiers abound with great plenty of provisions, and rebuilt Alexandrium, which had been before desolate.

5. About this time it was that Antony continued some time at Athens, and that Ventidius, who was now in Syria, sent for Silo, and commanded him to assist Herod in the first place to finish the present war, and then to send for their confederates, for the war they were themselves engaged in ; but as for Herod, he went in haste against the robbers that were in the caves, and sent Silo away to Ventidius while he marched against them. These caves were in mountains that were exceedingly abrupt, and in their middle were no other than precipices, with certain entrances into the caves, and those caves were encompassed with sharp rocks, and in these did the robbers lie concealed, with all their families about them ; but the King caused certain chests to be made, in order to destroy them, and to be hung down, bound about with iron chains, by an engine from the top of the mountain, it being not possible to get up to them by reason of the sharp ascent of the mountains, nor to creep down to them from above. Now these chests were filled with armed men, who had long hooks in their hands, by which they might pull out such as resisted them, and then tumble them down, and kill them by so doing ; but the letting of the chests down proved to be a matter of great danger, because of the vast depth they were to be let down, although they had their provisions in the chests themselves : But when the chests were let down, and not one of those in the mouths of the caves durst come near them, but lay still out of fear, some of the armed men girt on their armour, and by both their hands took hold of the chain by which the chests were let down, and went into the mouths of the caves, because they fretted that such delay was made by the robbers not daring to come out of the caves ; and when they were at any of those mouths, they first killed many of those that

were in the mouths with their darts; and afterwards pulled those to them that resisted them with their hooks, and tumbled them down the precipices, and afterwards went into the caves, and killed many more; and then went into their chests again, and lay still there; but upon this, terror seized the rest, when they heard the lamentations that were made, and they despaired of escaping: However, when the night came on that put an end to the whole work; and as the king proclaimed pardon by an herald to such as delivered themselves up to him, many accepted of the offer. The same method of assault was made use of the next day; and they went farther, and got out in baskets, to fight them, and fought them at their doors, and sent fire among them, and set their caves on fire, for there was a great deal of combustible matter within them. Now there was one old man who was caught within one of these caves, with seven children and a wife; these prayed them to give them leave to go out, and yield themselves up to the enemy, but he stood at the cave's mouth, and always slew that child of his who went out, till he had destroyed them every one, and after that he slew his wife, and cast their dead bodies down the precipice, and himself after them, and so underwent death rather than slavery: But before he did this, he greatly reproached Herod with the meanness of his family, although he was then king. Herod also saw what he was doing, and stretched out his hand, and offered him all manner of security for his life: By which means all these caves were at length subdued entirely.

6. And when the king had set Ptolemy over these parts of the country as his general, he went to Samaria, with six hundred horsemen, and three thousand armed footmen, as intending to fight Antigonus. But still this command of the army did not succeed well with Ptolemy, but those that had been troublesome to Galilee before attacked him, and slew him; and when they had done this, they fled among the lakes and places almost inaccessible, laying waste and plundering whatsoever they could come at in those places. But Herod soon returned, and punished them for what they had done; for some of these rebels he slew, and others of them, who had fled to the strong holds, he besieged, and both slew them, and demolished their strong holds: And when he had thus put an end to their rebellion, he laid a fine upon the cities of an hundred talents.

7. In the mean time Pacorus was fallen in a battle, and the Parthians were defeated, when Ventidius sent Macherus to the assistance of Herod, with two legions, and a thousand horsemen, while Antony encouraged him to make haste. But Macherus, at the instigation of Antigonus, without the approbation of Herod, as being corrupted by money, went about to take a view of his affairs: But Antigonus suspecting this intention of his coming, did not admit him into the city, but

kept him at a distance, with throwing stones at him, and plainly shewed what he himself meant. But when Macherus was sensible that Herod had given him good advice, and that he had made a mistake himself in not hearkening to that advice, he retired to the city Emmaus; and what Jews he met with he slew them, whether they were enemies, or friends, out of the rage he was in at what hardships he had undergone. The king was provoked at this conduct of his, and went to Samaria, and resolved to go to Antony about these affairs, and to inform him that he stood in no need of such helpers, who did him more mischief than they did his enemies, and that he was able of himself to beat Antigonus; but Macherus followed him, and desired that he would not go to Antony, or, if he was resolved to go, that he would join his brother Joseph with them, and let them fight against Antigonus. So he was reconciled to Macherus, upon his earnest entreaties. Accordingly he left Joseph there with his army, but charged him to run no hazards, nor to quarrel with Macherus.

8. But for his own part, he made haste to Antony, (who was then at the siege of Samosata, a place upon Euphrates) with his troops, both horsemen and footmen, to be auxiliaries to him: And when he came to Antioch, and met there a great number of men gotten together that were very desirous to go to Antony, but durst not venture to go out of fear, because the Barbarians fell upon men on the road, and slew many, so he encouraged them, and became their conductor upon the road. Now when they were within two days march of Samosata, the Barbarians had laid an ambush there to disturb those that came to Antony, and where the woods made the passes narrow, as they led to the plains, there they laid not a few of their horsemen, who were to lie still until those passengers were gone by into the wide place. Now as soon as the first ranks were gone by, (for Herod brought on the rear,) those that lay in ambush, who were about five hundred, fell upon them on the sudden, and when they had put the foremost to flight, the king came riding hard, with the forces that were about him, and immediately drove back the enemy; by which means he made the minds of his own men courageous, and emboldened them to go on, insomuch that those who ran away before, now returned back, and the barbarians were slain on all sides. The king also went on killing them, and recovered all the baggage, among which were a great number of beasts for burden, and of slaves, and proceeded on in his march; and whereas there were a very great number of those in the woods that attacked them, and were near the passage that led into the plain, he made a sally upon these also with a strong body of men; and put them to flight, and slew many of them, and thereby rendered the way safe for those that came after; and these called Herod their saviour and protector.

9. And when it was near to Samosata, Antony sent out his

army in all their proper habiliments to meet him, in order to pay Herod this respect, and because of the assistance he had given him, for he had heard what attacks the Barbarians had made upon him [in Judea.] He also was very glad to see him there, as having been made acquainted with the great actions he had performed upon the road : So he entertained him very kindly, and could not but admire his courage. Antony also embraced him as soon as he saw him, and saluted him after a most affectionate manner, and gave him the upper hand, as having himself lately made him a king ; and in a little time Antiochus delivered up the fortrefs, and on that account this war was at an end ; then Antony committed the rest to Sosius, and gave him orders to assist Herod, and went himself to Egypt. Accordingly Sosius sent two legions before into Judea to the assistance of Herod, and he followed himself with the body of the army.

10. Now Joseph was already slain in Judea, in the manner following : He forgot what charge his brother Herod had given him when he went to Antony ; and when he had pitched his camp among the mountains, for Macherus had lent him five regiments, with these he went hastily to Jericho, in order to reap the corn thereto belonging ; and as the Roman Regiments were but newly raised, and were unskilful in war, for they were in great part collected out of Syria he was attacked by the enemy, and caught in those places of difficulty, and was himself slain, as he was fighting bravely, and the whole army was lost, for there were six regiments slain. So when Antigonius had got possession of the dead bodies, he cut off Joseph's head, although Pheroras his brother would have redeemed it at the price of fifty talents. After which defeat, the Galileans revolted from their commanders, and took those of Herod's party, and drowned them in the lake. and a great part of Judea was become seditious ; but Macherus fortified the place Gitta [in Samaria.]

11. At this time messengers came to Herod, and informed him of what had been done ; and when he was come to Daphne by Antioch, they told him of the ill fortune that had befallen his brother ; which yet he expected, from certain visions that appeared to him in his dreams, which clearly foreshewed his brother's death. So he hastened his march ; and when he came to mount Libanus, he received about eight hundred of the men of that place, having already with him also one Roman legion, and with these he came to Ptolemais. He also marched thence by night with his army, and proceeded along Galilee. Here it was that the enemy met him, and fought him, and were beaten, and shut up in the same place of strength whence they had sallied out the day before. So he attacked the place in the morning, but by reason of a great storm that was then very violent, he was able to do nothing, but drew off his army into the neighbouring villages ; yet as soon as the other

legion that Antony sent him was come to his assistance, those that were in garrison in the place were afraid, and deserted it in the night time. Then did the king march hastily to Jericho, intending to avenge himself on the enemy for the slaughter of his brother; and when he had pitched his tents, he made a feast for the principal commanders, and after this collation was over, and he had dismissed his guests, he retired to his own chamber: And here may one see what kindness God had for the King, for the upper part of the house fell down when no body was in it, and so killed none, insomuch that all the people believed that Herod was beloved of God, since he had escaped such a great and surprising danger.

12. But the next day six thousand of the enemy came down from the tops of the mountains to fight the Romans, which greatly terrified them; and the soldiers that were in light armour came near, and pelted the King's guards that were come out with darts and stones and one of them hit him on the side with a dart. Antigonus also sent a commander against Samaria, whose name was *Pappus*, with some forces, being desirous to shew the enemy how potent he was, and that he had men to spare in his war with them: He sat down to oppose Macherus; but Herod when he had taken five cities, took such as were left in them, being about two thousand, and slew them, and burnt the cities themselves, and then returned to go against Pappus, who was encamped at a village called *Isanias*: And there ran in to him many out of Jericho and Judea, near to which places he was, and the enemy fell upon his men, so stout were they at this time, and joined battle with them, but he beat them in the fight; and in order to be revenged on them for the slaughter of his brother, he pursued them sharply, and killed them as they ran away: * And as the houses were full of armed men, and many of them ran as far as the tops of the houses, he got them under his power, and pulled down the roofs of the houses, and saw the lower rooms full of soldiers that were caught, and lay all on a heap; so they threw stones down upon them as they lay piled one upon another, and thereby killed them: Nor was there a more frightful spectacle in all the war than this, where beyond the walls an immense multitude of dead men lay heaped one upon another. This action it was which chiefly brake the spirits of the enemy, who expected now what would come, for there appeared a mighty number of people that came from places far distant, that were now about the village but then ran away; and had it not been for the depth of winter, which

* It may be worth our observation here, that these soldiers of Herod could not have gotten upon the tops of these houses which were full of enemies, in order to pull up the upper floors, and destroy them beneath, but by ladders from the outside; which illustrates some texts in the New Testament, by which it appears that men used to ascend thither by ladders on the out-sides. See Matt. xxiv. 17. Mark xiii. 15. Luke v. 19. xlvii. 31.

then restrained them. the King's army had presently gone to Jerusalem, as being very courageous at this good success, and the whole work had been done immediately, for Antigonus was already looking about how he might fly away, and leave the city.

13. At this time the King gave order that the soldiers should go to supper, for it was late at night, while he went into a chamber to use the bath, for he was very weary : And here it was that he was in the greatest danger, which yet by God's providence, he escaped ; for as he was naked, and had but one servant that followed him to be with him while he was bathing in an inner room, certain of the enemy, who were in their armour, and had fled thither out of fear, were then in the place ; and as he was bathing, the first of them came out with his naked sword drawn, and went out at the doors, and after him a second and a third, armed in like manner, and were under such a consternation that they did no hurt to the King, and thought themselves to have come off very well in suffering no harm themselves in their getting out of the house. However, on the next day he cut off the head of Pappus, for he was already slain, and sent it to Pheroras, as a punishment of what their brother had suffered by his means, for he was the man that slew him with his own hand.

14. When the rigour of winter was over, Herod removed his army and came near to Jerusalem, and pitched his camp hard by the city. Now this was the third year since he had been made King at Rome ; and as he removed his camp, and came near that part of the wall where it could be most easily assaulted, he pitched that camp before the temple, intending to make his attacks in the same manner as did Pompey, so he encompassed the place with three bulwarks, and erected towers, and employed a great many hands about the works, and cut down the trees that were round about the city ; and when he had appointed proper persons to oversee the works, even while the army lay before the city, he himself went to Samaria to complete his marriage, and to take to wife the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, for he had betrothed her already, as I have before related.

C H A P. XVI.

How Herod when he had married Mariamne, took Jerusalem, with the assistance of Sosius, by force ; and how the Government of the Asamoneans was put an end to.

§ 1. **A**FTER the wedding was over, came Sosius through Phenicia, having sent out his army before him over the midland parts. He also, who was their commander, came himself, with a great number of horsemen and footmen.

The king also came himself from Samaria, and brought with him no small army, besides that which was there before, for they were about thirty thousand ; and they all met together at the walls of Jerusalem, and encamped at the north wall of the city, being now an army of eleven legions, armed men on foot, and six thousand horsemen, with other auxiliaries out of Syria. The generals were two, Sosius, sent by Antony to assist Herod, and Herod on his own account, in order to take the government from Antigonus, who was declared an enemy at Rome, and that he might himself be king, according to the decree of the senate.

2. Now the Jews that were inclosed within the walls of the city fought against Herod with great alacrity and zeal, (for the whole nation was gathered together) ; they also gave out many prophecies about the temple, and many things agreeable to the people, as if God would deliver them out of the dangers they were in ; had also carried off what was out of the city, that they might not leave any thing to afford sustenance either for men or for beasts ; and by private robberies, they made the want of necessaries greater. When Herod understood this, he opposed ambushes in the fittest places against their private robberies, and he sent legions of armed men to bring in provisions, and that from remote places, so that in a little time they had great plenty of provisions. Now the three bulwarks were easily erected, because so many hands were continually at work upon it ; for it was summer time, and there was nothing to hinder them in raising their works, neither from the air, nor from the workmen : So they brought their engines to bear, and shook the walls of the city, and tried all manner of ways to get in ; yet did not those within discover any fear, but they also contrived not a few engines to oppose their engines withal. They also sallied out, and burnt not only those engines that were not yet perfected, but those that were ; and when they came hand to hand, their attempts were not less bold than those of the Romans, though they were behind them in skill. They also erected new works when the former were ruined, and making mines underground, they met each other, and fought there, and making use of brutish courage rather than of prudent valour, they persisted in this war to the very last : And this they did while a mighty army lay round about them, and while they were distressed by famine, and the want of necessaries, for this happened to be a sabbatic year. The first that scaled the walls were twenty chosen men, the next were Sosius's centurions, for the first wall was taken in forty days, and the second in fifteen more, when some of the cloisters that were about the temple were burnt, which Herod gave out to have been burnt by Antigonus, in order to expose him to the hatred of the Jews. And when the outer court of the temple, and the lower city were taken, the Jews fled into the inner court of the temple, and into the up-

per city ; but now fearing lest the Romans should hinder them from offering their daily sacrifices to God, they sent an embassy, and desired that they would only permit them to bring in beasts for sacrifices, which Herod granted, hoping they were going to yield, but when he saw that they did nothing of what he supposed, but bitterly opposed him, in order to preserve the kingdom to Antigonus, he made an assault upon the city and took it by storm ; and now all parts were full of those that were slain, by the rage of the Romans at the long duration of the siege, and by the zeal of the Jews that were on Herod's side, who were not willing to leave one of their adversaries alive ; so they were murdered continually in the narrow streets, and in the houses by crowds, and as they were flying to the temple for shelter, and there was no pity taken of either infants or the aged, nor did they spare so much as the weaker sex ; nay, although the king sent about, and besought them to spare the people, yet nobody restrained their hand from slaughter, but, as if they were a company of madmen, they fell upon persons of all ages, without distinction ; and then Antigonus, without regard to either his past or present circumstances, came down from the citadel, and fell down at the feet of Sosius, who took no pity of him, in the change of his fortune, but insulted him beyond measure, and called him *Antigone*, [*i. e.* a woman, and not a man ;] yet did he not treat him as if he were a woman, by letting him go at liberty, but put him into bonds, and kept him in close custody.

3. And now Herod having overcome his enemies, his care was to govern those foreigners who had been his assistants, for the croud of strangers rushed to see the temple, and the sacred things in the temple ; but the king thinking a victory to be a more severe affliction than a defeat, if any of those things which it was not lawful to see should be seen by them, used entreaties and threatnings, and even sometimes force itself, to restrain them. He also prohibited the ravage that was made in the city, and many times asked Sosius, whether the Romans would empty the city both of money and of men, and leave him king of a desert ? and told him, that he esteemed the dominion over the whole habitable earth as by no means an equivalent satisfaction for such a murder of his citizens : And when he said, that this plunder was justly to be permitted the soldiers, for the siege they had undergone, he replied, that he would give every one their reward out of his own money, and by this means he redeemed what remained of the city from destruction, and he performed what he had promised him, for he gave a noble present to every soldier, and a proportionable present to their commanders, but a most royal present to Sosius himself, till they all went away full of money.

4. This * destruction befel the city of Jerusalem when Mar-

* Note here, that Josephus fully and frequently assures us that there passed above three years between Herod's first obtaining the kingdom at Rome, and his se-

cus Agrippa, and Caninius Gallus were consuls of Rome, on the hundred eighty and fifth olympiad, on the third month, on the solemnity of the fast, as if a periodical revolution of calamities had returned, since that which befel the Jews under Pompey, for the Jews were taken by him on the same day, and this was alter twenty-seven years time. So when Sosius had dedicated a crown of gold to God, he marched away from Jerusalem, and carried Antigonus with him in bonds to Antony; but Herod was afraid lest Antigonus should be kept in prison [only] by Antony, and that when he was carried to Rome by him, he might get his cause to be heard by the senate, and might demonstrate, as he was himself of the royal blood, and Herod but a private man, that therefore it belonged to his sons however to have the kingdom on account of the family they were of, in case he had himself offended the Romans by what he had done. Out of Herod's fear of this it was, that he, by giving Antony a great deal of money endeavoured to persuade him to have Antigonus slain, which if it were once done, he should be free from that fear. And thus did the government of the Asamoneans cease, an hundred twenty and six years after it was first set up. This family was a splendid and an illustrious one, both on account of the nobility of their stock, and of the dignity of the high priesthood, as also for the glorious actions their ancestors had performed for our nation: But these men lost the government by their dissentions one with another, and it came to Herod the son of Antipater, who was of no more than a vulgar family, and of no eminent extraction, but one that was subject to other kings: And this is what history tells us was the end of the Asamonean family.

cond obtaining it upon the taking of Jerusalem, and death of Antigonus. The present history of this interval twice mentions the army's going into winter quarters, which perhaps belonged to two several winters, ch. xv. § 3, 4. and though Josephus says nothing how long they lay in those quarters, yet does he give such an account of the long and studied delays of Ventidius Silo, and Macheras, who were to see Herod settled in his new kingdom, (but seem not to have had sufficient forces for that purpose, and were for certain all corrupted by Antigonus to make the longest delays possible, and give us such particular accounts of the many great actions of Herod's during the same interval, as fairly imply that interval, before Herod went to Samosata, to have been very considerable. However what is wanting in Josephus, is fully supplied by Moses Chorenensis, the Armenian historian, in his history of that interval, B. II. ch. xviii. where he directly assures us, that Tigranes, then king of Armenia, and the principal manager of this Parthian war, reigned two years after Herod was made king at Rome, and yet Antony did not hear of his death, in that very neighbourhood, at Samosata, till he was come thither to besiege it: After which Herod brought him an army, which was 340 miles march, and through a difficult country full of enemies also, and joined with him in the siege of Samosata till that city was taken; then Herod and Sosius march back with their large armies the same number of 340 miles, and when in a little time, they sat down to besiege Jerusalem, they were not able to take it but by a siege of five months. All which put together, fully supplies what is wanting in Josephus, and secures the entire chronology of these times beyond contradiction.

BOOK XV.

Containing the interval of eighteen years.

[From the Death of ANTIGONUS to the finishing of the Temple by HEROD.]

CHAP. I.

Concerning Pollio and Sameas. Herod slays the principal of Antigonus's Friends, and spoils the City of its Wealth. Antony beheads Antigonus.

§ 1. **H**OW Sosius and Herod took Jerusalem by force ; and besides that, how they took Antigonus captive, has been related by us in the foregoing book. We will now proceed in the narration. And since Herod had now the government of all Judea put into his hands, he promoted such of the private men in the city as had been of his party, but never left off avenging and punishing every day those that had chosen to be of the party of his enemies : But Pollio the Pharisee, and Sameas, a disciple of his, were honoured by him above all the rest, for when Jerusalem was besieged, they advised the citizens to receive Herod, for which advice they were well requited ; but this Pollio, at the time when Herod was once upon his trial of life and death, foretold, in way of reproach, to Hyrcanus and the other judges, how this Herod, whom they suffered now to escape, would afterward inflict punishment on them all ; which had its completion in time, while God fulfilled the words he had spoken.

2. At this time Herod, now he had got Jerusalem under his power, carried off all the royal ornaments, and spoiled the wealthy men of what they had gotten ; and when, by these means, he had heaped together a great quantity of silver and gold, he gave it all to Antony, and his friends that were about him. He also slew forty-five of the principal men of Antigonus's party, and set guards at the gates of the city, that nothing might be carried out together with their dead bodies. They also searched the dead, and whatsoever was found, either of silver or gold, or other treasure, it was carried to the king ; nor was there any end of the miseries he brought upon them, and this distress was in part occasioned by the covetousness of the prince regent, who was still in want of more, and in part by the sabbatic year, which was still going on, and forced the country to lie still uncultivated, since we are forbidden to sow our land in that year. Now when Antony

had received Antigonus as his captive, he determined to keep him against his triumph; but when he heard that the nation grew seditious, and that out of their hatred to Herod, they continued to bear good will to Antigonus, he resolved to behead him at Antioch, for otherwise the Jews could no way be brought to be quiet. And Strabo of Cappadocia attests to what I have said, when he thus speaks: "Antony ordered Antigonus the Jew to be brought to Antioch, and there to be beheaded; and this Antony seems to me to have been the very first man who beheaded a king, as supposing he could no other way bend the minds of the Jews, so as to receive Herod, whom he had made king in his stead, for by no torments could they be forced to call him king, so great a fondness they had for their former king; so he thought that this dishonourable death would diminish the value they had for Antigonus's memory, and at the same time would diminish their hatred they bare to Herod." Thus far Strabo.

CH A P. II.

How Hyrcanus was set at Liberty by the Parthians, and returned to Herod; and what Alexandra did when she heard that Ananelus was made High Priest.

§ 1. **N**OW after Herod was in possession of the kingdom, Hyrcanus the high priest, who was then a captive among the Parthians, came to him again, and was set free from his captivity, in the manner following: Barzapharnes and Pacorus, the generals of the Parthians, took Hyrcanus, who was first made high priest and afterward king, and Herod's brother, Phasaëlus, captives, and were carrying them away into Parthia. Phasaëlus indeed could not bear the reproach of being in bonds, and thinking that death with glory was better than any life whatsoever, he became his own executioner, as I have formerly related.

2. But when Hyrcanus was brought into Parthia, the king Phraates treated him after a very gentle manner, as having already learned of what an illustrious family he was; on which account he set him free from his bonds, and gave him an habitation at * Babylon, where there was Jews in great numbers. These Jews honoured Hyrcanus as their high priest, and king; as did all the Jewish nation that dwelt as far as Euphrates; which respect was very much to his satisfaction. But when he was informed that Herod had received the kingdom, new

* The city here called *Babylon* by Josephus, seems to be one which was built by some of the Seleucidae upon the Tigris, which long after the utter desolation of old Babylon, was commonly so called, and I suppose not far from Seleucia; just as the later adjoining city Bagdat has been, and is often called by the same old name of Babylon till this very day.

hopes came upon him, as having been himself, still of a kind disposition towards him ; and expecting that Herod would bear in mind what favour he had received from him, and when he was upon his trial, and when he was in danger that a capital sentence would be pronounced against him, he delivered him from that danger, and from all punishment. Accordingly, he talked of that matter with the Jews that came often to him with great affection ; but they endeavoured to retain him among them, and desired that he would stay with them, putting him in mind of the kind offices and honours they did him, and that those honours they paid him were not at all inferior to what they could pay to either their high priests or their kings ; and what was a greater motive to determine him, they said was this, that he could not have those dignities [in Judea] because of that maim in his body, which had been inflicted on him by Antigonus ; and that kings do not use to requite men for those kindnesses which they received when they were private persons, the height of their fortune making usually no small changes in them.

3. Now although they suggested these arguments to him for his own advantage, yet did Hyrcanus still desire to depart. Herod also wrote to him, and persuaded him to desire of Phraates, and the Jews that were there, that they should not grudge him the royal authority, which he should have jointly with himself, for that now was the proper time for himself to make him amends for the favours he had received from him, as having been brought up by him, and saved by him also, as well as for Hyrcanus to receive it. And as he wrote thus to Hyrcanus, so did he send also Saramallas, his ambassador, to Phraates, and many presents with him, and desired him in the most obliging way, that he would be no hindrance to his gratitude towards his benefactor. But this zeal of Herod's did not flow from that principle, but because he had been made governor of that country without having any just claim to it, he was afraid, and that upon reasons good enough, of a change in his condition, and so made what haste he could to get Hyrcanus into his power, or indeed to put him quite out of the way : Which last thing he compassed afterward.

4. Accordingly, when Hyrcanus came, full of assurance, by the permission of the king of Parthia, and at the expence of the Jews who supplied him with money, Herod received him with all possible respect, and gave him the upper place at public meetings, and set him above all the rest at feasts, and thereby deceived him. He called him his father ; and endeavoured, by all the ways possible, that he might have no suspicion of any treacherous design against him. He also did other things, in order to secure his government, which yet occasioned a sedition in his own family ; for being cautious how

he made any * illustrious person the high-priest of God, he sent for an obscure priest out of Babylon, whose name was Ananelus, and bestowed the high priesthood upon him.

5. However, Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and wife of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus the king, who had also brought Alexander [two] children, could not bear this indignity. Now this son was one of the greatest comeliness, and was called Aristobulus; and the daughter, Mariamne, was married to Herod, and eminent for her beauty also. This Alexandra was much disturbed, and took this indignity offered to her son exceeding ill, that while he was alive, any one else should be sent for to have the dignity of the high priesthood conferred upon him. Accordingly she wrote to Cleopatra (a musician assisting her in taking care to have her letters carried), to desire her intercession with Antony, in order to gain the high priesthood for her son.

6. But as Antony was slow in granting this request, his friend † Dellius came into Judea upon some affairs, and when he saw Aristobulus, he stood in admiration at the tallness and handsomeness of the child, and no less at Mariamne, the king's wife, and was open in his commendations of Alexandra, as the mother of most beautiful children: And when she came to discourse with him, he persuaded her to get pictures drawn of them both, and to send them to Antony, for that when he saw them, he would deny her nothing that she should ask. Accordingly Alexandra was elevated with these words of his, and sent the pictures to Antony. Dellius also talked extravagantly, and said, That "these children seemed not derived from men, but from some god or other." His design in doing so was to entice Antony into lewd pleasures with them, who was ashamed to send for the damsel, as being the wife of Herod, and avoided it, because of the reproaches he should have from Cleopatra on that account, but he sent, in the most decent manner he could, for the young man; but added this withal. "Unless he thought it hard upon him so to do." When this letter was brought to Herod, he did not think it safe for him to send one so handsome as was Aristobulus, in the prime of his life, for he was sixteen years of age, and of so noble a family, and particularly not to Antony, the principal man among

* Here we have an eminent example of Herod's worldly and profane politics, when by the abuse of his unlawful and usurped power, to make whom he pleased high priest, in the person of Ananelus, he occasioned such disturbances in his kingdom, and in his own family, as suffered him to enjoy no lasting peace or tranquillity ever afterward: And such is frequently the effect of profane court politics about matters of religion in other ages and nations. The Old Testament is full of the miseries of the people of the Jews derived from such court politics, especially in and after the days of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, *who made Israel to sin*; who gave the most pernicious example of it; who brought on the grossest corruption of religion by it; and the punishment of whose family for it was most remarkable. The case is too well known to stand in need of particular citations.

† Of this wicked Dellius, see the note on the War, B. I. ch. xv. § 3. vol. III.

the Romans, and one that would abuse him in his amours, and besides, one that openly indulged himself in such pleasures, as his own power allowed him, without controul. He therefore wrote back to him, That "if this boy should only go out of the country, all would be in a state of war and uproar, because the Jews were in hopes of a change in the government, and to have another king over them."

7. When Herod had thus excused himself to Antony, he resolved that he would not entirely permit the child or Alexandra to be treated dishonourably : But his wife Mariamne lay vehemently at him to restore the high priesthood to her brother, and he judged it was for his advantage so to do, because, if he once had that dignity, he could not go out of the country. So he called his friends together, and told them, That "Alexandra privately conspired against his royal authority, and endeavoured, by the means of Cleopatra, so to bring it about, that he might be deprived of the government, and that by Antony's means this youth might have the management of public affairs in his stead ; and that this procedure of hers was unjust, since she would at the same time deprive her daughter of the dignity she now had, and would bring disturbances upon the kingdom, for which he had taken a great deal of pains, and had gotten it with extraordinary hazards : That yet, while he well remembered her wicked practices, he would not leave off doing what was right himself, but would even now give the youth the high priesthood ; and that he formerly set up Ananelus, because Aristobulus was then so very young a child." Now when he had said this, not at random, but as he thought with the best discretion he had, in order to deceive the women, and those friends whom he had taken to consult withal. Alexandra out of the great joy she had at this unexpected promise, and out of fear from the suspicions she lay under, fell a weeping ; and made the following apology for herself, and said, That "as to the [high] priesthood, she was very much concerned for the disgrace her son was under, and so did her utmost endeavours to procure it for him, but that as to the kingdom, she had made no attempts, and that if it were offered her [for her son,] she would not accept it ; and that now she would be satisfied with her son's dignity, while he himself held the civil government, and she had thereby the security that arose from his peculiar ability in governing, to all the remainder of her family : That she was now overcome by his benefits, and thankfully accepted of this honour shewed by him to her son and that she would hereafter be entirely obedient : And she desired him to excuse her, if the nobility of her family, and that freedom of acting which she thought that allowed her, had made her act too precipitately and imprudently in this matter." So when they had spoken thus to one another, they came to an agreement, and all suspicions, so far as appeared, were vanished away.

C H A P. III.

How Herod, upon his making Aristobulus High-priest, took care that he should be murdered in a little time ; and what apology he made to Antony about Aristobulus : As also concerning Joseph and Mariamne.

§ 1. **S**O king Herod immediately took the high-priesthood away from Ananelus, who, as we said before, was not of this country, but one of those Jews that had been carried captive beyond Euphrates ; for there were not a few ten thousands of this people that had been carried captives, and dwelt about Babylonia, whence Ananelus came. He was one * of the stock of the high priests, and had been of old a particular friend of Herod's ; and when he was first made king, he conferred that dignity upon him, and now put him out of it again, in order to quiet the troubles in his family, though what he did was plainly unlawful, for at no other time [of old] was any one that had once been in that dignity deprived of it. It was Antiochus Epiphanes who first brake that law, and deprived Jesus, and made his brother Onias high-priest in his stead. Aristobulus was the second that did so, and took that dignity from his brother [Hyrcanus ;] and this Herod was the third, who took that high office away [from Ananelus,] and gave it to this young man, Aristobulus, in his stead.

2. And now Herod seemed to have healed the divisions in his family ; yet was he not without suspicion, as is frequently the case of the people seeming to be reconciled to one another, but thought that, as Alexandra had already made attempts tending to innovations, so did he fear that she would go on therein, if she found a fit opportunity for so doing ; so he gave a command, that she should dwell in the palace, and meddle with no public affairs : Her guards also were so careful, that nothing she did in private life every day was concealed. All these hardships put her out of patience, by little and little, and she began to hate Herod ; for as she had the pride of a woman to the utmost degree, she had great indignation at this suspi-

* When Josephus says here, that this Ananelus, the new high priest, was of the stock of the high priests, and since he had been just telling us that he was a priest of an obscure family or character, ch. ii. § 4. it is not at all probable that he could so soon say that he was of the stock of the high priests. However, Josephus here makes a remarkable observation, that this Ananelus was the third that was ever unjustly and wickedly turned out of the high priesthood by the civil power, no king or governor having ventured to do so that Josephus knew of, but that heathen tyrant and persecutor Antiochus Epiphanes ; that barbarous parricide Aristobulus, the first that took royal authority among the Maccabees ; and this tyrant king Herod the Great, although afterward that infamous practice became frequent, till the very destruction of Jerusalem, when the office of high priesthood was at an end.

cious guard that was about her as desirous rather to undergo any thing that could befall her, than to be deprived of her liberty of speech, and, under the notion of an honorary guard, to live in a state of slavery and terror : She therefore sent to Cleopatra, and made a long complaint of the circumstances she was in, and entreated her to do her utmost for her assistance. Cleopatra hereupon advised her to take her son with her and come away immediately to her into Egypt. This advice pleased her ; and she had this contrivance for getting away : She got two coffins made, as if they were to carry away two dead bodies, and put herself into one, and her son into the other, and gave orders to such of her servants, as knew of her intentions, to carry them away in the night time. Now their road was to be thence to the sea-side, and there was a ship ready to carry them into Egypt. Now Æsop, one of her servants, happened to fall upon Sabbion, one of her friends, and spake of this matter to him, as thinking he had known of it before. When Sabbion knew this, (who had formerly been an enemy of Herod's, and been esteemed one of those that laid snares for, and gave the poison to [his father] Antipater,) he expected that this discovery would change Herod's hatred into kindness, so he told the king of this private stratagem of Alexandra's : Whereupon he suffered her to proceed to the execution of her project, and caught her in the very fact, but still he passed by her offence ; and though he had a great mind to do it, he durst not inflict any thing that was severe upon her, for he knew that Cleopatra would not bear that he should have her accused, on account of her hatred to him but made a shew as if it were rather the generosity of his soul, and his great moderation, that made him forgive them. However, he fully proposed to himself to put this young man out of the way by one means or other ; but he thought he might in probability be better concealed in doing it, if he did not presently, nor immediately after what had lately happened.

3. And now, upon the approach of the feast of tabernacles, which is a festival very much observed among us, he let those days pass over, and both he and the rest of the people were therein very merry ; yet did the envy which at this time arose in him, cause him to make haste to do what he was about, and provoke him to it : For when this youth Aristobulus, who was now in the seventeenth year of his age, went up to the altar, according to the law, to offer the sacrifices, and this with the ornaments of his high priesthood, and when he * performed the sacred offices, he seemed to be exceeding comely, and taller than men usually were at that age, and to exhibit in his countenance a great deal of that high family he was sprung from, and a warm zeal and affection towards him appeared a-

* This entirely confutes the Talmudists, who pretend that no one under twenty years of age could officiate as high priest among the Jews.

among the people, and the memory of the actions of his grandfather Aristobulus was fresh in their minds; and their affections got so far the mastery of them, that they could not forbear to shew their inclinations to him. They at once rejoiced, and were confounded, and mingled with good wishes their joyful acclamations which they made to him, till the good-will of the multitude was made too evident, and they more rashly proclaimed the happiness they had received from his family than was fit under a monarchy to have done. Upon all this, Herod resolved to complete what he had intended against the young man. When therefore the festival was over, and he was feasting at * Jericho with Alexandra, who entertained them there, he was then very pleasant with the young man, and drew him into a lonely place, and at the same time played with him in a juvenile and ludicrous manner. Now the nature of that place was hotter than ordinary; so they went out in a body, and of a sudden, and in a vein of madness, and as they stood by the fish ponds, of which there were large ones about the house, they went to cool themselves [by bathing,] because it was in the midst of an hot day. At first they were only spectators of Herod's servants and acquaintance as they were swimming, but after a while, the young man, at the instigation of Herod, went into the water among them, while such of Herod's acquaintance, as he had appointed to do it, dipped him, as he was swimming, and plunged him under water, in the dark of the evening as if it had been done in sport only, nor did they desist till he was entirely suffocated; and thus was Aristobulus murdered, having lived no more in all than † eighteen years, and kept the high priesthood one year only: Which high priesthood Ananelus now recovered again.

4. When this sad accident was told the women, their joy was soon changed to lamentation, at the sight of the dead body that lay before them, and their sorrow was immoderate. The city also [of Jerusalem] upon the spreading of this news, were in very great grief, every one looking on this calamity as if it had not belonged to another, but that one of themselves was slain; but Alexandra was more deeply affected, upon her knowledge that he had been destroyed [on purpose]. Her sorrow was greater than that of others, by her knowing how the murder was committed, but she was under a necessity of bearing up under it, out of her prospect of a greater mischief that might otherwise follow: And she oftentimes came to an inclination to kill herself with her own hand,

* A Hebrew chronicle, cited by Reland, says, this drowning was at *Jordan*, not at *Jericho*, and this even when he quotes Josephus. I suspect the transcriber of the Hebrew chronicle mistook the name, and wrote *Jordan* for *Jericho*.

† The reading of one of Josephus's Greek MSS. seems here to be right, that *Aristobulus was not eighteen years old* when he was drowned, for he was not *seventeen* when he was made high priest, chap. ii. § 6 chap. iii. § 3. and he continued in that office but one year, as in the place before us.

but still she restrained herself, in hopes she might live long enough to revenge the unjust murder thus privately committed: Nay, she farther resolved to endeavour to live longer, and to give no occasion to think she suspected that her son was slain on purpose, and supposed that she might thereby be in a capacity of revenging it at a proper opportunity. Thus did she restrain herself, that she might not be noted for entertaining any such suspicion. However, Herod endeavoured that none abroad should believe that the child's death was caused by any design of his; and for this purpose he did not only use the ordinary signs of sorrow, but fell into tears also, and exhibited a real confusion of soul: And perhaps his affections were overcome on this occasion, when he saw the child's countenance so young, and so beautiful, although his death were supposed to tend to his own security; so far at least this grief served as to make some apology for him: And as for his funeral, that he took care should be very magnificent, by making great preparation for a sepulchre to lay his body in, and providing a great quantity of spices, and burying many ornaments together with him. till the very women, who were in such deep sorrow, were astonished at it, and received in this way some consolation.

5. However, no such things could overcome Alexandra's grief, but the remembrance of this miserable case made her sorrow both deep and obstinate. Accordingly she wrote an account of this treacherous scene to Cleopatra, and how her son was murdered; but Cleopatra, as she had formerly been desirous to give her what satisfaction she could, and commiserating Alexandra's misfortunes, made the case her own, and would not let Antony be quiet, but excited him to punish the child's murder; for that it was an unworthy thing that Herod, who had been by him made king of a kingdom that no way belonged to him, should be guilty of such horrid crimes against those that were of the royal blood in reality. Antony was persuaded by these arguments; and when he came to Laodicea, he sent and commanded Herod to come and make his defence, as to what he had done to Aristobulus, for that such a treacherous design was not well done, if he had any hand in it. Herod was now in fear, both of the accusation, and of Cleopatra's ill will to him which was such, that she was ever endeavouring to make Antony hate him. He therefore determined to obey his summons, for he had no possible way to avoid it: So he left his uncle, Joseph, procurator for his government, and for the public affairs and gave him a private charge, that if Antony should kill him he also should kill Mariamne immediately, for that he had a tender affection for this his wife, and was afraid of the injury that should be offered him, if after his death, she, for her beauty, should be engaged to some other man: But his intimation was nothing but this at the bottom, that Antony had fallen in love with her,

when he had formerly heard somewhat of her beauty. So when Herod had given Joseph this charge, and had indeed no sure hopes of escaping with his life he went away to Antony.

6. But as Joseph was administering the public affairs of the kingdom, and for that reason was very frequently with Mariamne, both because his business required it, and because of the respects he ought to pay to the queen, he frequently let himself into discourses about Herod's kindness, and great affection towards her; and when the women, especially Alexandra, used to turn his discourses into feminine raillery, Joseph was so over desirous to demonstrate the king's inclinations, that he proceeded so far as to mention the charge he had received, and thence drew his demonstration, that Herod was not able to live without her; and that if he should come to any ill end, he could not endure a separation from her, even after he was dead. Thus spake Joseph. But the women, as was natural, did not take this to be an instance of Herod's strong affection for them, but of his severe usage of them, that they could not escape destruction nor a tyrannical death, even when he was dead himself: And this saying [of Joseph's] was a foundation for the womens severe suspicions about him afterwards.

7. At this time a report went about the city Jerusalem among Herod's enemies, that Antony had tortured Herod, and put him to death. This report, as is natural, disturbed those that were about the palace, but chiefly the women: Upon which Alexandra endeavoured to persuade Joseph to go out of the palace, and fly to the ensigns of the Roman legion, which then lay encamped about the city, as a guard to the kingdom, under the command of Julius; for that, by this means, if any disturbance should happen about the palace, they should be in greater security, as having the Romans favourable to them; and that besides, they hoped to obtain the highest authority, if Antony did but once see Mariamne, by whose means they should recover the kingdom and want nothing which was reasonable, for them to hope for, because of their royal extraction.

8. But as they were in the midst of these deliberations, letters were brought from Herod about all his affairs, and proved contrary to the report, and of what they before expected; for when he was come to Antony, he soon recovered his interest with him, by the presents he made him, which he had brought with him from Jerusalem, and he soon induced him, upon discoursing with him, to leave off his indignation at him, so that Cleopatra's persuasions had less force than the arguments and presents he brought, to regain his friendship: For Antony said, That "it was not good to require an account of a king, as to the affairs of his government, for at this rate he could be no king at all, but that those who had given him that authority ought to permit him to make use of it." He also

said the same things to Cleopatra, that it would be best for her not busily to meddle with the acts of the king's government. Herod wrote an account of these things; and "enlarged upon the other honours which he had received from Antony: How he sat by him at his hearing causes, and took his diet with him every day, and that he enjoyed those favours from him, notwithstanding the reproaches that Cleopatra so severely laid against him, who having a great desire of his country, and earnestly entreating Antony that the kingdom might be given to her, laboured with her utmost diligence to have him out of the way, but that he still found Antony just to him, and had no longer any apprehensions of hard treatment from him; and that he was soon upon his return, with a firmer additional assurance of his favour to him, in his reigning and managing public affairs; and that there was no longer any hope for Cleopatra's covetous temper, since Antony had given her Cæsarea instead of what she desired, by which means he had at once pacified her, and got clear of the entreaties which she made him to have Judea bestowed upon her."

9. When these letters were brought, the women left off their attempt for flying to the Romans, which they thought of, while Herod was supposed to be dead, yet was not that purpose of theirs a secret; but when the king had conducted Antony on his way against the Parthians, he returned to Judea, when both his sister Salome, and his mother informed him of Alexandra's intentions. Salome also added somewhat farther against Joseph, though it were no more than a calumny, that he had often had criminal conversation with Mariamne. The reason of her saying so was this, that she for a long time bare her ill-will, for when they had differences with one another, Mariamne took great freedoms, and reproached the rest for the meanness of their birth. But Herod, whose affection to Mariamne was always very warm, was presently disturbed at this, and could not bear the torments of jealousy, but was still restrained from doing any rash thing to her by the love he had for her: Yet did his vehement affection and jealousy together make him ask Mariamne by herself about this matter of Joseph; but she denied it upon her oath, and said all that an innocent woman could possibly say in her own defence, so that by little and little the king was prevailed upon to drop the suspicion, and left off his anger at her; and being overcome with his passion for his wife, he made an apology to her for having seemed to believe what he had heard about her, and returned her a great many acknowledgments of her modest behaviour, and professed the extraordinary affection and kindness he had for her, till at last as is usual between lovers, they both fell into tears, and embraced one another with a most tender affection. But as the king gave more and more assurances of his belief of her fidelity, and endeavoured to draw her to a like confidence in him, Mariamne said "Yet

was not that command thou gavest, that if any harm came to thee from Antony, I, who had been no occasion of it, should perish with thee, a sign of thy love to me." When these words were fallen from her, the king was shocked at them, and presently let her go out of his arms, and cried out, and tore his hair with his own hands, and said, that "now he had an evident demonstration that Joseph had had criminal conversation with his wife, for that he would never have uttered what he had told him alone by himself, unless there had been such a great familiarity and firm confidence between them." And while he was in this passion he had like to have killed his wife, but being still overborne by his love to her, he restrained this his passion, though not without a lasting grief, and disquietness of mind. However, he gave order to slay Joseph, without permitting him to come into his sight; and as for Alexandra, he bound her, and kept her in custody, as the cause of all this mischief.

C H A P. IV.

How Cleopatra, when she had gotten from Antony some parts of Judea and Arabia, came into Judea; and how Herod gave her many Presents, and Conducted her on her Way back to Egypt.

§ 1. NOW at this time the affairs of Syria were in confusion by Cleopatra's constant persuasions to Antony to make an attempt upon every body's dominions; for she persuaded him to take those dominions away from their several princes and bestow them upon her; and she had a mighty influence upon him, by reason of his being enslaved to her by his affections. She was also by nature very covetous, and stuck at no wickedness. She had already poisoned her brother, because she knew that he was to be king of Egypt, and this when he was but fifteen years old: And she got her sister Arsinoe to be slain, by the means of Antony, when she was a suppliant at Diana's temple at Ephesus; for if there were but any hopes of getting money, she would violate both temples and sepulchres. Nor was there any holy place that was esteemed the most inviolable, from which she would not fetch the ornaments it had in it: Nor any place so profane, but was to suffer the most flagitious treatment possible from her, if it could but contribute somewhat to the covetous humour of this wicked creature: Yet did not all this suffice so extravagant a woman, who was a slave to her lusts, but she still imagined that she wanted every thing she could think of and did her utmost to gain it; for which reason she hurried Antony on perpetually to deprive others of their dominions and give them to her. And as she went over Syria with him, she con-

trived to get it into her possession; so he slew Lyfanius, the son of Ptolemy, accusing him of his bringing the Parthians upon those countries. She also petitioned Antony to give her Judea and Arabia, and in order thereto desired him to take these countries away from their present governors. As for Antony, he was so entirely overcome by this woman, that one would not think her conversation only could do it, but that he was some way or other bewitched to do whatsoever she would have him; yet did the grossest parts of her injustice make him so ashamed, that he would not always hearken to her, to do those flagrant enormities she would have persuaded him to. That therefore he might not totally deny her, nor, by doing every thing which she enjoined him, appear openly to be an ill man, he took some parts of each of those countries away from their former governors, and gave them to her. Thus he gave her the cities that were within the river Eleutherus, as far as Egypt, excepting Tyre and Sidon, which he knew to have been free cities from their ancestors, although she pressed him very often to bestow those on her also.

2. When Cleopatra had obtained thus much, and had accompanied Antony in his expedition to Armenia, as far as Euphrates, she returned back, and came to Apamia and Damascus, and passed on to Judea, where Herod met her, and farmed of her her parts of Arabia and those revenues that came to her from the region about Jericho. This country bears that balsam, which is the most precious drug that is there, and grows there alone. The place bears also palm-trees, both many in number, and those excellent in their kind. When she was there, and was very often with Herod, she endeavoured to have criminal conversation with the king: Nor did she affect secrecy in the indulgence of such sort of pleasures; and perhaps she had in some measure a passion of love to him, or rather, what is most probable, she laid a treacherous snare for him, by aiming to obtain such adulterous conversation from him: However, upon the whole, she seemed overcome with love to him. Now Herod had a great while borne no good will to Cleopatra, as knowing that she was a woman irksome to all; and at that time he thought her particularly worthy of his hatred, if this attempt proceeded out of lust: He had also thought of preventing her intrigues, by putting her to death, if such were her endeavours. However, he refused to comply with her proposals, and called a counsel of his friends to consult with them, "Whether he should not kill her, now he had her in his power? For that he should thereby deliver all those from a multitude of evils to whom she was already become irksome, and was expected to be still so for the time to come; and that this very thing would be much for the advantage of Antony himself, since she would certainly not be faithful to him, in case any such season or necessity should come upon him as that he should stand in need of her fidelity." But when

he thought to follow this advice, his friends would not let him ; and told him, That “ in the first place, it was not right to attempt so great a thing, and run himself thereby into the utmost danger : And they laid hard at him, and begged of him to undertake nothing rashly. for that Antony would never bear it, no not though any one should evidently lay before his eyes that it was for his own advantage ; and that the appearance of depriving him of her conversation by this violent and treacherous method, would probably set his affections more on a flame than before. Nor did it appear that he could offer any thing of tolerable weight in his defence, this attempt being against such a woman as was of the highest dignity of any of her sex at that time in the world : And as to any advantage to be expected from such an undertaking, if any such could be supposed in this case, it would appear to deserve condemnation, on account of the insolence he must take upon him in doing it. Which considerations made it very plain that in so doing he would find his government filled with mischiefs, both great and lasting, both to himself and his posterity, whereas it was still in his power to reject that wickedness she would persuade him to, and to come off honourably at the same time.” So by thus affrighting Herod, and representing to him the hazard he must in all probability, run by this undertaking, they restrained him from it. So he treated Cleopatra kindly, and made her presents, and conducted her on her way to Egypt.

3. But Antony subdued Armenia, and sent Artabazes, the son of Tigranes, in bonds with his children and procurators, to Egypt, and made a present of them, and of all the royal ornaments which he had taken out of that kingdom. to Cleopatra. And Artaxias, the eldest of his sons, who had escaped at that time, took the kingdom of Armenia ; who yet was ejected by Archelaus and Nero Cæsar, when they restored Tigranes his younger brother to that kingdom : But this happened a good while afterward.

4. But then, as to the tributes which Herod was to pay Cleopatra for that country which Antony had given her. he acted fairly with her, as deeming it not safe for him to afford any cause for Cleopatra to hate him. As for the king of Arabia, whose tribute Herod had undertaken to pay her, for some time indeed he paid him as much as came to two hundred talents, but he afterwards became very niggardly, and slow in his payments, and could hardly be brought to pay some parts of it, and was not willing to pay even them without some deduction.

C H A P. V.

How Herod made War with the King of Arabia, and after they had Fought many Battles. at length Conquered him, and was chosen by the Arabs to be Governor of that Nation : As also concerning a great Earthquake.

§ 1. **H**EREUPON Herod held himself ready to go against the king of Arabia, because of his ingratitude to him, and because, after all, he would do nothing that was just to him, although Herod made the Roman war an occasion of delaying his own, for the battle at Actium was now expected, which fell into the hundred eighty and seventh olympiad, where Cæsar and Antony were to fight for the supreme power of the world; but Herod having enjoyed a country that was very fruitful, and that now for a long time, and having received great taxes, and raised great armies therewith, got together a body of men, and carefully furnished them with all necessaries, and designed them as auxiliaries for Antony: But Antony said, he had no want of his assistance; but he commanded him to punish the king of Arabia; for he had heard both from him, and from Cleopatra, how perfidious he was; for this was what Cleopatra desired, who thought it for her own advantage, that these two kings should do one another as great mischief as possible. Upon this message from Antony, Herod returned back, but kept his army with him, in order to invade Arabia immediately. So when his army of horsemen and footmen was ready, he marched to Diospolis, whither the Arabians came also to meet them, for they were not unapprised of this war that was coming upon them; and after a great battle had been fought, the Jews had the victory: But afterward there were gotten together another numerous army of the Arabians, at Cana, which are places of Celefyria. Herod was informed of this beforehand; so he came marching against them with the greatest part of the forces he had; and when he was come near to Cana, he resolved to encamp himself, and he cast up a bulwark, that he might take a proper season for attacking the enemy; but as he was giving those orders, the multitude of the Jews cried out, that he should make no delay, but lead them against the Arabians. They went with great spirit, as believing they were in very good order, and those especially were so that had been in the former battle, and had been conquerors, and had not permitted their enemies so much as to come to a close fight with them. And when they were so tumultuous, and shewed such great alacrity, the king resolved to make use of that zeal the multitude then exhibited; and when he had assured them he would not be behind hand with them in courage, he led them on, and

flood before them all in his armour, all the regiments following him in their several ranks : Whereupon a consternation fell upon the Arabians ; for when they perceived that the Jews were not to be conquered, and were full of spirit, the greater part of them ran away, and avoided fighting, and they had been quite destroyed, had not Athenio fallen upon the Jews, and distressed them, for this man was Cleopatra's general over the soldiers she had there, and was at enmity with Herod, and very wistfully looked on to see what the event of the battle would be : He had also resolved, that in case the Arabians did any thing that was brave and successful, he would lie still, but in case they were beaten, as it really happened, he would attack the Jews with those forces he had of his own, and with those that the country had gotten together for him : So he fell upon the Jews unexpectedly, when they were fatigued, and thought they had already vanquished the enemy, and made a great slaughter of them ; for as the Jews had spent their courage upon their known enemies, and were about to enjoy themselves in quietness after their victory, they were easily beaten by these that attacked them atreth, and in particular received a great loss in places where the horses could not be of service, and which were very stony, and where those that attacked them were better acquainted with the places than themselves. And when the Jews had suffered this loss, the Arabians raised their spirits after their defeat, and returning back again, slew those that were already put to flight ; and indeed all sort of slaughter were now frequent, and of those that escaped, a few only returned into the camp. So king Herod, when he despaired of the battle, rode up to them to bring them assistance, yet did he not come time enough to do them any service, though he laboured hard to do it, but the Jewish camp was taken, so that the Arabians had unexpectedly a most glorious success, having gained that victory which of themselves they were no way likely to have gained, and slaying a great part of the enemy's army : Whence afterward Herod could only act like a private robber, and make excursions upon many parts of Arabia, and distress them by sudden incursions, while he encamped among the mountains, and avoided by any means to come to a pitched battle, yet did he greatly harass the enemy by his assiduity, and the hard labour he took in this matter. He also took great care of his own forces, and used all the means he could to restore his affairs to their old state.

2. At this time it was that the fight happened at Actium, between Octavius Cesar and Antony, in * the seventh year of the reign of Herod ; and then it was also there was an earthquake

* The reader is here to take notice, that this *seventh* year of the reign of Herod, and all the other years of his reign, in Josephus, are dated from the death of Antigonus, or at the soonest from the conquest of Antigonus, and the taking of Jerusalem a few months before, and never from his first obtaining the kingdom at Rome above three years before, as some have very weakly and injudiciously done.

in Judea, such an one as had not happened at any other time, and which earthquake brought a great destruction upon the cattle in that country. About ten thousand men also perished by the fall of houses ; but the army, which lodged in the field, received no damage by this sad accident. When the Arabians were informed of this, and when those that hated the Jews, and pleased themselves with aggravating the reports told them of it, they raised their spirits, as if their enemy's country was quite overthrown, and the men were utterly destroyed, and thought there now remained nothing that could oppose them. Accordingly, they took the Jewish ambassadors, who came to them after all this had happened, to make peace with them, and slew them, and came with great alacrity against their army ; but the Jews durst not withstand them, and were so cast down by the calamities they were under, that they took no care of their affairs, but gave up themselves to despair, for they had no hope that they should be upon a level again with them in battles, nor obtain any assistance elsewhere, while their affairs at home were in such great distress also. When matters were in this condition, the king persuaded the commanders by his words, and tried to raise their spirits which were quite sunk ; and first he endeavoured to encourage and embolden some of the better sort before hand, and then ventured to make a speech to the multitude, which he had before avoided to do, lest he should find them uneasy thereat, because of the misfortunes which had happened ; so he made a consolatory speech to the multitude, in the manner following :

3. " You are not unacquainted, my fellow-soldiers, that we have had not long since, many accidents that have put a stop to what we are about, and it is probable, that even those that are most distinguished above others for their courage, can hardly keep up their spirits in such circumstances, but since we cannot avoid fighting, and nothing that hath happened is of such a nature but it may by yourselves be recovered into a good state and this by one brave action only well performed. I have proposed to myself both to give you some encouragement, and, at the same time some information, both which parts of my design, will tend to this point, that you may still continue in your own proper fortitude. I will then, in the first place, demonstrate to you, that this war is a just one on our side, and that on this account it is a war of necessity, and occasioned by the injustice of our adversaries, for if you be once satisfied of this, it will be a real cause of alacrity to you, after which I will farther demonstrate, that the misfortunes we are under are of no great consequence, and that we have the greatest reason to hope for victory. I shall begin with the first, and appeal to yourselves as witnesses to what I shall say. You are not ignorant certainly of the wickedness of the Arabians, which is to that degree as to appear incredible to all other men, and to include somewhat that shews the grossest barbarity and

ignorance of God. Their chief things wherein they have affronted us, have arisen from covetousness and envy, and they have attacked us in an insidious manner, and on the sudden. And what occasion is there for me to mention many instances of such their procedure? When they were in danger of losing their own government of themselves, and of being slaves to Cleopatra, what others were they that freed them from that fear? For it was the friendship I had with Antony, and the kind disposition he was in towards us, that hath been the occasion that even these Arabians have not been utterly undone, Antony being unwilling to undertake any thing which might be suspected by us of unkindness: But when he had a mind to bestow some parts of each of our dominions on Cleopatra, I also managed that matter so, that by giving him presents of my own, I might obtain a security to both nations, while I undertook myself to answer for the money, and gave him two hundred talents, and became surety for those two hundred more which were imposed upon the land that was subject to this tribute: And this they have defrauded us of, although it was not reasonable that Jews should pay tribute to any man living, or allow part of their land to be taxable; but although that was to be, yet ought we not to pay tribute for these Arabians, whom we have ourselves preserved; nor is it fit that they, who have professed, and that with great integrity and sense of our kindness, that it is by our means that they keep their principality, should injure us, and deprive us of what is our due, and this while we have been still not their enemies but their friends. And whereas observation of covenants takes place among the bitterest enemies, but among friends is absolutely necessary, this is not observed among these men who think gain to be the best of all things, let it be by any means whatsoever, and that injustice is no harm, if they may but get money by it: Is it therefore a question with you, Whether the unjust are to be punished or not? When God himself hath declared his mind that so it ought to be, and hath commanded that we ever should hate injuries and injustice, which is not only just but necessary in wars between several nations; for these Arabians have done what both the Greeks and Barbarians own to be an instance of the grossest wickedness, with regard to our ambassadors, which they have beheaded, while the Greeks declare that such ambassadors are * sacred and inviolable. And for ourselves we have learned from God the most excellent of our doctrines, and the most holy part of our law by angels, or ambassadors; for this name brings God to the knowledge of mankind, and is sufficient to reconcile

* Herod says here, that as *ambassadors* were sacred, when they carried messages to others, so did the laws of the Jews derive a sacred authority by being delivered from God by *angels* [or *divine ambassadors*] which is St. Paul's expression, about the same laws, Gal. iii. 19. Heb. ii. 2.

enemies one to another. What wickedness then can be greater than the slaughter of ambassadors, who come to treat about doing what is right ? And when such have been their actions, how is it possible they can either live securely in common life, or be successful in war ? In my opinion this is impossible ; but perhaps some will say that what is holy, and what is righteous is indeed on our side, but the Arabians are either more courageous, or more numerous than we are. Now as to this, in the first place, it is not fit for us to say so, for with whom is what is righteous, with them is God himself ; now, where God is, there is both multitude and courage. But to examine our own circumstances a little, we were conquerors in the first battle ; and when we fought again, they were not able to oppose us, but ran away, and could not endure our attacks, or our courage ; but when we had conquered them, then came Athenion, and made war against us without declaring it ; and pray, is this an instance of their manhood ? Or is it not a second instance of their wickedness and treachery ? Why are we therefore of less courage, on account of that which ought to inspire us with stronger hopes ? And why are we terrified at these, who, when they fight upon the level, are continually beaten, and when they seem to be conquerors, they gain it by wickedness ? And if we suppose that any one should deem them to be men of real courage, will not he be excited by that very consideration to do his utmost against them ? For true valour is not shewn by fighting against weak persons, but in being able to overcome the most hardy. But then, if the distresses we are ourselves under, and the miseries that have come by the earthquake, hath affrighted any one, let him consider in the first place, that this very thing will deceive the Arabians, by their supposal that what hath befallen us is greater than it really is. Moreover it is not right that the same thing that emboldens them should discourage us ; for these men, you see, do not derive their alacrity from any advantageous virtue of their own, but from their hope, as to us, that we are quite cast down by our misfortunes ; but when we boldly march against them, we shall soon pull down their insolent conceit of themselves and shall gain this by attacking them, that they will not be so insolent when we come to the battle, for our distresses are not so great, nor is what hath happened an indication of the anger of God against us, as some imagine, for such things are accidental, and adversities that come in the usual course of things ; and if we allow that this was done by the will of God, we must allow that it is now over by his will also and that he is satisfied with what hath already happened, for had he been willing to afflict us still more thereby he had not changed his mind so soon. And as for the war we are engaged in, he hath himself demonstrated, that he is willing it should go on, and that he knows it to be a just war ; for while some of the people in the country have perished, all you who

were in arms have suffered nothing, but are all preserved alive ; whereby God makes it plain to us, that if you had universally, with your children and wives, been in the army, it had come to pass, that you had not undergone any thing that would have much hurt you. Consider these things, and, what is more than all the rest, that you have God at all times for your protector ; and prosecute these men with a just bravery, who, in point of friendship, are unjust in their battles, perfidious, towards ambassadors impious, and always inferior to you in valour."

4. When the Jews heard this speech, they were much raised in their minds, and more disposed to fight than before. So Herod, when he had * offered the sacrifices appointed by the law, made haste, and took them, and led them against the Arabians ; and in order to that passed over Jordan, and pitched his camp near to that of the enemy. He also thought fit to seize upon a certain castle that lay in the midst of them, as hoping it would be for his advantage, and would the sooner produce a battle, and that if there were occasion for delay, he should by it have his camp fortified ; and as the Arabians had the same intentions upon that place, a contest arose about it ; at first they were but skirmishes, after which there came more soldiers, and it proved a sort of fight, and some fell on both sides, till those of the Arabian side were beaten, and retreated. This was no small encouragement to the Jews immediately ; and when Herod observed that the enemies army were disposed to any thing rather than to come to an engagement, he ventured boldly to attempt the bulwark itself, and to pull it to pieces, and so to get nearer to their camp, in order to fight them ; for when they were forced out of their trenches, they went out in disorder, and had not the least alacrity, or hope of victory ; yet did they fight hand to hand, because they were more in number than the Jews, and because they were in such a disposition of war that they were under a necessity of coming on boldly ; so they came to a terrible battle, while not a few fell on each side. However, at length the Arabians fled ; and so great a slaughter was made upon their being routed, that they were not only killed by their enemies, but became the authors of their own deaths also, and were trodden down by the multitude, and the great current of people in disorder,

* This piece of religion, the supplicating God with sacrifices, by Herod, before he went to this fight with the Arabians, taken notice of also in the first book Of the War, ch. xix. § 5. vol. III. is worth remarking, because it is the only example of this nature, so far as I remember, that Josephus ever mentions in all his large and particular accounts of this Herod : And it was when he had been in mighty distress, and discouraged by a great defeat of his former army, and by a very great earthquake in Judea, such times of affliction making men most religious : Nor was he disappointed of his hopes here, but immediately gained a most signal victory over the Arabians, while they who just before had been so great victors, and so much elevated upon the earthquake in Judea as to venture to slay the Jewish ambassadors, were now under a strange consternation, and hardly able to fight at all.

and were destroyed by their own armour; so five thousand men lay dead upon the spot, while the rest of the multitude soon ran within the bulwark [for safety], but had no firm hope of safety, by reason of their want of necessaries, and especially of water. The Jews pursued them; but could not get in with them but sat round about the bulwark, and watched any assistance that would get in to them, and prevented any there, that had a mind to it, from running away.

5. When the Arabians were in these circumstances, they sent ambassadors to Herod, in the first place to propose terms of accommodation. and after that to offer him, so pressing was their thirst upon them, to undergo whatsoever he pleased, if he would free them from their present distress; but he would admit of no ambassadors, of no price of redemption, nor of any other moderate terms whatever, being very desirous to revenge those unjust actions which they had been guilty of towards his nation. So they were necessitated by other motives, and particularly by their thirst to come out, and deliver themselves up to him, to be carried away captives; and in five days time, the number of four thousand were taken prisoners, while all the rest resolved to make a sally upon their enemies, and to fight it out with them, choosing rather, if so it must be, to die therein, than to perish gradually and ingloriously. When they had taken this resolution, they came out of their trenches, but could no way sustain the fight, being too much disabled, both in mind and body, and having not room to exert themselves, and thought it an advantage to be killed, and a misery to survive; so at the first onset there fell about seven thousand of them, after which stroke they let all the courage they had put on before fall, and stood amazed at Herod's warlike spirit under his own calamities; so for the future, they yielded, and made him ruler of their nation; whereupon he was greatly elevated at so seasonable a success, and returned home, taking great authority upon him, on account of so bold and glorious an expedition as he had made,

C H A P. VI.

How Herod slew Hyrcanus, and then hastened away to Cesar, and obtained the Kingdom from him also; and how, a little time afterward he entertained Cesar in a most honourable manner.

§ 1. **H**EROD's other affairs were now very prosperous; and he was not to be easily assaulted on any side. Yet did there come upon him a danger that would hazard his entire dominions, after Antony had been beaten at the battle of Actium by Cesar [Octavian]; for at that time both Herod's enemies and friends despaired of his affairs, for it was not probable that he would remain without punishment who

had shewed so much friendship for Antony. So it happened that his friends despaired and had no hopes of his escape, but for his enemies, they all outwardly appeared to be troubled at his case, but were privately very glad of it, as hoping to obtain a change for the better. As for Herod himself, he saw that there was no one of royal dignity left but Hyrcanus, and therefore he thought it would be for his advantage not to suffer him to be an obstacle in his way any longer; for that in case he himself survived, and escaped the danger he was in, he thought it the safest way to put it out of the power of such a man to make any attempt against him, at such junctures of affairs, as was more worthy of the kingdom than himself: And in case he should be slain by Cesar, his envy prompted him to desire to slay him that would otherwise be king after him.

2. While Herod had these things in his mind, there was a certain occasion afforded him; for Hyrcanus was of so mild a temper, both then and at other times, that he desired not to meddle with public affairs, nor to concern himself with innovations, but left all to fortune, and contented himself with what that afforded him: But Alexandra [his daughter] was a lover of strife, and was exceeding desirous of a change of the government, and spake to her father not to bear forever Herod's injurious treatment of their family, but to anticipate their future hopes, as he safely might; and desired him to write about these matters to Malchus, who was then governor of Arabia, to receive them, and to secure them [from Herod], for that if they went away, and Herod's affairs proved to be, as it was likely they would be, by reason of Cesar's enmity to him, they should then be the only persons that could take the government, and this, both on account of the royal family they were of, and on account of the good disposition of the multitude to them. While she used these persuasions, Hyrcanus put off her suit; but as she shewed that she was a woman and a contentious woman too, and would not desist either night or day, but would always be speaking to him about these matters, and about Herod's treacherous designs, she at last prevailed with him to intrust Dositheus, one of his friends, with a letter, wherein his resolution was declared; and he desired the Arabian governor to send to him some horsemen, who should receive him and conduct him to the lake Asphaltites, which is from the bounds of Jerusalem three hundred furlongs: And he did therefore trust Dositheus with this letter because he was a careful attendant on him, and on Alexandra, and had no small occasions to bear ill-will to Herod; for he was a kinsman of one Joseph whom he had slain, and a brother of those that were formerly slain at Tyre by Antony: Yet could not these motives induce Dositheus to serve Hyrcanus in this affair, for preferring the hopes he had from the present king to those he had from him, he gave Herod the

letter. So he took his kindness in good part, and bid him besides do what he had already done, that is, go on in serving him, by rolling up the epistle and sealing it again, and delivering it to Malchus, and then to bring back his letter in answer to it, for it would be much better if he could know Malchus's intentions also. And when Dositheus was very ready to serve him in this point also, the Arabian governor returned back for answer, that he would receive Hyrcanus, and all that should come with him, and even all the Jews that were of his party : That he would moreover, send forces sufficient to secure them in their journey, and that he should be in no want of any thing he should desire. Now as soon as Herod had received this letter, he immediately sent for Hyrcanus, and questioned him about the league he had made with Malchus : And when he denied it, he shewed his letter to the Sanhedrim, and put the man to death immediately.

3. And this account we give the reader, as it is contained in the commentaries of king Herod : But other historians do not agree with them, for they suppose that Herod did not find, but rather make this an occasion for thus putting him to death, and that by treacherously laying a snare for him ; for thus do they write : That Herod and he were once at a treat, and that Herod had given no occasion to suspect [that he was displeased at him], but put this question to Hyrcanus, Whether he had received any letters from Malchus ? And when he answered, that he had received letters, but those of salutation only ; and when he asked farther, whether he had not received any presents from him ? And when he had replied, that he had received no more than four horses to ride on, which Malchus had sent him ; and they pretend that Herod charged these upon him as the crimes of bribery and treason, and gave order that he should be led away and slain. And in order to demonstrate that he had been guilty of no offence, when he was thus brought to his end, they alleged how mild his temper had been, and that even in his youth he had never given any demonstration of boldness or rashness, and that the case was the same when he came to be king, but that he even then committed the management of the greatest part of public affairs to Antipater ; and that he was now above fourscore years old, and knew that Herod's government was in a secure state. He also came over Euphrates, and left those who greatly honoured him beyond that river, though he were to be entirely under Herod's government, and that it was a most incredible thing that he should enterprize any thing by way of innovation, and not at all agreeable to his temper, but that this was a plot of Herod's own contrivance.

4. And this was the fate of Hyrcanus ; and thus did he end his life, after he had endured various and manifold turns of fortune in his lifetime : For he was made high-priest of the Jewish nation in the beginning of his mother Alexandra's reign, who

held the government nine years ; and when, after his mother's death, he took the kingdom himself, and held it three months, he lost it by the means of his brother Aristobulus. He was then restored by Pompey, and received all sorts of honour from him, and enjoyed them forty years ; but when he was again deprived by Antigonus, and was maimed in his body, he was made a captive by the Parthians, and thence returned home again after some time, on account of the hopes that Herod had given him ; none of which came to pass according to his expectation, but he still conflicted with many misfortunes thro' the whole course of his life ; and what was the heaviest calamity of all, as we have related already, he came to an end which was undeserved by him. His character appeared to be that of a man of a mild and moderate disposition, and suffered the administration of affairs to be generally done by others under him. He was averse to much meddling with the public, nor had shrewdness enough to govern a kingdom : And both Antipater and Herod came to their greatness by reason of his mildness, and at last he met with such an end from them as was not agreeable either to justice or piety.

5. Now Herod, as soon as he had put Hyrcanus out of the way, made haste to Cæsar ; and because he could not have any hopes of kindness from him, on account of the friendship he had for Antony, he had a suspicion of Alexandra, lest she should take this opportunity to bring the multitude to a revolt, and introduce a sedition into the affairs of the kingdom ; so he committed the care of every thing to his brother Pheroras, and placed his mother Cypros, and his sister [Salome,] and the whole family at Massada, and gave him a charge, that if he should hear any sad news about him, he should take care of the government : But as to Mariamne his wife, because of the misunderstanding between her and his sister, and his sister's mother, which made it impossible for them to live together, he placed her at Alexandria, with Alexandra her mother, and left his treasurer Joseph and Sohemus of Iturea, to take care of that fortress. These two had been very faithful to him from the beginning, and were now left as a guard to the women. They also had it in charge, that if they should hear any mischief had befallen him, they should kill them both, and, as far as they were able, to preserve the kingdom for his sons, and for his brother Pheroras.

6. When he had given them this charge, he made haste to Rhodes, to meet Cæsar ; and when he had sailed to that city, he took off his diadem, but remitted nothing else of his usual dignity : And when, upon his meeting him, he desired that he would let him speak to him, he therein exhibited a much more noble specimen of a great soul, for he did not betake himself to supplications, as men usually do upon such occasions, nor offered him any petition, as if he were an offender, but after an undaunted manner, gave an account of what he had done ; for he spake thus

to Cæsar, That “ he had the greatest friendship for Antony, and did every thing he could that he might attain the government : That he was not indeed in the army with him, because the Arabians had diverted him, but that he had sent him both money and corn, which was but too little in comparison of what he ought to have done for him ; for, if a man owns himself to be another’s friend, and knows him to be a benefactor, he is obliged to hazard every thing, to use every faculty of his soul, every member of his body, and all the wealth he hath, for him, in which I confess I have been too deficient. However, I am conscious to myself, that so far I have done right, that I have not deserted him upon his defeat at Actium : Nor upon the evident change of his fortune have I transferred my hopes from him to another, but have preserved myself, though not as a valuable fellow soldier, yet certainly as a faithful counsellor to Antony, when I demonstrated to him that the only way that he had to save himself, and not to lose all his authority, was to slay Cleopatra ; for when she was once dead, there would be room for him to retain his authority, and rather to bring thee to make a composition with him, than to continue at enmity any longer. None of which advices would he attend to, but preferred his own rash resolutions before them, which have happened unprofitably for him, but profitably for thee. Now, therefore, in case thou determinest about me, and my alacrity in serving Antony, according to thy anger at him, I own there is no room for me to deny what I have done, nor will I be ashamed to own, and that publicly too, that I had a great kindness for him : But if thou wilt put him out of the case, and only examine how I behave myself to my benefactors in general, and what a sort of friend I am, thou wilt find by experience that we shall do and be the same to thyself, for it is but changing the names and the firmness of friendship that we shall bear to thee, will not be disapproved by thee.”

7. By this speech, and by his behaviour, which shewed Cæsar the frankness of his mind, he greatly gained upon him, who was himself of a generous and magnificent temper, in so much that those very actions, which were the foundation of the accusation against him, procured him Cæsar’s good will. Accordingly, he restored him his diadem ; and encouraged him to exhibit himself as great a friend to himself as he had been to Antony, and then had him in great esteem. Moreover, he added this, that Quintus Didius had written to him, that Herod had very readily assisted him in the affair of the gladiators. So when he had obtained such a kind reception, and had, beyond all his hopes, procured his crown to be more entirely and firmly settled upon him than ever, by Cæsar’s donation, as well as by that decree of the Romans, which Cæsar took care to procure for his greater security, he conducted Cæsar on his way to Egypt, and made presents, even beyond

his ability, to both him and his friends, and in general behaved himself with great magnanimity. He also desired that Cæsar would not put to death one Alexander, who had been a companion of Antony's ; but Cæsar had sworn to put him to death, and so he could not obtain that his petition. And now he returned to Judea again with greater honour and assurance than ever, and affrighted those that had expectations to the contrary, as still acquiring from his very dangers greater splendor than before, by the favour of God to him. So he prepared for the reception of Cæsar, as he was going out of Syria to invade Egypt ; and when he came, he entertained him at Ptolemais with all royal magnificence. He also bestowed presents on the army, and brought them provisions in abundance. He also proved to be one of Cæsar's most cordial friends, and put the army in array, and rode along with Cæsar, and had an hundred and fifty men, well appointed in all respects, after a rich and sumptuous manner, for the better reception of him and his friends. He also provided them with what they should want, as they passed over the dry desert, insomuch that they lacked neither wine nor water, which last the soldiers stood in the greatest need of ; and besides, he presented Cæsar with eight hundred talents, and procured to himself the good will of them all, because he was assisting them in a much greater and more splendid degree than the kingdom he had obtained could afford, by which means he more and more demonstrated to Cæsar the firmness of his friendship, and his readiness to assist him ; and what was of the greatest advantage to him was this, that his liberality came at a seasonable time also : And when they returned again out of Egypt, his assistances were no way inferior to the good offices he had formerly done them.

C H A P. VII.

How Herod slew Sohemus, and Mariamne, and afterward Alexandra, and Costobarus, and his most intimate Friends, and at last the sons of Baba also.

§ 1. **H**OWEVER, when he came into his kingdom again, he found his house all in disorder, and his wife Mariamne and her mother Alexandra very uneasy ; for, as they supposed, what was easy to be supposed, that they were not put into that fortress [Alexandrium] for the security of their persons, but as into a garrison for their imprisonment, and that they had no power over any thing either of others or of their own affairs, they were very uneasy ; and Mariamne supposing that the king's love to her was but by pocritically, and rather pretended, as advantageous to himself, as real. she looked upon it as fallacious. She also was grieved that he would not allow

her any hopes of surviving him, if he should come to any harm himself. She also recollected what commands he had formerly given to Joseph, inasmuch that she endeavoured to please her keepers, and especially Sohemus, as well apprised how all was in his power. And at the first Sohemus was faithful to Herod, and neglected none of the things he had given him in charge; but when the women, by kind words and liberal presents, had gained his affections over to them he was by degrees overcome, and at length discovered to them all the king's injunctions, and this on that account principally, that he did not so much as hope he would come back with the same authority he had before, so that he thought he should both escape any danger from him, and supposed that he did hereby much gratify the women, who were likely not to be overlooked in the settling of the government, nay, that they would be able to make him abundant recompence, since they must either reign themselves, or be very near to him that should reign. He had a farther ground of hope also, that though Herod should have all the 'u cefs he could wish for, and should return again, he could not contradict his wife in what he desired, for he knew that the king's fondness for his wife was inexpressible. These were the motives that drew Sohemus to discover what injunctions had been given him. So Mariamne was greatly displeased to hear that there was no end of the dangers she was under from Herod, and was greatly uneasy, at it, and wished that he might obtain no favours [from Cæsar,] and esteemed it almost an insupportable task, to live with him any longer: And this she afterward openly declared, without concealing her resentment.

2. And now Herod sailed home with joy, at the unexpected good success he had had; and went first of all as was proper, to this his wife, and told her, and her only, the good news, as preferring her before the rest on account of his fondness for her, and the intimacy there had been between them, and saluted her; but so it happened, that as he told her of the good success he had had, she was so far from rejoicing at it, that she rather was sorry for it; nor was she able to conceal her resentments, but depending on her dignity, and the nobility of her birth, in return for his salutations, she gave a groan, and declared evidently that she rather grieved than rejoiced at his success, and this till Herod was disturbed at her, as affording him, not only marks of her suspicion, but evident signs of her dissatisfaction. This much troubled him, to see that this surprising hatred of his wife to him was not concealed, but open; and he took this so ill, and yet was so unable to bear it, on account of the fondness he had for her, that he could not continue long in any one mind, but sometimes was angry at her, and sometimes reconciled himself to her, but by always changing one passion for another, he was still in great uncertainty, and thus was he entangled between hatred and love,

and was frequently disposed to inflict punishment on her for her insolence towards him, but being deeply in love with her in his soul, he was not able to get quit of this woman. In short, as he would gladly have her punished, so was he afraid lest ere he were aware, he should, by putting her to death, bring an heavier punishment upon himself at the same time.

3. When Herod's sister and mother perceived that he was in this temper with regard to Mariamne, they thought they had now got an excellent opportunity to exercise their hatred against her, and provoked Herod to wrath by telling him such long stories and calumnies about her, as might at once excite his hatred and his jealousy. Now, though he willingly enough heard their words, yet had not he courage enough to do any thing to her, as if he believed them, but still he became worse and worse disposed to her, and these ill passions were more and more inflamed on both sides, while she did not hide her disposition towards him, and he turned his love to her into wrath against her. But when he was just going to put this matter past all remedy, he heard the news that Cæsar was the victor in the war, and that Antony and Cleopatra were both dead, and that he had conquered Egypt, whereupon he made haste to go to meet Cæsar, and left the affairs of his family in their present state. However, Mariamne recommended Sohemus to him, as he was setting out on his journey, and professed that she owed him thanks for the care he had taken of her, and asked of the king for him a place in the government; upon which an honourable employment was bestowed upon him accordingly. Now, when Herod was come into Egypt, he was introduced to Cæsar with great freedom, as already a friend of his, and received very great favours from him; for he made him a present of those four hundred Galatians who had been Cleopatra's guards and restored that country to him again, which, by her means, had been taken away from him. He also added to his kingdom, Gadara, Hippos, and Samaria; and, besides those, the maritime cities, Gaza, and Anthedon, and Joppa, and Strato's Tower.

4. Upon these new acquisitions, he grew more magnificent, and conducted Cæsar as far as Antioch; but upon his return, as much as his prosperity was augmented by the foreign additions that had been made him, so much the greater were the distresses that came upon him in his own family, and chiefly, in the affair of his wife, wherein he formerly appeared to have been most of all fortunate; for the affection he had for Mariamne was no way inferior to the affections of such as are on that account celebrated in history, and this very justly. As for her, she was in other respects a chaste woman, and faithful to him, yet had she somewhat of a woman, rough by nature, and treated her husband imperiously enough, because she saw he was so fond of her as to be enslaved to her. She did not also consider seasonably with herself that she lived under a

monarchy, and that she was at another's disposal, and accordingly would behave herself after a saucy manner to him, which yet he usually put off in a jesting way, and bore with moderation and good temper. She would also expose his mother and his sister openly, on account of the meanness of their birth, and would speak unkindly of them, insomuch, that there was before this a disagreement and unpardonable hatred among the women, and it was now come to greater reproaches of one another than formerly, which suspicions increased, and lasted a whole year after Herod returned from Cæsar. However, these misfortunes, which had been kept under some decency for a great while, burst out all at once upon such an occasion as was now offered; as the king was one day about noon lain down on his bed to rest him, he called for Mariamne, out of the great affection he had always for her. She came in accordingly, but would not lie down by him: And when he was very desirous of her company, she shewed her contempt of him; and added by way of reproach, that he had caused * her father and her brother to be slain. And when he took this injury very unkindly, and was ready to use violence to her, in a precipitate manner, the king's sister Salome observing that he was more than ordinarily disturbed sent in to the king his cup bearer who had been prepared long before-hand for such a design, and bid him tell the king, how Mariamne had persuaded him to give his assistance in preparing a love potion for him. And if he appear to be greatly concerned, and to ask what that love potion was? to tell him, that she had the potion, and that he was desired only to give it him: But that in case he did not appear to be much concerned at this potion, to let the thing drop, and that if he did so, no harm should thereby come to him. When she had given him these instructions, she sent him in at this time to make such a speech. So he went in after a composed manner, to gain credit to what he should say, and yet somewhat hastily, and said, that "Mariamne had given him presents, and persuaded him to give him a love potion." And when this moved the king, he said, that "this love potion was a composition that she had given him, whose effects he did not know, which was the reason of his resolving to give him this information, as the safest course he could take, both for himself and for the king." When Herod heard what he said, and was in an ill disposition before, his indignation grew more violent; and he ordered that eunuch of Mariamne's who was most faithful to her, to be brought to torture about this potion, as well knowing it was not possible that any

* Whereas Mariamne is here represented as reproaching Herod with the murder of her *father* [Alexander,] as well as her *brother* [Aristobulus,] while it was her grandfather Hyrcanus, and not her father Alexander, whom he caused to be slain, (as Josephus himself informs us, ch. vi. § 2.), we must either take Zonora's reading, which is here *grandfather* rightly, or else we must, as before, ch. i. § 1. allow a slip of Josephus's pen or memory in the place before us.

thing small or great could be done without him. And when the man was under the utmost agonies, he could say nothing concerning the thing he was tortured about, but so far he knew, that Mariamne's hatred against him was occasioned by somewhat that Sohemus had said to her. Now, as he was saying this, Herod cried out aloud and said, that "Sohemus, who had been at all other times most faithful to him, and to his government, would not have betrayed what injunctions he had given him unless he had had a nearer conversation than ordinary with Mariamne." So he gave order that Sohemus should be seized on and slain immediately; but he allowed his wife to take her trial: And got together those that were most faithful to him, and laid an elaborate accusation against her for this love potion and composition, which had been charged upon her by way of calumny only. However, he kept no temper in what he said, and was in too great a passion for judging well about this matter. Accordingly, when the court was at length satisfied that he was so resolved, they passed the sentence of death upon her: But when the sentence was passed upon her, this temper was suggested by himself, and by some others of the court, that she should not be thus hastily put to death, but be laid in prison in one of the fortresses belonging to the kingdom; but Salome and her party laboured hard to have the woman put to death; and they prevailed with the king to do so, and advised this out of caution, lest the multitude should be tumultuous if she were suffered to live: And thus was Mariamne led to execution.

5. When Alexandra observed how things went, and that there were small hopes that she herself should escape the like treatment from Herod, she changed her behaviour to quite the reverse of what might have been expected from her former boldness, and this after a very indecent manner; for out of her desire to shew how entirely ignorant she was of the crimes laid against Mariamne, she leaped out of her place, and reproached her daughter, in the hearing of all people; and cried out, That "she had been an ill woman, and ungrateful to her husband, and that her punishment came justly upon her, for such her insolent behaviour, for that she had not made proper returns to him who had been their common benefactor." And when she had some time acted after this hypocritical manner, and been so outrageous as to tear her hair, this indecent and dissembling behaviour, as was to be expected, was greatly condemned by the rest of the spectators, as it was principally by the poor woman who was to suffer; for at the first she gave her not a word, nor was discomposed at her peevishness, and only looked at her, yet did she out of a greatness of soul discover her concern for her mother's and especially for her exposing herself in a manner so unbecoming her; but as for herself, she went to her death with an unshaken firmness of mind, and without changing the colour of her face, and there-

by evidently discovered the nobility of her descent to the spectators, even in the last moments of her life.

6. And thus died Mariamne ; a woman of an excellent character, both for chastity, and greatness of soul ; but she wanted moderation, and had too much of contention in her nature, yet had she all that can be said in the beauty of her body, and her majestic appearance in conversation : And thence arose the greatest part of the occasions why she did not prove so agreeable to the king, nor live so pleasantly with him, as she might otherwise have done ; for while she was most indulgently used by the king, out of his fondness to her, and did not expect that he could do any hard thing to her, she took too unbounded a liberty. Moreover, that which most afflicted her was, what he had done to her relations, and she ventured to speak of all they had suffered by him, and at last greatly provoked both the king's mother, and sister, till they became enemies to her ; and even he himself also did the same, on whom alone she depended for her expectations of escaping the last of punishments.

7. But when she was once dead, the king's affections for her were kindled in a more outrageous manner than before, whose old passion for her we have already described ; for his love to her was not of a calm nature, nor such as we usually meet with among other husbands, for at its commencement it was of an enthusiastic kind, nor was it by their long cohabitation and free conversation together, brought under his power to manage ; but at this time his love to Mariamne seemed to seize him in such a peculiar manner, as looked like divine vengeance upon him, for the taking away her life, for he would frequently call for her, and frequently lament for her, in a most indecent manner. Moreover he bethought him of every thing he could make use of to divert his mind from thinking of her, and contrived feasts, and assemblies, for that purpose, but nothing would suffice ; he therefore laid aside the administration of public affairs, and was so far conquered by his passion, that he would order his servants to call for Mariamne, as if she were still alive, and could still hear them. And when he was in this way, there arose a pestilential disease, and carried off the greatest part of the multitude, and of his best and most esteemed friends, and made all men suspect that this was brought upon them by the anger of God, for the injustice that had been done to Mariamne. This circumstance affected the king still more, till at length he forced himself to go into desert places, and there, under pretence of going a hunting, bitterly afflicted himself ; yet had he not borne his grief there many days before he fell into a most dangerous distemper himself : He had an inflammation upon him, and a pain in the hinder part of his head, joined with madness ; and for the remedies that were used, they did him no good at all, but proved contrary to his case, and so at length brought him to despair. All the physicians

also that were about him, partly because the medicines they brought for his recovery could not all conquer the disease, and partly because his diet could be no other than what his disease inclined him to, desired him to eat whatever he had a mind to, and so left the small hopes they had of his recovery in the power of that diet, and committed him to fortune. And thus did his distemper go on, while he was at Samaria, now called *Sebaste*.

8. Now Alexandra abode at this time at Jerusalem, and being informed what condition Herod was in, she endeavoured to get possession of the fortified places that were about the city, which were two, the one belonging to the city itself, the other belonging to the temple; and those that could get them into their hands had the whole nation under their power, for without the command of them it was not possible to offer their sacrifices: And to think of leaving off those sacrifices, is to every Jew plainly impossible, who are still more ready to lose their lives than to leave off that divine worship which they have been wont to pay unto God. Alexandra, therefore, discoursed with those that had the keeping of these strong holds, that it was proper for them to deliver the same to her, and to Herod's sons, lest, upon his death, any other person should seize, upon the government; and that upon his recovery none could keep them more safely for him than those of his own family. These words were not by them at all taken in good part; and as they had been in former times faithful [to Herod], they resolved to continue so now more than ever, both because they hated Alexandra, and because they thought it a sort of impiety to despair of Herod's recovery while he was yet alive, for they had been his old friends; and one of them whose name was *Achiabus*, was his cousin german. They sent messengers therefore to acquaint him with Alexandra's design; so he made no longer delay, but gave orders to have her slain; yet was it still with difficulty, and after he had endured great pain, that he got clear of his distemper. He was still sorely afflicted both in mind and body, and made very uneasy, and readier than ever upon all occasions to inflict punishment upon those that fell under his hand. He also slew the most intimate of his friends. *Costobarus*, and *Lyfimachus*, and *Gadias* who was also called *Antipater*; as also *Dositheus*, and that upon the following occasion.

9. *Costobarus* was an Idumean by birth, and one of principal dignity among them, and one whose ancestors had been priests to the Koze, whom the Idumeans had [formerly] esteemed as a god; but after *Hyrchanus* had made a change in their political government, and made them receive the Jewish customs and law. Herod made *Costobarus* governor of Idumea and Gaza, and gave him his sister *Salome* to wife; and this was upon his slaughter of [his uncle] *Joseph*, who had that government before, as we have related already. When

Costobarus had gotten to be so highly advanced, it pleased him, and was more than he hoped for, and he was more and more puffed up by his good success, and in a little while he exceeded all bounds, and did not think fit to obey what Herod, as their ruler, commanded him, or that the Idumeans should make use of the Jewish customs, or be subject to them. He therefore sent to Cleopatra, and informed her that the Idumeans had been always under his progenitors, and that for the same reason it was but just that she should desire that country for him of Antony, for that he was ready to transfer his friendship to her : And this he did, not because he was better pleased to be under Cleopatra's government, but because he tho't that, upon the diminution of Herod's power, it would not be difficult for him to obtain himself the entire government over the Idumeans, and somewhat more also ; for he raised his hopes still higher, as having no small pretences, both by his birth, and by these riches, which he had gotten by his constant attention to filthy lucre ; and accordingly it was not a small matter that he aimed at. So Cleopatra desired this country of Antony, but failed of her purpose. An account of this was brought to Herod, who was thereupon ready to kill Costobarus, yet, upon the entreaties of his sister and mother, he forgave him, and vouchsafed to pardon him entirely, though he still had a suspicion of him afterward for this his attempt.

10. But some time afterward, when Salome happened to quarrel with Costobarus, she * sent him a bill of divorce, and dissolved her marriage with him, though this was not according to the Jewish laws ; for with us it is lawful for an husband to do so, but a wife, if she departs from her husband, cannot of herself be married to another, unless her former husband put her away. However, Salome chose to follow not the law of her country, but the law of her authority, and so renounced her wedlock ; and told her brother Herod, that she left her husband out of her good will to him, because she perceived that he, with Antipater and Lyfimachus, and Dositheus, were

* Here is a plain example of a Jewish lady giving a bill of divorce to her husband, though in the days of Josephus it was not esteemed lawful for a woman so to do. See the like among the Parthians, *Antiq. B. XVIII. ch. ix. § 6.* However, the Christian law, when it allowed divorce for adultery, *Matt. v. 32.* allowed the innocent wife to divorce her guilty husband, as well as the innocent husband to divorce his guilty wife, as we learn from the shepherd of Hermas, *Mand. B. IV.* and from the second apology of Justin Martyr, where a persecution was brought upon the Christians upon such a divorce : And I think the Roman laws permitted it at that time, as well as the laws of Christianity. Now this Babas, who was one of the race of the Asamoneans or Maccabees, as the latter end of this section informs us, is related by the Jews, as Dr. Hudson here remarks, to have been so eminently religious in the Jewish way, that, except the day following the 10th of Tisri, the great day of atonement, when he seems to have supposed all his sins entirely forgiven, he used every day of the whole year to offer a sacrifice for his sins of ignorance, or such as he supposed he had been guilty of, but did not distinctly remember. See somewhat like it of Agrippa the Great, *Antiq. B. XIX. ch. iii. § 3. vol. II.* and *Job. i. 4, 5.*

raising a sedition against him : As an evidence whereof, she alleged the case of the sons of Babas, that they had been by him preserved alive already for the interval of twelve years ; which proved to be true. But when Herod thus unexpectedly heard of it, he was greatly surpris'd at it, and was the more surpris'd, because the relation appeared incredible to him. As for the fact relating to these sons of Babas, Herod had formerly taken great pains to bring them to punishment, as being enemies to his government, but they were now forgotten by him, on account of the length of time [since he had ordered them to be slain.] Now, the cause of his ill will and hatred to them arose hence, that while Antigonus was king, Herod, with his army, besieged the city of Jerusalem, where the distress and miseries which the besieged endured, were so pressing, that the greater number of them invited Herod into the city, and already placed their hopes on him. Now, the sons of Babas were of great dignity, and had power among the multitude, and were faithful to Antigonus, and were always raising calumnies against Herod, and encouraged the people to preserve the government to that royal family which held it by inheritance. So these men acted thus politically, and, as they tho't, for their own advantage ; but when the city was taken, and Herod had gotten the government into his hands, and Costobarus was appointed to hinder men from passing out at the gates, and to guard the city, that those citizens that were guilty, and of the party opposite to the king, might not get out of it, Costobarus being sensible that the sons of Babas were had in respect and honour by the whole multitude, and supposing that their preservation might be of great advantage to him in the changes of government afterward, he set them by themselves, and concealed them in his own farms ; and when the thing was suspected, he assured Herod upon oath that he really knew nothing of that matter, and so overcame the suspicions that lay upon him ; nay, after that, when the king had publicly propos'd a reward for the discovery, and had put in practice all sorts of methods for searching out this matter, he would not confess it, but being persuaded that when he had at first denied it, if the men were found, he should not escape unpunished, he was forced to keep them secret, not only out of his good will to them, but out of a necessary regard to his own preservation also : But when the king knew the thing, by his sister's information, he sent men to the places where he had the intimation they were concealed, and ordered both them, and those that were accused as guilty with them, to be slain, insomuch that there were now none at all left of the kindred of Hyrcanus, and the kingdom was entirely in Herod's own power and there was nobody remaining of such dignity as could put a stop to what he did against the Jewish laws.

C H A P. VIII.

How ten Men of the Citizens [of Jerusalem] made a Conspiracy against Herod, for the Foreign practices he had introduced, which was a Transgression of the Laws of their Country. Concerning the Building of Sebaste and Cesarea, and other Edifices of Herod.

§ 1. **O**N this account it was that Herod revolted from the laws of his country, and corrupted their ancient constitution, by the introduction of foreign practices, which constitution yet ought to have been preserved inviolable; by which means we became guilty of great wickedness afterward, while those religious observances which used to lead the multitude to piety, were now neglected: For, in the first place, he appointed solemn games to be celebrated every fifth year, in honour of Cæsar, and built a theatre at Jerusalem, as also a very great amphitheatre in the plain. Both of them were indeed costly works, but opposite to the Jewish customs; for we have had no such shows delivered down to us as fit to be used or exhibited by us; yet did he celebrate these games every five years, in the most solemn and splendid manner. He also made proclamation to the neighbouring countries, and called men together out of every nation. The wrestlers also, and the rest of those that strove for the prizes in such games, were invited out of every land, both by the hopes of the rewards there to be bestowed, and by the glory of victory to be there gained. So the principal persons that were the most eminent in these sorts of exercises, were gotten together, for there were very great rewards for victory proposed, not only to those that performed their exercises naked, but to those that played the musicians also, and were called *Thymelici*; and he spared no pains to induce all persons, the most famous for such exercises, to come to this contest for victory. He also proposed no small rewards to those who ran for the prizes in chariot races when they were drawn by two, or three, or four pair of horses. He also imitated every thing, though never so costly or magnificent, in other nations, out of an ambition that he might give most public demonstration of his grandeur. Inscriptions also of the great actions of Cæsar, and trophies of those nations which he had conquered in his wars, and all made of the purest gold and silver, encompassed the theatre itself; Nor was there any thing that could be subservient to his design, whether it were precious garments, or precious stones set in order, which was not also exposed to sight in these games. He had also made a great preparation of wild beasts, and of lions themselves in great abundance, and of such other beasts as were either of uncommon strength, or of such a sort as were rarely seen. These were prepared either to fight with one another,

or that men who were condemned to death, were to fight with them. And truly foreigners were greatly surpris'd and delighted at the vastness of the expences here exhibited, and at the great dangers that were here seen ; * but to natural Jews, this was no better than a dissolution of those customs for which they had so great a veneration. It appeared also no better than an instance of barefaced impiety, to throw men to wild beasts, for the offering delight to the spectators ; and it appeared an instance of no less impiety, to change their own laws for such foreign exercises : But above all the rest, the trophies gave most distaste to the Jews, for as they imagined them to be images, included within the armour that hung round about them, they were sorely displeased at them, because it was not the custom of their country to pay honours to such images.

2. Nor was Herod unacquainted with the disturbance they were under ; and as he thought it unseasonable to use violence with them, so he spake to some of them by way of consolation, and in order to free them from that superstitious fear they were under ; yet could not he satisfy them, but they cried out with one accord, out of their great uneasiness at the offences they thought he had been guilty of, that although they should think of bearing all the rest, yet would they never bear images of men in their city, meaning the trophies, because this was disagreeable to the laws of their country. Now when Herod saw them in such a disorder, and that they would not easily change their resolution unless they received satisfaction in this point, he called to him the most eminent men among them, and brought them upon the theatre, and shewed them the trophies, and asked them, what sort of things they took these trophies to be ? And when they cried out, that they were the images of men, he gave order that they should be stripped of these outward ornaments which were about them, and shewed them the naked pieces of wood, now without any ornament, became matter of great sport and laughter to them because they had before always had the ornaments of images themselves in derision.

3. When therefore Herod had thus got clear of the multitude, and had dissipated the vehemency of passion under which they had been, the greatest part of the people were disposed to change their conduct, and not to be displeased at him any longer ; but still some of them continued in their displeasure against him, for his introduction of new customs, and esteem-

* These grand plays, and shows, and *thymelici*, or music meetings, and chariot races, when the chariots were drawn by two, three, or four pair of horses, &c. instituted by Herod in his theatres, were still, as we see here, looked on by the sober Jews as heathenish sports, and tending to corrupt the manners of the Jewish nation, and to bring them to love with Paganish idolatry, and Paganish conduct of life, but to the dissolution of the law of Moses, and accordingly were greatly and justly condemned by them, as appears here and every where else in Josephus. Nor is the case of our modern maiquerades, plays, operas and the like *pomps and vanities of this wicked world*, of any better tendency under Christianity.

ed the violation of the laws of their country as likely to be the origin of very great mischiefs to them, so that they deemed it an instance of piety rather to hazard themselves [to be put to death], than to seem as if they took no notice of Herod, who, upon the change he had made in their government, introduced such customs, and that in a violent manner, which they had never been used to before. as indeed in pretence a king, but in reality one that shewed himself an enemy to their whole nation ; on which account ten men that were citizens [of Jerusalem], conspired together against him, and sware to one another to undergo any dangers in the attempt, and took daggers with them under their garments, [for the purpose of killing Herod]. Now there was a certain blind man among those conspirators, who had thus sworn to one another, on account of the indignation he had against what he heard to have been done ; he was not indeed able to afford the rest any assistance in the undertaking, but was ready to undergo any suffering with them, if so be they should come to any harm, inasmuch, that he became a very great encourager of the rest of the undertakers.

4. When they had taken this resolution, and that by common consent, they went into the theatre, hoping that, in the first place, Herod himself could not escape them, as they should fall upon him so unexpectedly ; and supposing, however, that if they missed him, they should kill a great many of those that were about him ; and this resolution they took though they should die for it, in order to suggest to the king, what injuries he had done to the multitude. These conspirators, therefore, standing thus prepared before hand, went about their design with great alacrity ; but there was one of those spies of Herod's that were appointed for such purposes, to fish out and inform him of any conspiracies that should be made against him, who found out the whole affair, and told the king of it, as he was about to go into the theatre. So when he reflected on the hatred which he knew the greatest part of the people bore him, and on the disturbances that arose upon every occasion, he thought this plot against him not to be improbable. Accordingly he retired into his palace, and called those that were accused of this conspiracy before him by their several names ; and as upon the guards falling upon them, they were caught in the very fact, and knew they could not escape, they prepared themselves for their ends with all the decency they could, and so as not at all to recede from their resolute behaviour, for they shewed no shame for what they were about nor denied it, but when they were seized, they shewed their daggers, and professed, that " the conspiracy they had sworn to was an holy and a pious action ; that what they intended to do was not for gain, or out of any indulgence to their passions, but principally for those common customs of their country, which all the Jews were obliged to observe, or to die for them." This was what these men said.

out of their undaunted courage in this conspiracy. So they were led away to execution by the king's guards that stood about them, and patiently underwent all the torments inflicted on them till they died. Nor was it long before that spy who had discovered them, was seized on by some of the people, out of the hatred they bore to him, and was not only slain by them, but pulled to pieces limb from limb, and given to the dogs. This execution was seen by many of the citizens, yet would not one of them discover the doers of it, till upon Herod's making a strict scrutiny after them, by bitter and severe tortures, certain women that were tortured confessed what they had seen done; Authors of which fact were so terribly punished by the king, that their entire families were destroyed, for this their rash attempt, yet did not the obstinacy of the people, and that undaunted constancy they shewed in the defence of their laws, make Herod any easier to them, but he still strengthened himself after a more secure manner, and resolved to encompass the multitude every way, lest such innovations should end in an open rebellion.

5. Since, therefore, he had now the city fortified by the palace in which he lived, and by the temple which had a strong fortress by it, called Antonia, and was re-built by himself, he contrived to make Samaria a fortress for himself also against all the people, and called it Sebaste, supposing that this place would be a strong hold against the country, not inferior to the former. So he fortified that place, which was a day's journey distant from Jerusalem, and which would be usual to him in common, to keep both the country and the city in awe. He also built another fortress for the whole nation; it was of old called Strato's Tower, but was by him named Cesarea. Moreover, he chose out some select horsemen, and placed them in the great plain; and built [for them] a place in Galilee, called Gaba, with Hesebonitis, in Perea. And these were the places which he particularly built, while he always inventing somewhat farther for his own security, and encompassing the whole nation with guards, that they might by no means get from under his power, nor fall into tumults, which they did continually upon any small commotion; and that if they did make any commotions he might know of it while some of his spies might be upon them from the neighbourhood, and might both be able to know what they were attempting, and to prevent it. And when he went about building the wall of Samaria, he contrived to bring thither many of those that had been assisting to him in his wars, and many of the people in that neighbourhood also, whom he made fellow-citizens with the rest. This he did out of an ambitious desire of building a temple and out of a desire to make the city more eminent than it had been before, but principally because he contrived that it might at once be for his own security, and a monument of his magnificence. He also

changed its name, and called it Sebaste. Moreover he parted the adjoining country, which was excellent in its kind, among the inhabitants of Samaria, that they might be in an happy condition, upon their first coming to inhabit. Besides all which, he encompassed the city with a wall of great strength, and made use of the acclivity of the place for making its fortifications stronger; nor was the compass of the place made now so small as it had been before, but was such as rendered it not inferior to the most famous cities; for it was twenty furlongs in circumference. Now within, and about the middle of it he built a sacred place, of a furlong and an half [in circuit,] and adorned it with all sorts of decorations, and therein erected a temple, which was illustrious on account of both its largeness and beauty. And as to the several parts of the city, he adorned them with decorations of all sorts also; and as to what was necessary to provide for his own security, he made the walls very strong for that purpose, and made it for the greatest part, a citadel; and as to the elegance of the buildings, it was taken care of also, that he might leave monuments of the fineness of his taste, and of his beneficence to future ages.

C H A P. IX.

Concerning the Famine that happened in Judea and Syria: And how Herod, after he had Married another Wife, rebuilt Cesarea, and other Grecian Cities.

§ 1. **N**OW on this very year, which was the thirteenth year of the reign of Herod, very great calamities came upon the country: Whether they were derived from the anger of God, or * whether this misery return again naturally in certain periods of time; for, in the first place, there were perpetual droughts, and for that reason the ground was barren; and did not bring forth the same quantity of fruits that it used to produce; and after this barrenness of the soil, that change of food which the want of corn occasioned, produced distempers in the bodies of men, and a pestilential disease prevailed, one misery following upon the back of another: And these circumstances that they were destitute both of methods of cure, and of food, made the pestilential distemper, which began after a violent manner, the more lasting. The destruction of men also after such a manner deprived those that survived of

* Here we have an eminent example of the language of Josephus in his writing to Gentiles, different from that when he wrote to Jews: In his writing to whom he still derives all such judgments from the anger of God; but because he knew many of the Gentiles thought they might naturally come in certain periods, he complies with them in the following sentence. See the note on the War, B. I. ch. xxxiii. § 2. Vol. III.

all their courage, because they had no way to provide remedies sufficient for the distresses they were in. When therefore the fruits of that year were spoiled, and whatsoever they had laid up beforehand was spent, there was no foundation of hope for relief remaining, but the misery, contrary to what they expected, still increased upon them; and this, not only on that year, while they had nothing for themselves left [at the end of it,] but what seed they had sown perished also, by reason of the ground not yielding its fruits on the * second year. This distress they were in made them also out of necessity to eat many things that did not use to be eaten: Nor was the king himself free from this distress any more than other men, as being deprived of that tribute he used to have from the fruits of the ground, and having already expended what money he had in his liberality to those whose cities he had built; nor had he any people that were worthy of his assistance, since this miserable state of things had procured him the hatred of his subjects, for it is a constant rule, that misfortunes are still laid to the account of those that govern.

2: In these circumstances he considered with himself how to procure some seasonable help; but this was a hard thing to be done, while their neighbours had no food to sell them, and their money also was gone. had it been possible to purchase a little food at a great price. However, he thought it his best way, by all means, not to leave off his endeavours to assist his people; so he cut off the rich furniture that was in his palace, both of silver and gold, insomuch that he did not spare the finest vessels he had, or those that were made with the most elaborate skill of the artificers, but sent the money to Petronius, who had been made prefect of Egypt by Cæsar; and as not a few had already fled to him under their necessities, and as he was particularly a friend to Herod, and desirous to have his subjects preserved, he gave leave to them, in the first place, to export corn, and assisted them every way, both in purchasing and exporting the same, so that he was the principal, if not the only person who afforded them what help they had. And Herod taking care the people should understand that this help came from himself, did thereby not only remove from him the ill opinion of those that formerly hated him, but gave them the

* This famine for two years that affected Judea and Syria the 13th and 14th years of Herod, which are the 23d and 24th years before the Christian era, seems to have been more terrible during this time than was that in the days of Jacob, Gen. xli. xlii. And what makes the comparison the more remarkable is this, that now, as well as then, the relief they had was from Egypt also, then from Joseph the governor of Egypt, under Pharaoh King of Egypt, and now from Petronius the prefect of Egypt, under Augustus the Roman Emperor. See almost the like case, Antiq. B. XX. ch. ii. § 6. Vol. II. It is also well worth our observation here, that these two years were a sabbatic year, and a year of jubilee, for which, providence, during the theocracy, used to provide a triple crop beforehand, but became now, when the Jews had forfeited that blessing, the greatest years of famine to them ever since the days of Abab, 1 Kings xvii, xviii.

greatest demonstration possible of his good will to them, and care of them ; for, in the first place, as for those who were able to provide their own food, he distributed to them their proportion of corn in the exactest manner, but for those many that were not able, either by reason of their old age, or any other infirmity, to provide food for themselves, he made this provision for them, that the bakers should make their bread ready for them. He also took care that they might not be hurt by the dangers of winter, since they were in great want of clothing also, by reason of the utter destruction and consumption of their sheep and goats, till they had no wool to make use of, nor any thing else to cover themselves withal. And when he had procured these things for his own subjects, he went farther, in order to provide necessaries for their neighbours, and gave seed to the Syrians, which thing turned greatly to his own advantage also, this charitable assistance being afforded most seasonably to their fruitful soil, so that every one had now a plentiful provision of food. Upon the whole, when the harvest of the land was approaching, he sent no fewer than fifty thousand men whom he had sustained, into the country ; by which means he both repaired the afflicted condition of his own kingdom with great generosity and diligence, and lightened the afflictions of his neighbours, who were under the same calamities, for there was nobody who had been in want that was left destitute of a suitable assistance by him : Nay, farther, there were neither any people, nor any cities, nor any private men, who were to make provision for the multitudes, and on that account were in want of support, and had recourse to him, but received what they stood in need of, insomuch, that it appeared upon a computation, that the number of cori of wheat, of ten attick medimni a piece, that were given to foreigners, amounted to ten thousand, and the number that was given in his own kingdom was about fourscore thousand. Now it happened that this care of his, and this seasonable benefaction, had such influence on the Jews, and was so cried up among other nations, as to wipe off that old hatred which his violation of some of their customs, during his reign, had procured him among all the nation, and that this liberality of his assistance in this their greatest necessity was full satisfaction for all that he had done of that nature, as it also procured him great fame among foreigners ; and it looked as if these calamities that afflicted his land to a degree plainly incredible, came in order to raise his glory, and to be to his great advantage, for the greatness of his liberality in these distresses, which he now demonstrated beyond all expectation, did so change the disposition of the multitude towards him, that they were ready to suppose he had been from the beginning not such an one as they had found him to be by experience, but such an one as the care he had taken on them in supplying their necessities proved him now to be.

3. About this time it was that he sent five hundred chosen men out of the guards of his body as auxiliaries to Cæsar, whom * Ælius Gallus led to the Red Sea, and who were of great service to him there. When therefore his affairs were thus improved, and were again in a flourishing condition, he built himself a palace in the upper city, raising the rooms to a very great height, and adorning them with the most costly furniture of gold, and marble seats, and beds, and these were so large, that they could contain very many companies of men. These apartments were also of distinct magnitudes, and had particular names given them, for one apartment was called Cæsar's, another Agrippa's. He also fell in love again, and married another wife, not suffering his reason to hinder him from living as he pleased. The occasion of this his marriage was as follows: There was one *Simon*, a citizen of Jerusalem, the son of one Boethus, a citizen of Alexandria, and a priest of great note there: This man had a daughter, who was esteemed the most beautiful woman of that time: and when the people of Jerusalem began to speak much in her commendation, it happened that Herod was much affected with what was said of her: And when he saw the damsel, he was smitten with her beauty, yet did he entirely reject the thoughts of using his authority to abuse her, as believing, what was the truth, that by so doing he should be stigmatized for violence and tyranny, so he thought it best to take the damsel to wife. And while Simon was of a dignity too inferior to be allied to him, but still too considerable to be despised, he governed his inclinations after the most prudent manner, by augmenting the dignity of the family, and making them more honourable; so he immediately deprived Jesus, the son of Phabet, of the high priesthood, and conferred that dignity on Simon, and so joined in affinity with him [by marrying his daughter.]

4. When this wedding was over, he built another citadel in that place where he had conquered the Jews when he was driven out of his government, and Antigonus enjoyed it. This citadel is distant from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs. It was strong by nature, and fit for such a building. It is a sort of a moderate hill, raised to a farther height by the hand of man, till it was of the shape of a woman's breast. It is encompassed with circular towers, and hath a strait ascent up to it, which ascent is composed of steps of polished stones, in number two hundred. Within it are royal and very rich apartments, of a structure that provided both for security and for beauty. About the bottom there are habitations of such a structure as are well worth seeing, both on other accounts, and

* This Ælius seems to be no other than that Aelius Largus whom Dio speaks of as conducting an expedition that was about this time made into Arabia Felix, according to Petavius, who is here cited by Spanheim. See a full account of this expedition in Prideaux at the years 23. and 24.

also on account of the water which is brought thither from a great way off, and at vast expences, for the place itself is destitute of water. The plain that is about this citadel is full of edifices, not inferior to any city in largeness, and having the hill above it in the nature of a castle.

5. And now, when all Herod's designs had succeeded according to his hopes, he had not the least suspicion that any trouble could arise in his kingdom, because he kept his people obedient, as well by the fear they stood in of him, for he was implacable in the infliction of his punishments, as by the provident care he had shewed towards them, after the most magnanimous manner, when they were under their distresses: But still he took care to have external security for his government as a fortress against his subjects; for the orations he made to the cities were very fine, and full of kindness; and he cultivated a seasonable good understanding with their governors, and bestowed presents on every one of them, inducing them thereby to be more friendly to him, and using his magnificent disposition, so as his kingdom might be the better secured to him, and this till all his affairs were every way more and more augmented. But then, this magnificent temper of his, and that submissive behaviour and liberality which he exercised towards Cæsar, and the most powerful men of Rome, obliged him to transgress the customs of his nation, and to set aside many of their laws, and by building cities after an extravagant manner, and erecting temples; * not in Judea indeed, for that would not have been borne, it being forbidden to us to pay any honour to images, or representations of animals after the manner of the Greeks, but still he did thus in the country [properly] out of our bonds, and in the cities thereof. The apology which he made to the Jews

* One may here take notice, that how tyrannical and extravagant soever Herod were in himself, and in his Grecian cities, as to those plays, and shews, and temples for idolatry, mentioned above ch. viii. § 1. and here also, yet durst even he introduce very few of them into the cities of the Jews, who, as Josephus here notes would not even then have borne them, so zealous were they still for many of the laws of Moses, even under so tyrannical a government as this was of Herod the Great; which tyrannical government puts me naturally in mind of Dean Prideaux's honest reflection upon the like ambition after such tyrannical power in Pompey and Cæsar: "One of these, [says he, at the year 60], could not bear an equal, nor the other a superior; and through this ambitious humour and thirst after more power in these two men, the whole Roman empire being divided into two opposite factions, there was produced hereby the most destructive war that ever afflicted it; and the like folly too much reigns in all other places. Could about thirty men be persuaded to live at home in peace without enterprizing upon the right of each other, for the vain glory of conquest, and the enlargement of power, the whole world might be at quiet; but their ambition, their follies, and their humour, leading them constantly to encroach upon and quarrel with each other, they involve all that are under them in the mischiefs thereof; and many thousands are they which yearly perish by it; so that it may almost raise a doubt, whether the benefit which the world receives from government be sufficient to make amends for the calamities which it suffers from the follies, mistakes, and mal-administrations of those that manage it."

for these things was this, that all was done, not out of his own inclinations, but by the commands and injunctions of the others, in order to please Cæsar, and the Romans, as though he had not the Jewish customs so much in his eye as he had the honour of those Romans, while yet he had himself entirely in view all the while, and indeed was very ambitious to leave great monuments of his government to posterity ; whence it was that he was so zealous in building such fine cities, and spent such vast sums of money upon them.

6. Now upon his observation of a place near the sea, which was very proper for containing a city, and was before called Strato's Tower, he set about getting a plan for a magnificent city there, and erected many edifices with great diligence all over it, and this of white stone. He also adorned it with most sumptuous palaces, and large edifices for containing the people ; and what was the greatest and most laborious work of all, he adorned it with an haven, that was always free from the waves of the sea. Its largeness was not less than the Pyræum [at Athens,] and had towards the city a double station for the ships. It was of excellent workmanship ; and this was the more remarkable for its being built in a place that of itself was not suitable to such noble structures, but was to be brought to perfection by materials from other places, and at very great expences. This city is situate in Phenicia, in the passage by sea to Egypt between Joppa and Dora, which are lesser maritime cities and not fit for havens, on account of the impetuous south winds that beat upon them, which rolling the sands that come from the sea against the shores, do not admit of ships lying in their station, but the merchants are generally there forced to ride at their anchors in the sea itself. So Herod endeavoured to rectify this inconvenience, and laid out such a compass towards the land as might be sufficient for an haven, wherein the great ships might lie in safety ; and this he effected by letting down vast stones of above fifty feet in length, not less than eighteen in breadth, and nine in depth, into twenty fathom deep, and as some were lesser, so were others bigger than those dimensions. This mole which he built by the sea side was two hundred feet wide, the half of which was opposed to the current of the waves, so as to keep off those waves which were to break upon them, and so was called Procymatia, or the first breaker of the waves, but the other half had upon it a wall, with several towers, the largest of which was named Drusus, and was a work of very great excellence, and had its name from Drusus, the son-in-law of Cæsar, who died young. There were also a great number of arches where the mariners dwelt. There was also before them a key [or landing-place,] which ran round the entire haven, and was a most agreeable walk to such as had a mind to that exercise ; but the entrance or mouth of the port was made on the north quarter, on which side was the stillest of the winds

of all in this place : And the basis of the whole circuit on the left hand, as you enter the port, supported a round turret, which was made very strong, in order to resist the greatest waves, while on the right hand, as you enter stood two vast stones, and those each of them larger than the turret, which were over against them : These stood upright, and were joined together. Now there was edifices all along the circular haven, made of the politest stone, with a certain elevation, whereon was erected a temple, that was seen a great way off by those that were sailing for that haven, and had in it two statutes. the one of Rome, the other of Cæsar. As the city itself was called Cesarea, which was also itself built of fine materials, and was of a fine structure ; nay, the very subterranean vaults and cellars had no less of architecture bestowed on them than had the building above ground. Some of these vaults carried things at even distances to the haven and to the sea, but one of them ran obliquely, and bound all the rest together, that both the rain and the filth of the citizens were together carried off with ease. and the sea itself, upon the flux of the tide from without, came into the city and washed it all clean. Herod also built therein a theatre of stone ; and on the south quarter, behind the port, an amphitheatre also, capable of holding a vast number of men, and conveniently situated for a prospect to the sea. So this city was thus finished in * twelve years ; during which time the king did not fail to go on both with the work, and to pay the charges that were necessary.

C H A P. X.

How Herod sent his Sons to Rome ; how also he was accused by Zenodorus, and the Gadarens, but was cleared of what they accused him of, and withal gained to himself the good will of Cæsar. Concerning the Pharisees, the Essens, and Manahem.

§ 1. **W**HEN Herod was engaged in such matters, and when he had already re-edified Sebaste [Samaria,] he resolved to send his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Rome, to enjoy the company of Cæsar ; who, when they came thither, lodged at the house of † Pollio who was very fond of Herod's friendship : And they had leave to lodge in Cæsar's own palace, for he received these sons of Herod with all hu-

* Cesarea being here said to be rebuilt and adorned in twelve years, and soon afterwards in ten years, Antiq. B. XVI. ch. v. § 1 there must be a mistake in one of the places as to the true number, but which of them it is hard positively to determine.

† This Pollio, with whom Herod's sons lived at Rome, was not Pollio the Pharisee, already mentioned by Josephus, ch. i. § 1 and again presently after this, ch. x. § 4. but Añinius Pollio the Roman, as Spanheim here observes.

manity, and gave Herod leave to give his kingdom to which of his sons he pleased; and besides all this, he bestowed on him Trachon and Batanea, and Auranitis, which he gave him on the occasion following: One * Zenodorus had hired what was called the house of Lyfania, who, as he was not satisfied with its revenues, became a partner with the robbers that inhabited the Trachones, and so procured himself a regular income, for the inhabitants of those places lived in a mad way, and pillaged the country of the Damascenes, while Zenodorus did not restrain them, but partook of the prey they acquired. Now, as the neighbouring people were hereby great sufferers, they complained to Varro, who was then president [of Syria,] and entreated him to write to Cæsar about this injustice of Zenodorus. When these matters were laid before Cæsar, he wrote back to Varro to destroy those nests of robbers, and to give the land to Herod, that so by his care the neighbouring countries might be no longer disturbed with these doings of the Trachonites, for it was not an easy thing to restrain them, since this way of robbery had been their usual practice, and they had no other way to get their living, because they had neither any city of their own, nor lands in their possession, but only some receptacles and dens in the earth, and there they and their cattle lived in common together: However, they had made contrivances to get pools of water, and laid up corn in granaries for themselves, and were able to make great resistance, by issuing out on the sudden against any that attacked them; for the entrances of their caves were narrow, in which but one could come in at a time, and the places within incredibly large, and made very wide; but the ground over their habitations was not very high, but rather on a plain, while the rocks are altogether hard and difficult to be entered upon, unless any one gets into the plain road by the guidance of another, for these roads are not strait, but have several revolutions. But when these men are hindered from their wicked preying upon their neighbours, their custom is to prey one upon another, inasmuch that no sort of injustice comes amiss to them. But when Herod had received this grant from Cæsar, and was come into this country, he procured skillful guides, and put a stop to their wicked robberies, and procured peace and quietness to the neighbouring people.

2. Hereupon Zenodorus was grieved, in the first place, because his principality was taken away from him, and still more so, because he envied Herod, who had gotten it; so he went up to Rome to accuse him, but returned back again without success. Now Agrippa was [about this time] sent to succeed Cæsar in the government of the countries beyond the Ionian

* The character of this Zenodorus is so like that of a famous robber of the same name in Strabo, and that about this very country, and about this very time also, that I think Dr Hudson hardly need to have put a *perhaps* to his determination that they were the same.

sea, upon whom Herod light when he was wintering about Mitylene, for he had been his particular friend and companion, and then returned into Judea again. However, some of the Gadarens came to Agrippa, and accused Herod, whom he sent back bound to the king, without giving them the hearing: But still the Arabians, who of old bare ill will to Herod's government, were nettled, and at that time attempted to raise a sedition in his dominions, and, as they thought upon a more justifiable occasion; for Zenodorus, despairing already of success, as to his own affairs, prevented [his enemies,] by selling to those Arabians a part of his principality, called Auranitis, for the value of fifty talents; but as this was included in the donations of Cæsar, they contested the point with Herod, as unjustly deprived of what they had bought. Sometimes they did this by making incursions upon him, and sometimes by attempting force against him, and sometimes by going to law with him. Moreover, they persuaded the poorer soldiers to help them, and were troublesome to him, out of a constant hope that they should reduce the people to raise a sedition; in which designs those that are in the most miserable circumstances of life, are still the most earnest: And although Herod had been a great while apprised of these attempts, yet did not he indulge any severity to them, but by rational methods aimed to mitigate things, as not willing to give any handle for tumults.

3. Now when Herod had already reigned seventeen years, Cæsar came into Syria; at which time the greatest part of the inhabitants of Gadara clamoured against Herod, as one that was heavy in his injunctions, and tyrannical. These reproaches they mainly ventured upon by the encouragement of Zenodorus, who took his oath that he would never leave Herod till he had procured that they should be severed from Herod's kingdom, and joined to Cæsar's province. The Gadarens were induced hereby, and made no small cry against him, and that the more boldly, because those that had been delivered up by Agrippa were not punished by Herod, who let them go, and did them no harm, for indeed he was the principal man in the world who appeared almost inexorable in punishing crimes in his own family, but very generous in remitting the offences that were committed elsewhere. And while they accused Herod of injuries, and plunderings, and subversions of temples, he stood unconcerned, and was ready to make his defence. However, Cæsar gave him his right hand, and remitted nothing of his kindness to him, upon this disturbance by the multitude: And indeed these things were alleged the first day, but the hearing proceeded no farther; for as the Gadarens saw the inclination of Cæsar and of his assessors, and expected, as they had reason to do, that they should be delivered up to the king, some of them, out of a dread of the torments they might undergo, cut their own throats in the night

time, and some of them threw themselves down precipices, and others of them cast themselves into the river, and destroyed themselves of their own accord; which accidents seemed a sufficient condemnation of the rashness and crimes they had been guilty of: Whereupon Cæsar made no longer delay, but cleared Herod from the crimes he was accused of. Another happy accident there was, which was a farther great advantage to Herod at this time; for Zenodorus's belly burst, and a great quantity of blood issued from him in his sickness, and he thereby departed this life at Antioch in Syria: So Cæsar bestowed his country, which was no small one, upon Herod; it lay between Trachon and Galilee, and contained Ulatha and Paneas, and the country round about. He also made him one of the procurators of Syria, and commanded that they should do every thing with his approbation; and, in short, he arrived at that pitch of felicity, that whereas there were but two men that governed the vast Roman empire, first Cæsar, and then Agrippa, who was his principal favourite, Cæsar preferred no one to Herod besides Agrippa, and Agrippa made no one his greater friend than Herod besides Cæsar. And when he had acquired such freedom, he begged of Cæsar a tetrarchy * for his brother Pheroras, while he did himself bestow upon him a revenue of an hundred talents out of his own kingdom, that in case he came to any harm himself his brother might be in safety, and that his sons might not have dominion over him. So when he had conducted Cæsar to the sea, and was returned home, he built him a most beautiful temple, of the whitest stone, in Zenodorus's country, near the place called *Panium*. This is a very fine cave in a mountain, under which there is a great cavity in the earth, and the cavern is abrupt, and prodigiously deep, and full of a still water: Over it hangs a vast mountain; and under the caverns arise the springs of the river Jordan. Herod adorned this place, which was already a very remarkable one, still farther, by the erection of this temple, which he dedicated to Cæsar.

4. At which time Herod released to his subjects the third part of their taxes, under pretence indeed of relieving them, after the dearth they had had: but the main reason was, to recover their good will, which he now wanted, for they were uneasy at him, because of the innovations he had introduced in their practices, of the dissolution of their religion, and of the disuse of their own customs; and the people every where talked against him, like those that were still more provoked and disturbed at his procedure: Against which discontents he greatly guarded himself, and took away the opportunities

* By *tetrarchy* properly and originally denoted the fourth part of an entire kingdom or country, and a *tetrarch* one that was a ruler of such a fourth part, which always implies somewhat less extent of dominion and power than belonging to a kingdom and to a king.

they might have to disturb them, and enjoined them to be always at work ; nor did he permit the citizens either to meet together or to walk, or eat together, but watched every thing they did, and when any were caught, they were severely punished ; and many there were who were brought to the citadel Hyrcania, both openly and secretly, and were there put to death ; and there were spies set every where, both in the city, and in the roads, who watched those that met together ; nay, it is reported, that he did not himself neglect this part of caution, but that he would oftentimes himself take the habit of a private man, and mix among the multitude, in the night time, and make trial what opinion they had of his government ; and as for those that could no way be reduced to acquiesce under his scheme of government, he prosecuted them all manner of ways, but for the rest of the multitude, he required that they should be obliged to take an oath of fidelity to him, and at the same time compelled them to swear that they would bear him good will, and continue certainly so to do in his management of the government ; and indeed a great part of them, either to please him, or out of fear of him, yielded to what he required of them, but for such as were of a more open and generous disposition, and had indignation at the force he used to them, he by one means or other made way with them. He endeavoured also to persuade Pollio the Pharisee, and Sameas, and the greatest part of their scholars, to take the oath ; but these would neither submit so to do, nor were they punished together with the rest, out of the reverence he bore to Pollio. The Essens also, as we call a sect of ours, were excused from this imposition. These men live the same kind of life as do those whom the Greeks call *Pythagoreans*, concerning whom I shall discourse more fully elsewhere. However, it is but fit to set down here the reasons wherefore Herod had these Essens in such honours, and thought higher of them than their mortal nature required ; nor will this account be unsuitable to the nature of this history, as it will shew the opinion men had of these Essens.

Now there was one of these Essens, whose name was Manahem, who had this testimony, that he not only conducted his life after an excellent manner, but had the foreknowledge of future events given him by God also. This man once saw Herod when he was a child, and going to school, and saluted him as king of the Jews ; but he thinking that either he did not know him, or that he was in jest, put him in mind that he was but a private man, but Manahem smiled to himself, and clapped him on his backside with his hand, and said, “ However that be, thou wilt be king, and wilt begin thy reign happily, for God finds thee worthy of it. And do thou remember the blows that Manahem hath given thee, as being a signal of the change of thy fortune. And truly this will be the reasoning for thee, that thou love justice, [towards men,] and pi-

ety towards God, and clemency towards thy citizens ; yet do I know how thy whole conduct will be, that thou wilt not be such an one, for thou wilt excel all men in happiness, and obtain an everlasting reputation, but wilt forget piety and righteousness ; and these crimes will not be concealed from God, at the conclusion of thy life, when thou wilt find that he will be mindful of them and punish thee for them." Now at that time Herod did not at all attend to what Manahem said, as having no hopes of such advancement ; but a little afterward, when he was so fortunate as to be advanced to the dignity of king, and was in the height of his dominion, he sent for Manahem, and asked him, how long he should reign ? Manahem did not tell him the full length of his reign. wherefore, upon that silence of his, he asked him farther, Whether he should reign ten years or not ? he replied. " Yes, twenty, nay, thirty years," but did not assign the just determinate limit of his reign. Herod was satisfied with these replies, and gave Manahem his hand and dismissed him, and from that time he continued to honour all the Essens. We have thought it proper to relate these facts to our readers, how strange soever they be, and to declare what hath happened among us, because many of the Essens have by their excellent virtue, been thought worthy of this knowledge of divine revelations.

CHAP. XI.

How Herod rebuilt the Temple, and raised it higher, and made it more magnificent than it was before ; and also concerning that Tower which he called Antonia.

§ 1. **A**ND now Herod, in the eighteenth year of his reign, and after the acts already mentioned, undertook a very great work, that is, to build of himself the * temple of God, and made it larger in compass, and to raise it to a most magnificent altitude, as esteeming it to be the most glorious of all his actions, as it really was, to bring it to perfection, and that this would be sufficient for an everlasting memorial of him ; but as he knew the multitude were not ready nor willing to assist him in so vast a design, he thought to prepare them first

* We may here observe, that the fancy of the modern Jews in calling this temple, which was really the *third* of their temples. the *second* temple, followed so long by later Christians, seems to be without any solid foundation. The reason why the Christians here follow the Jews, is, because the prophecy of Haggai ii. 6—9 which they expound of the Messiah's coming to the second or Zorobabel's temple, of which they suppose this of Herod's to be only a continuation, which is meant, I think, of his coming to the *fourth* and *last* temple, or to that future largest and most glorious one described by Ezekiel : Whence I take the former notion, how general soever, to be a great mistake. See Lit. Accomp. of Proph. p. 24.

by making a speech to them, and then set about the work itself ; so he called them together, and spake thus to them : “ I think I need not speak to you, my countrymen, about such other works as I have done since I came to the kingdom, although I may say they have been performed in such a manner as to bring more security to you than glory to myself ; for I have neither been negligent in the most difficult times about what tended to ease your necessities, nor have the buildings I have made been so proper to preserve me as yourselves from injuries ; and I imagine that, with God’s assistance, I have advanced the nation of the Jews to a degree of happiness which they never had before ; and for the particular edifices belonging to your own country, and your own cities that we have lately acquired, which we have erected, and greatly adorned, and thereby augmented the dignity of your nation, it seems to me a needless task to enumerate them to you, since you well know them yourselves ; but as to that undertaking which I have a mind to set about at present, and which will be a work of the greatest piety, and excellence that can possibly be undertaken by us, I will now declare it to you. Our fathers, indeed, when they were returned from Babylon, built this temple to God Almighty, yet does it want sixty cubits of its largeness in altitude ; for so much did that first temple which Solomon built exceed this temple ; nor let any one condemn our fathers for their negligence or want of piety herein, for it was not their fault that the temple was no higher ; for they were Cyrus, and Darius the son of Hystaspes, who determined the measures for its rebuilding ; and it hath been by reason of the subjection of those fathers of ours to them and to their posterity, and after them to the Macedonians, that they had not the opportunity to follow the original model of this pious edifice, nor could raise it to its ancient altitude ; but since I am now by God’s will, your governor, and I have had peace a long time, and have gained great riches, and large revenues, and what is the principal thing of all, I am at amity with, and well regarded by the Romans, who, if I may so say, are the rulers of the whole world, I will do my endeavour to correct that imperfection, which hath arisen from the necessity of our affairs, and the slavery we have been under formerly, and to make a thankful return after the most pious manner, to God for what blessings I have received from him, by giving me this kingdom, and that by rendering his temple as complete as I am able.”

2. And this was the speech which Herod made to them ; but still this speech affrighted many of the people, as being unexpected by them, and because it seemed incredible, it did not encourage them, but put a damp upon them, for they were afraid that he would pull down the whole edifice, and not be able to bring his intentions to perfection for its rebuilding ; and this danger appeared to them to be very great, and the

vastness of the undertaking to be such as could hardly be accomplished. But while they were in this disposition, the king encouraged them, and told them, "He would not pull down their temple till all things were gotten ready for building it up entirely again." And as he promised them this before hand, so he did not break his word with them, but got ready a thousand waggons, that were to bring stones for the building, and chose out ten thousand of the most skilful workmen, and bought a thousand sacerdotal garments for as many of the priests, and had some of them taught the arts of stone-cutters, and others of carpenters, and then began to build, but this not till every thing was well prepared for the work.

3. So Herod took away the old foundations, and laid others, and erected the temple upon them, being in length an hundred cubits, and in height twenty additional cubits, which [twenty], upon the * sinking of their foundations, fell down; and this part it was that we resolved to raise again in the days of Nero. Now the temple was built of stones that were white and strong, and each of their length was twenty-five cubits, their height was eight, and their breadth about twelve; and the whole structure, as was also the structure of the royal cloister, was on each side much lower, but the middle was much higher, till they were visible to those that dwelt in the country for a great many furlongs, but chiefly to such as lived over against them, and those that approached to them. The temple had doors also at the entrance, and lintels over them, of the same height with the temple itself. They were adorned with embroidered vails with their flowers of purple, and pillars interwoven; and over these, but under the crown-work, was spread out a golden vine, with its branches hanging down from a great height, the largeness and fine workmanship of which was a surprising sight to the spectators, to see what vast materials there were, and with what great skill the workmanship was done. He also encompassed the entire temple with very large cloisters, contriving them to be in a due proportion thereto; and he laid out larger sums of money upon them than had been done before him, till it seemed that

* Some of our modern students in architecture have made a strange blunder here, when they imagine that Josephus affirms the entire foundations of the temple or holy house sunk down into the rocky mountain on which it stood no less than 20 cubits, whereas he is clear that they were the foundations of the *additional* 20 cubits only above the hundred, (made perhaps weak on purpose, and only for show and grandeur) that sunk or fell down, as Dr. Hudson rightly understands him: Nor is the thing itself possible in the other sense. Agrippa's preparation for building the inner parts of the temple 20 cubits higher, (history of the War, B. V. ch. i. § 5.) must in all probability refer to this matter, since Josephus says here, that this which had fallen down was designed to be raised up again under, Nero, under whom Agrippa made that preparation. But what Josephus says presently, that Solomon was the first King of the Jews, appears by the parallel place, Antiq. B. XX. ch. ix. § 7. Vol. II. and other places, to be meant only the first of David's posterity, and the first builder of the temple.

no one else had so greatly adorned the temple as he had done. There was a large wall to both the cloisters, which wall was itself the most prodigious work that was ever heard of by man. The hill was a rocky ascent, that declined by degrees towards the east parts of the city, till it came to an elevated level. This hill it was which Solomon, who was the first of our kings, by divine revelation encompassed with a wall; it was of excellent workmanship upwards, and round the top of it. He also built a wall below, beginning at the bottom, which was encompassed by a deep valley; and at the south side he laid rocks together, and bound them one to another with lead, and included some of the inner parts, till it proceeded to a great height, and till both the largeness of the square edifice, and its altitude, were immense, and till the vastness of the stones in the front were plainly visible on the outside, yet so that the inward parts were fastened together with iron, and preserved the joints immoveable for all future times. When this work [for the foundation] was done in this manner, and joined together as part of the hill itself to the very top of it, he wrought it all into one outward surface, and filled up the hollow places which were about the wall, and made it a level on the external upper surface, and a smooth level also. This hill was walled all round, and in compass four furlongs, [the distance of] each angle containing in length a furlong: But within this wall, and on the very top of all, there ran another wall of stone also, having, on the east quarter, a double cloister, of the same length with the wall; in the midst of which was the temple itself. This cloister looked to the gates of the temple; and it had been adorned by many kings in former times: And round about the entire temple were fixed the spoils taken from barbarous nations; all these had been dedicated to the temple by Herod, with the addition of those he had taken from the Arabians.

4. Now on the north side [of the temple] was built a citadel whose walls were square, and strong, and of extraordinary firmness. This citadel was built by the kings of the Asamonean race, who were also high-priests before Herod, and they called it the Tower, in which were repositied the vestments of the high-priest, which the high-priest only put on at the time when he was to offer sacrifice. These vestments king Herod kept in that place; and after his death they were under the power of the Romans, until the time of Tiberius Cæsar; under whose reign Vitellius, the president of Syria, when he once came to Jerusalem, and had been most magnificently received by the multitude, he had a mind to make them some requital for the kindness they had shewed him, so, upon their petition to have those holy vestments in their own power, he wrote about them to Tiberius Cæsar, who granted his request: And this their power over the sacerdotal vestments continued with the Jews till the death of king Agrippa; but after that,

Cassius Longinus, who was president of Syria, and Cuspius Fadus, who was procurator of Judea, enjoined the Jews to reposit those vestments in the tower of Antonia, for that they ought to have them in their power, as they formerly had. However, the Jews sent ambassadors to Claudius Cæsar, to intercede with him for them; upon whose coming, king Agrippa jun. being then at Rome, asked for and obtained the power over them from the emperor, who gave command to Vitellius, who was then commander in Syria, to give it them accordingly. Before that time they were kept under the seal of the high-priest, and of the treasures of the temple; which treasures, the day before a festival, went up to the Roman captain of the temple guards, and viewed their own seal, and received the vestments; and again, when the festival was over, they brought it to the same place, and shewed the captain of the temple guards their seal which corresponded with his seal, and repositied them there. And that these things were so, the afflictions that happened to us afterward [about them] are sufficient evidence: But for the tower itself, when Herod the king of the Jews had fortified it more firmly than before, in order to secure and guard the temple, he gratified Antonius, who was his friend, and the Roman ruler, and then gave it the name of the Tower of Antonia.

5. Now in the western quarters of the inclosure of the temple there were four gates; the first led to the kings palace, and went to a passage over the intermediate valley, two more led to the suburbs of the city, and the last led to the other city, where the road descended down into the valley by a great number of steps, and thence up again by the ascent, for the city lay over against the temple in the manner of a theatre, and was encompassed with a deep valley along the entire south quarter, but the fourth front of the temple, which was southward, had indeed itself gates in its middle, as also it had the royal cloisters with three walks which reached in length from the east valley unto that on the west, for it was impossible it should reach any farther: And this cloister deserves to be mentioned better than any other under the sun; for while the valley was very deep, and its bottom could not be seen, if you looked from above into the depth, this farther vastly high elevation of the cloister stood upon that height, insomuch, that if any one looked down from the top of the battlements, or down both those altitudes he would be giddy, while his sight could not reach to such an immense depth. This cloister had pillars that stood in four rows one over against the other all along, for the fourth row was interwoven into the wall, which [also was built of stone]; and the thickness of each pillar was such, that three men might, with their arms extended, fathom it round, and join their hands again, while its length was twenty-seven feet, with a double spiral at its basis; and the number of all the pillars [in that court] was

an hundred and sixty-two. Their chapiters were made with sculptures after the Corinthian order, and caused an amazement [to the spectators], by reason of the grandeur of the whole. These four rows of pillars included three intervals for walking in the middle of this cloister ; two of which walks were made parallel to each other, and were contrived after the same manner ; the breadth of each of them was thirty feet, the length was a furlong, and the height fifty feet, but the breadth of the middle part of the cloister was one and an half of the other, and the height was double, for it was much higher than those on each side ; but the roofs were adorned with deep sculptures in wood, representing many sorts of figures : The middle was much higher than the rest, and the wall of the front was adorned with beams, resting upon pillars, that were interwoven into it, and that front was all of polished stone, infomuch, that its fineness, to such as had not seen it was greatly amazing. Thus was the first inclosure. In the midst of which, and not far from it, was the second, to be gone up to by a few steps : This was encompassed by a stone wall for a partition, with an inscription, which forbade any foreigner to go in under pain of death. Now, this inner inclosure had on its southern and northern quarters three gates [equally] distant one from another ; but on the east quarter, towards the sun rising, there was one large gate, through which such as were pure came in, together with their wives, but the temple farther inward in that gate was not allowed to the women ; but still more inward was there a third [court of the] temple, whereinto it was not lawful for any but the priests alone to enter. The temple itself was within this ; and before that temple was the altar, upon which we offer our sacrifices and burnt-offerings to God. Into * none of these three did king Herod enter, for he was forbidden, because he was not a priest. However, he took care of the cloisters, and the outer inclosures, and these he built in eight years.

6. But the temple itself was built by the priests in a year and fix months : Upon which all the people were full of joy ; and presently they returned thanks in the first place, to God, and in the next place, for the alacrity, the king had shewed. They feasted, and celebrated this rebuilding of the temple : And for the king, he sacrificed three hundred oxen to God, as did the rest every one according to his ability : The number of which sacrifices is not possible to set down, for it cannot be that we should truly relate it ; for at the same time with this celebra-

* Into none of these three did King Herod enter, i. e. 1. not into the court of the priests ; 2. nor into the holy house itself ; 3. nor into the separate place belonging to the altar, as the words following imply, for none but priests, or their attendants the Levites, might come into any of them. See Antiq. B. A'VI ch. iv. § 6. when Herod goes into the temple, and makes a speech in it to the people, but that could only be into the court of Israel, whether the people could come to hear him,

tion for the work about the temple fell also the day of the king's inauguration, which he kept of an old custom as a festival, and it now coincided with the other, which coincidence of them both made the festival most illustrious.

7. There was also an occult passage built for the king: It led from Antonia to the inner temple, at its eastern gate; over which he also erected for himself a tower, that he might have the opportunity of a subterraneous ascent to the temple, in order to guard against any sedition which might be made by the people against their kings. It is also * reported that during the time that the temple was building, it did not rain in the day-time, but that the showers fell in the nights, so that the work was not hindered. And this our fathers have delivered to us; nor is it incredible, if any one have regard to the manifestations of God. And thus was performed the work of the rebuilding of the temple.

* This tradition which Josephus here mentions, as delivered down from fathers to their children, of this particular remarkable circumstance relating to the building of Herod's temple, is a demonstration that such its building was a known thing in Judea in his time. He was born but 46 years after it is related to have been finished, and might himself have seen and spoken with some of the builders themselves, and with a great number of those that had seen it building. The doubt therefore about the truth of this history, of the pulling down and rebuilding of this temple by Herod, which some weak people have indulged, was not then much greater than it soon may be, whether or not our St. Paul's church in London was burnt down in the fire of London *A. D.* 1666, and rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren a little afterward.

B O O K XVI.

Containing the interval of twelve years.

[From the finishing of the Temple by HEROD. to the Death of
ALEXANDER and ARISTOBULUS.]

C H A P. I.

A law of Herod's about Thieves. Salome and Pheroras calumniate Alexander and Aristobulus, upon their return from Rome, for whom yet Herod provides Wives.

§ 1. **A**S king Herod was very zealous in the administration of his entire government, and desirous to put a stop to particular acts of injustice which were done by criminals about the city and country, he made a law, no way like our original laws, and which he enacted of himself, to expose house-breakers to be ejected out of his kingdom; which punishment was not only grievous to be borne by the offenders, but contained in it a dissolution of the customs of our forefathers, for this slavery to foreigners, and such as did not live after the manner of Jews, and this necessity that they were under to do whatsoever such men should command, was an offence against our religious settlement, rather than a punishment to such as were found to have offended, such a punishment being avoided in our original laws; for those laws ordain, that the thief shall restore fourfold: And that if he have not so much, he shall be sold indeed, but not to foreigners, nor so that he be under perpetual slavery, for he must have been released after six years. But this law, thus enacted, in order to introduce a severe and illegal punishment, seemed to be a piece of insolence in Herod, when he did not act as a king but as a tyrant, and thus contemptuously, and without any regard to his subjects did he venture to introduce such a punishment. Now this penalty, thus brought into practice, was like Herod's other actions, and became a part of his accusation, and an occasion of the hatred he lay under.

2. Now at this time it was that he sailed to Italy, as very desirous to meet with Cæsar, and to see his sons who lived at Rome: And Cæsar was not only very obliging to him in other respects, but delivered him his sons again that he might take them home with him, as having already completed themselves in the sciences; but as soon as the young men were come from Italy, the multitude were very desirous to see them,

and they became conspicuous among them all, as adorned with great blessings of fortune, and having the countenances of persons of royal dignity. So they soon appeared to be the objects of envy to Salome, the king's sister, and to such as had raised calumnies against Mariamne; for they were suspicious, that when these came to the government, they should be punished for the wickedness they had been guilty of against their mother; so they made this very fear of theirs a motive to raise calumnies against them also. They gave it out that they were not pleased with their father's company, because he had put their mother to death, as if it were not agreeable to piety to appear to converse with their mother's murderer. Now, by carrying these stories, that had indeed a true foundation [in the fact,] but were only built on probabilities, as to the present accusation, they were able to do them mischief, and to make Herod take away that kindness from his sons which he had before borne to them, for they did not say these things to him openly, but scattered abroad such words among the rest of the multitude; from which words, when carried to Herod, he was induced [at last] to hate them, and which natural affection itself, even in length of time, was not able to overcome; yet was the king at that time in a condition to prefer the natural affection of a father before all the suspicions and calumnies his sons lay under: So he respected them as he ought to do, and married them to wives, now they were of an age, suitable thereto. To Aristobulus he gave for a wife Bernice, Salome's daughter, and to Alexander, Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.

C H A P. II.

How Herod twice sailed to Agrippa; and how, upon the complaint of the Jews in Ionia, against the Greeks, Agrippa confirmed the Laws of the Jews to them.

§ 1. **W**HEN Herod had dispatched these affairs, and he understood that Marcus Agrippa had sailed again out of Italy into Asia, he made haste to him, and besought him to come to him into his kingdom, and to partake of what he might justly expect from one that had been his guest, and was his friend. This request he greatly pressed, and to it Agrippa agreed, and came into Judea; whereupon Herod omitted nothing that might please him. He entertained him in his new built cities, and shewed him the edifices he had built, and provided all sorts of the best and most costly dainties for him and his friends, and that at Sebaste and Cesarea, about that port that he had built, and at the fortresses which he had erected at great expences, Alexandrium and Herodium, and Hyrcania. He also conducted him to the city Jerusalem, where all the

people met him in their festival garments, and received him with acclamations. Agrippa also offered an hecatomb of sacrifices to God; and feasted the people, without omitting any of the greatest dainties that could be gotten. He also took so much pleasure there, that he abode many days with him, and would willingly have staid longer, but that the season of the year made him make haste away; for, as winter was coming on, he thought it not safe to go to sea later, and yet he was of necessity to return again to Ionia.

2. So Agrippa went away, when Herod had bestowed on him, and on the principal of those that were with him, many presents; but king Herod, when he had passed the winter in his own dominions, made haste to get to him again in the spring, when he knew he designed to go to a campaign at the Bosphorus. So when he had sailed by Rhodes, and by Cos, he touched at Lesbos, as thinking he should have overtaken Agrippa there, but he was taken short here by a north wind, which hindered his ship from going to the shore; so he continued many days at Chius, and there he kindly treated a great many that came to him, and obliged them by giving them royal gifts. And when he saw that the portico of the city was fallen down, which, as it was overthrown in the Mithridatic war, and was a very large and fine building, so was it not so easy to rebuild that as it was the rest, yet did he furnish a sum not only large enough for that purpose, but what was more than sufficient to finish the building; and ordered them not to overlook that portico, but to rebuild it quickly, that so the city might recover its proper ornaments. And when the high winds were laid, he sailed to Mitylene, and thence to Byzantium; and when he heard that Agrippa was sailed beyond the Cyanean rocks, he made all the haste possible to overtake him, and came up with him about Sinope, in Pontus. He was seen sailing by the shipmen most unexpectedly, but appeared to their great joy; and many friendly salutations there were between them, insomuch that Agrippa thought he had received the greatest marks of the king's kindness and humanity towards him possible, since the king had come so long a voyage, and at a very proper season for his assistance, and had left the government of his own dominions, and thought it more worth his while to come to him. Accordingly Herod was all in all to Agrippa, in the management of the war, and a great assistant in civil affairs, and in giving him counsel as to particular matters. He was also a pleasant companion for him when he relaxed himself, and a joint partaker with him in all things; in troubles because of his kindness, and in prosperity because of the respect Agrippa had for him. Now as soon as those affairs of Pontus were finished, for whose sake Agrippa was sent thither, they did not think fit to return by sea; but passed thro' Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; they then travelled thence over great Phrygia, and came to Ephesus, and then they sailed

from Ephesus to Samos. And indeed the king bestowed a great many benefits on every city that he came to, according as they stood in need of them; for as for those that wanted either money or kind treatment, he was not wanting to them; but he supplied the former himself out of his own expences: He also became an intercessor with Agrippa for all such as sought after his favour, and he brought things so about, that the petitioners failed in none of their suits to him, Agrippa being himself of a good disposition, and of great generosity, and ready to grant all such requests as might be advantageous to the petitioners, provided they were not to the detriment of others. The inclination of the king was of great weight also, and still excited Agrippa, who was himself ready to do good; for he made a reconciliation between the people of Ilium, at whom he was angry, and paid what money the people of Chius owed Cæsar's procurators, and discharged them of their tributes; and helped all others, according as their several necessities required.

3. But now, when Agrippa and Herod were in Ionia, a great multitude of Jews, who dwelt in their cities, came to them, and laying hold of the opportunity and the liberty now given them, laid before them the injuries which they suffered, while they were not permitted to use their own laws, but were compelled to prosecute their law suits, by the ill usage of the judges, upon their holy days and were deprived of the money they used to lay up at Jerusalem, and were forced into the army, and upon such other offices as obliged them to spend their sacred money; from which burdens they always used to be freed by the Romans, who had still permitted them to live according to their own laws. When this clamour was made, the king desired of Agrippa that he would hear their cause, and assigned Nicolaus, one of his friends, to plead for those their privileges. Accordingly, when Agrippa had called the principal of the Romans, and such of the kings and rulers as were there to be his assessors, Nicolaus stood up, and pleaded for the Jews, as follows: 'It is of necessity incumbent on such as are in distress to have recourse to those that have it in their power to free them from those injuries they lie under; and for those that now are complainants, they approach you with great assurance; for as they have formerly often obtained your favour, so far as they have even wished to have it, they now only entreat that you, who have been the donors, will take care that those favours you have already granted them may not be taken away from them. We have received these favours from you, who alone have power to grant them, but have them taken from us by such as are no greater than ourselves, and by such as we know are as much subjects as we are; and certainly, if we have been vouchsafed great favours, it is to our commendation, who have obtained them, as having been found de-

serving of such great favours ; and if those favours be but small ones, it would be barbarous for the donors not to confirm them to us : And for those that are the hinderance of the Jews, and use them reproachfully, it is evident that they affront both the receivers, while they will not allow those to be worthy men to whom their excellent rulers themselves have borne their testimony, and the donors, while they desire those favours already granted may be abrogated. Now if any one should ask these Gentiles themselves, which of the two things they would choose to part with, their lives, or the customs of their forefathers, their solemnities, their sacrifices, their festivals, which they celebrated in honour of those they suppose to be gods ? I know very well that they would choose to suffer any thing whatsoever rather than a dissolution of any of the customs : of their forefathers ; for a great many of them have rather chosen to go to war on that account, as very solicitous not to transgress in those matters : And indeed we take an estimate of that happiness which all mankind do now enjoy by your means from this very thing, that we are allowed every one to worship as our own institutions require, and yet to live [in peace] ; and although they would not be thus treated themselves, yet do they endeavour to compel others to comply with them, as if it were not as great an instance of impiety, profanely to dissolve the religious solemnities of any others, as to be negligent in the observation of their own toward their gods. And let us now consider the one of these practices : Is there any people or city, or community of men, to whom your government and the Roman power does not appear to be the greatest blessing ? Is there any one that can desire to make void the favours they have granted ? No one is certainly so mad ; for there are no men but such as have been partakers of their favours, both public and private ; and indeed those that take away what you have granted, can have no assurance, but every one of their own grants made them by you may be taken from them also ; which grants of yours can yet never be sufficiently valued ; for if they consider the old governments under kings, together with your present government, besides the great number of benefits which this government hath bestowed on them in order to their happiness, this is instead of all the rest, that they appear to be no longer in a state of slavery, but of freedom. Now the privileges we desire, even when we are in the best circumstances, are not such as deserve to be envied, for we are indeed in a prosperous state by your means but this is only in common with others ; and it is no more than this which we desire, to preserve our religion without any prohibition, which, as it appears not in itself a privilege to be envied us, so it is for the advantage of those that grant it to us : For if the divinity delights in being honoured, it must delight in those that permit them to be honoured ; And there are none of our customs

which are inhuman, but all tending to piety, and devoted to the preservation of justice ; nor do we conceal those injunctions of ours, by which we govern our lives, they being memorials of piety, and of a friendly conversation among men : And * the seventh day we set apart for labour ; it is dedicated to the learning of our customs and laws, we thinking it proper to reflect on them, as well as on any [good] thing else, in order to our avoiding of sin. If any one therefore examine into our observances, he will find they are good in themselves, and that they are ancient also, though some think otherwise, insomuch, that those who have received them, cannot easily be brought to depart from them, out of that honour they pay to the length of time they have religiously enjoyed them, and observed them. Now our adversaries take these our privileges away in the way of injustice : They violently seize upon that money of ours which is offered to God, and called sacred money, and this openly, after a sacrilegious manner ; and they impose tributes upon us, and bring us before tribunals on holy days, and then require other like debts of us, not because the contracts require it, and for their own advantage, but because they would put an affront on our religion, of which they are conscious as well as we, and have indulged themselves in an unjust, and, to them, involuntary hatred, for your government over all is one, tending to the establishing of benevolence, and abolishing of ill will among such as are disposed to it. This is therefore what we implore from thee, most excellent Agrippa, that we may not be ill treated ; that we may not be abused ; that we may not be hindered from making use of our own customs ; nor be dispoiled of our goods ; nor be forced by these men to do what we ourselves force nobody to do, for these privileges of ours are not only according to justice. but have formerly been granted us by you : And we are able to read to you many decrees of the senate. and the tables that contain them, which are still extant in the capitol, concerning these things, which it is evident were granted after you had experience of our fidelity towards you, which ought to be valued, though no such fidelity had been ; for you have hitherto preserved what people were in possession of, not to us only, but almost to all men, and have added greater advantages than they could have hoped for, and thereby your government is become a great advantage to them. And if any one were able to enumerate the prosperity you have conferred on every nation, which they possess by your means, he could never put an end to his discourse ; but that we may demonstrate that we are not un-

* We may here observe the ancient practice of the Jews, of dedicating the Sabbath-day not to idleness, but to the learning their sacred rites and religious customs, and to the meditation on the law of Moses. The like to which we meet with elsewhere in Josephus also against Apion, B. I. § 22.

worthy of all those advantages we have obtained, it will be sufficient for us to say nothing of other things, but to speak freely of this king who now governs us, and is now one of thy assessors : And indeed in what instance of good-will, as to your house, hath he been deficient ? What mark of fidelity to it hath he omitted ? What token of honour hath he not devised ? What occasion for his assistance of you hath he not regarded at the very first ? What hindereth, therefore, but that your kindneses may be as numerous as his so great benefits to you have been. It may also perhaps be fit not here to pass over in silence the valour of his father Antipater, who, when Cæsar made an expedition into Egypt, assisted him with two thousand armed men, and proved inferior to none, neither in the battles on land, nor in the management of the navy ; and what need I say any thing of how great weight those soldiers were at that juncture ? or how many, and how great presents they were vouchsafed by Cæsar ? And truly I ought before now to have mentioned the epistles which Cæsar wrote to the senate ; and how Antipater had honours, and the freedom of the city of Rome, bestowed upon him, for these are demonstrations both that we have received these favours by our own deserts, and do on that account petition thee for thy confirmation of them, from whom we had reason to hope for them, though they had not been given us before, both out of regard to our king's disposition towards you, and your disposition towards him. And farther, we have been informed by those Jews that were there, with what kindness thou came into our country, and how thou offered the most perfect sacrifices to God, and honoured him with remarkable vows, and how thou gave the people a feast, and accepted of their own hospitable presents to thee. We ought to esteem all these kind entertainments made both by our nation and our city, to a man who is the ruler and manager of so much of the public affairs, as indications of that friendship which thou hast returned to the Jewish nation, and which hath been procured them by the family of Herod. So we put thee in mind of these things in the presence of the king, now sitting by thee, and make our request for no more but this, that what you have given us yourselves, you will not see taken away by others from us."

5. When Nicolaus had made this speech, there was no opposition made to it by the Greeks, for this was not an inquiry made, as in a court of justice, but an intercession to prevent violence to be offered to the Jews any longer ; nor did the Greeks make any defence of themselves, or deny what it was supposed they had done. Their pretence was no more than this, that while the Jews inhabited in their country they were entirely unjust to them, [in not joining in their worship] but they demonstrated their generosity in this, that though they worshipped according to their own institutions they did nothing that ought to grieve them. So when Agrippa perceived

that they had been oppressed by violence, he made this answer : " That on account of Herod's good will and friendship, he was ready to grant the Jews whatsoever they should ask him, and that their requests seemed to him in themselves just ; and that if they requested any thing farther he should not scruple to grant it them, provided they were no way to the detriment of the Roman government ; but that, while their request was no more than this, that what privileges they had already given them might not be abrogated, he confirmed this to them, that they might continue in the observation of their own customs without any one's offering them the least injury." And when he had said thus, he dissolved the assembly : Upon which Herod stood up, and saluted him, and gave him thanks for the kind disposition he shewed to them. Agrippa also took this in a very obliging manner, and saluted him again, embraced him in his arms ; after which he went away from Lesbos, but the King determined to sail from Samos to his own country ; and when he had taken his leave of Agrippa, he pursued his voyage, and landed at Cesarea in a few day's time, as having favourable winds ; from whence he went to Jerusalem, and there gathered all the people together to an assembly, not a few being there out of the country also. So he came to them, and gave them a particular account of all his journey, and of the affairs of all the Jews in Asia how by his means they would live without injurious treatment for the time to come. He also told them of the entire good fortune he had met with, and how he had administered the government, and had not neglected any thing which was for their advantage : And as he was very joyful, he now remitted to them the fourth part of their taxes for the last year. Accordingly they were so pleased with his favour and speech to them, that they went their ways with great gladness, and wished the King all manner of happiness.

C H A P. III.

How great Disturbances arose in Herod's Family on his preferring Antipater, his Eldest Son, before the rest, till Alexander took that Injury very heinously.

§ 1. **B**UT now the affairs in Herod's family were in more disorder, and became more severe upon him, by the hatred of Salome to the young men [Alexander and Aristobulus]. which descended as it were by inheritance [from their mother Mariamne] : And as she fully had succeeded against their mother, so she proceeded to that degree of madness and insolence, as to endeavour that none of her posterity might be left alive, who might have it in their power to revenge her death. The young men had also somewhat of a bold and uneasy disposition towards their father, occasioned by the remembrance of

what their mother had unjustly suffered, and by their own affectation of dominion. The old grudge was also renewed; and they cast reproaches on Salome and Pheroras, who requited the young men with malicious designs and actually laid treacherous snares for them. Now, as for this hatred, it was equal on both sides, but the manner of exerting that hatred was different: For, as for the young men they were rash, reproaching and affronting the others openly, and were unexperienced enough to think it the most generous to declare their minds in that undaunted manner; but the others did not take that method, but made use of calumnies after a subtle and a spiteful manner, still provoking the young men, and imagining that their boldness might in time turn to the offering violence to their father, for inasmuch as they were not ashamed of the pretended crimes of their mother, nor thought she suffered justly, these supposed that might at length exceed all bounds and induce them to think they ought to be avenged on their father, though it were but dispatching him with their own hands. At length it came to this, that the whole city was full of these discourses, and, as is usual in such contests, the unskilfulness of the young men was pitied, but the contrivance of Salome was too hard for them, and what imputations she laid upon them came to be believed, by means of their own conduct, for they who were so deeply affected with the death of their mother, that while they said both she and themselves were in a miserable case, they vehemently complained of her pitiable end which indeed was truly such, and said that they were themselves in a pitiable case also, because they were forced to live with those that had been her murderers, and to be partakers with them.

2. These disorders increased greatly, and the king's absence abroad had afforded a fit opportunity for that increase; but as soon as Herod was returned, and had made the fore-mentioned speech to the multitude, Pheroras and Salome let fall words immediately as if he were in great danger, and as if the young men openly threatened that they would not spare him any longer, but revenge their mother's death upon him. They also added another circumstance, that their hopes were fixed on Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia that they should be able by his means to come to Cæsar, and accuse their father. Upon hearing such things, Herod was immediately disturbed; and indeed was the more astonished, because the same things were related to him by some others also. He then called to mind his former calamity, and considered that the disorders in his family had hindered him from enjoying any comfort from those that were dearest to him, or from his wife whom he loved so well; and suspecting that his future troubles would soon be heavier and greater than those that were past, he was in great confusion of mind, for divine providence had in reality conferred upon him a great many outward advanta-

ges for his happiness, even beyond his hopes, but the troubles he had at home were such as he never expected to have met with and rendered him unfortunate; nay, both sorts came upon him to such a degree as no one could imagine and made it a doubtful question, whether, upon the comparison of both, he ought to have exchanged so great a success of outward good things for so great misfortunes at home, or whether he ought not to have chosen to avoid the calamities relating to his family, though he had for a compensation, never been possessed of the admired grandeur of a kingdom.

3. As he was thus disturbed and afflicted, in order to depress these young men, he brought to court another of his sons, that was born to him when he was a private man: His name was *Antipater*; yet did he not then indulge him as he did afterwards when he was quite overcome by him, and let him do every thing as he pleased, but rather with a design of depressing the insolence of the sons of Marianne, and managing this elevation of his so that it might be for a warning to them, for this bold behaviour of theirs [he thought] would not be so great, if they were once persuaded, that the succession to the kingdom did not appertain to them alone, or must of necessity come to them. So he introduced Antipater as their antagonist, and imagined that he made a good provision for discouraging their pride, and that after this was done to the young men, there might be a proper season for expecting them to be of a better disposition: But the event proved otherwise than he intended, for the young men thought he did them a very great injury; and as Antipater was a shrewd man, when he had once obtained this degree of freedom, and began to expect greater things than he had before hoped for, he had but one single design in his head, and that was to distress his brethren, and not at all to yield to them the pre-eminence, but to keep close to his father, who was already alienated from them by the calumnies he had heard about them, and ready to be wrought upon in any way his zeal against them should advise him to pursue, that he might be continually more and more severe against them. Accordingly all the reports that were spread abroad came from him, while he avoided himself the suspicion as if those discoveries proceeded from him but he rather chose to make use of those persons for his assistants that were unsuspected, and such as might be believed to speak truth by reason of the good will he bore to the king; and indeed there were already not a few who cultivated a friendship with Antipater in hopes of gaining somewhat by him, and these were the men who most of all persuaded Herod because they appeared to speak thus out of their good will to him: And while these joint accusations, which from various foundations supported one another's veracity, the young men themselves afforded farther occasions to Antipater also: For they were observed to shed tears often, on account of the in-

jury that was offered them, and had their mother in their mouths, and among their friends they ventured to reproach their father, as not acting justly by them ! All which things were with an evil intention reserved in memory by Antipater against a proper opportunity ; and when they were told to Herod, with aggravations, increased the disorders so much, that it brought a great tumult into the family ; for while the king was very angry at the imputations that were laid upon the sons of Mariamne, and was desirous to humble them, he still increased the honour that he had bestowed on Antipater ; and was at last so overcome by his persuasions, that he brought his mother to court also. He also wrote frequently to Cæsar in favour of him, and more earnestly recommended him to his care particularly. And when Agrippa was returning to Rome after he had finished his ten * years government in Asia, Herod sailed from Judea ; and when he met with him, he had none with him but Antipater, whom he delivered to Agrippa, that he might take him along with him, together with many presents, that so he might become Cæsar's friend, inasmuch, that things already looked as if he had all his father's favour, and that the young men were entirely rejected from any hopes of the kingdom.

C H A P. IV.

How during Antipater's abode at Rome, Herod brought Alexander and Aristobulus before Cæsar and Accused them. Alexander's Defence of himself before Cæsar, and Reconciliation to his Father.

§ I. **A**ND now what happened during Antipater's absence augmented the honour to which he had been promoted, and his apparent eminence above his brethren. for he had made a great figure in Rome, because Herod had sent recommendations of him to all his friends there, only he was grieved that he was not at home, nor had proper opportunities of perpetually calumniating his brethren ; and his chief fear was, lest his father should alter his mind, and entertain a most favourable opinion of the sons of Mariamne ; and as he had this in his mind, he did not desist from his purpose, but continually sent from Rome any such stories as he hoped might grieve and irritate his father against his brethren, under pretence indeed of a deep concern for his preservation, but in truth, such as his malicious mind dictated, in order to purchase a greater hope of the succession, which yet was al-

* This interval of ten years for the duration of Marcus Agrippa's government in Asia, seems to be true, and agreeable to the Roman history. See Usher's *Annals* at A. M. 3392.

ready great in itself : And thus he did till he had excited such a degree of anger in Herod, that he was already become very ill disposed towards the young men ; but still, while he delayed to exercise so violent a disgust against them, and that he might not either be too remiss, or too rash, and so offend, he thought it best to sail to Rome, and there accute his sons before Cæsar. and not indulge himself in any such crime as might be heinous enough to be suspected of impiety ; but as he was going up to Rome, it happened that he made such haste as to meet with Cæsar at the * city Aquilei : So when he came to the speech of Cæsar, he asked for a time for hearing this great cause, wherein he thought himself very miserable, and presented his sons there, and accused them of their mad actions, and of their attempts against him : That * they were enemies to him ; and by all the means they were able, did their endeavours to shew their hatred to their own father, and would take away his life, and so obtain his kingdom, after the most barbarous manner ; that he had power from Cæsar to dispose of it, not by necessity but by choice, to him who shall exercise the greatest piety towards him, while these my sons are not so desirous of ruling, as they are, upon a disappointment thereof, to expose their own life, if to be they may but deprive their father of his life, so wild and polluted is their mind by time become out of their hatred to him ; that whereas he had a long time borne this his misfortune, he was now compelled to lay it before Cæsar, and to pollute his ears with such language while he himself wants to know what severity they have ever suffered from him ? Or what hardships he hath ever laid upon them to make them complain of him ? And how they can think it just that he should not be lord of that kingdom, which he in a long time, and with great dangers had gained, and not allow him to keep it and dispose of it to him who should deserve best ? And thus with other advantages, he proposes as a reward for the piety of such an one as will hereafter imitate the care he hath taken of it, and that such an one may gain so great a requital as that is : And that it is an impious thing for them to pretend to meddle with it before hand, for he who hath ever the kingdom in his view, at the same time reckons upon procuring the death of his father, because otherwise he cannot come at the government ; that as for himself, he had hitherto given them all that he was able, and what was agreeable to such as are subject to the royal au-

* Although Herod met Augustus at Aquilei, yet was this accusation of his sons deferred till they came to Rome, as § 3 assures us, and as we are particularly informed in the history of the War, B. I. ch xxiii. § 3 vol. III. though what he here says belonged distinctly to Alexander the elder brother, I mean his being brought to Rome, is here justly extended to both the brothers, and that not only in our copies, but in that of Zonaras also ; Nor is there reason to doubt but they were both at this solemn hearing by Augustus, although the defence were made by Alexander alone, who was the eldest brother, and one that could speak very well.

thority, and the sons of a king ; what ornaments they wanted, with servants and delicate fare, and had married them into the most illustrious families, the one [Aristobulus] to his sister's daughter, but Alexander to the daughter of king Archelaus : And what was the greatest favour of all, when their crimes were so very bad and he had authority to punish them, yet had he not made use of it against them, but had brought them before Cæsar their common benefactor, and had not used the severity which either as a father who had been impiously abused, or as king who had been assaulted treacherously, he might have done, he made them stand upon the level with him in judgment ; that, however, it was necessary that all this should not be passed over without punishment, nor himself live in the greatest fears ; nay, that it was not for their own advantage to see the light of the sun after what they have done, although they should escape at this time, since they had done the vilest things, and would certainly suffer the greatest punishments that ever were known among mankind."

2. These were the accusations which Herod laid with great vehemency against his sons before Cæsar. Now, the young men, both while he was speaking and chiefly at his concluding, wept, and were in confusion. Now, as to themselves, they knew in their own conscience they were innocent, but because they were accused by their father they were sensible, as the truth was, that it was hard for them to make their apology, since, though they were at liberty to speak their minds freely as the occasion required, and might with force and earnestness refute the accusation, yet was it not now decent so to do. There was therefore a difficulty how they should be able to speak, and tears, and at length a deep groan followed, while they were afraid, that if they said nothing, they should seem to be in this difficulty from a consciousness of guilt, nor had they any defence ready, by reason of their youth, and the disorder they were under ; yet was not Cæsar unapprised, when he looked upon them in the confusion they were in, that their delay to make their defence did not arise from any consciousness of great enormities, but from their unskilfulness and modesty. They were also commiserated by those that were there in particular, and they moved their father's affections in earnest till he had much ado to conceal them.

3. But when they saw there was a kind disposition arisen both in him and in Cæsar, and that every one of the rest did either shed tears, or at least did all grieve with them, the one of them, whose name was *Alexander*, called to his father, and attempted to answer his accusation, and said, "O father, the benevolence thou hast shewed to us is evident, even in this very judicial procedure, for hadst thou had any pernicious intentions about us thou hadst not produced us here before the common saviour of all, for it was in thy power, both as a

king, and as a father, to punish the guilty, but by thus bringing us to Rome, and making Cæsar himself a witness to what is done, thou intimatest that thou intendest to save us, for no one that hath a design to slay a man will bring him to the temples, and to the altars; yet are our circumstances still worse, for we cannot endure to live ourselves any longer, if it be believed that we have injured such a father; nay, perhaps it would be worse for us to live with this suspicion upon us, that we have injured him, than to die without such guilt: And if our open defence may be taken to be true we shall be happy, both in pacifying thee, and in escaping the danger we are in, but if this calumny so prevails, it is more than enough for us that we have seen the sun this day; which why should we see, if this suspicion be fixed upon us? Now it is easy to say of young men that they desire to reign; and to say farther, that this evil proceeds from the case of our unhappy mother. This is abundantly sufficient to produce our misfortune out of the former: But consider well whether such an accusation does not suit all such young men, and may not be said of them all promiscuously? For nothing can hinder him that reigns, if he have children, and their mother be dead, but the father may have a suspicion upon all his sons, as intending some treachery to him: But a suspicion is not sufficient to prove such an impious practice. Now let any man say, whether we have actually and insolently attempted any such thing, whereby actions otherwise incredible use to be made credible? Can any body prove that poison hath been prepared? Or prove a conspiracy of our equals, or the corruption of servants, or letters written against thee? Though indeed there are none of those things but have sometimes been pretended by way of calumny, when they were never done; for a royal family that is at variance with itself is a terrible thing; and that which thou callest a reward of piety, often becomes, among very wicked men, such a foundation of hope, as makes them leave no sort of mischief untried: Nor does any one lay any wicked practices to our charge; but as to calumnies by hearsay, how can he put an end to them, who will not hear what we have to say? Have we talked with too great freedom? Yes; but not against thee, for that would be unjust, but against those that never conceal any thing that is spoken to them. Hath either of us lamented our mother? Yes; but not because she is dead, but because she was evil spoken of by those that had no reason so to do. Are we desirous of that dominion which we know our father is possessed of? For what reason can we do so? If we already have royal honours, as we have, should not we labour in vain? And if we have them not, yet, are not we in hopes of them? Or supposing that we had killed thee, could we expect to obtain thy kingdom? While neither the earth would let us tread upon it, nor the sea let us sail upon it, alter such an action as that: Nay, the religion of all

your subjects, and the piety of the whole nation, would have prohibited parricides from assuming the government, and from *entering into that most holy temple which was built by thee. But suppose we had made light of other dangers can any murderer go off unpunished, while Cæsar is alive? We are thy sons, and not so impious, or so thoughtless as that comes to, though perhaps more unfortunate than is convenient for thee. But in case thou neither findest any causes of complaint, nor any treacherous designs, what sufficient evidence hast thou to make such a wickedness of ours credible? Our mother is dead indeed, but then what befel her might be an instruction to us to caution and not an incitement to wickedness. We are willing to make a larger apology for ourselves, but actions never done do not admit of discourse: Nay, we will make this agreement with thee, and that before Cæsar, the lord of all, who is now a mediator between us, if thou, O father, canst bring thyself, by the evidence of truth, to have a mind free from suspicion concerning us, let us live, though even then we shall live in an unhappy way, for to be accused of great acts of wickedness, though falsely, is a terrible thing; but if thou hast any fear remaining, continue thou on in thy pious life, we will give this reason for our own conduct, our life is not so desirable to us as to desire to have it, if it tend to the harm of our father who gave it us."

4 When Alexander had thus spoken, Cæsar, who did not before believe so gross a calumny, was still more moved by it, and looked intently upon Herod, and perceived he was a little confounded, the persons there present were under an anxiety about the young men, and the same that was spread abroad made the king hated, for the very incredibility of the calumny, and the commiseration which the flower of youth, the beauty of body, which were in the young men pleaded for assistance, and the more so on this account, that Alexander had made their defence with dexterity and prudence; nay, they did not themselves any longer continue in their former countenances, which had been bedewed with tears, and cast downwards to the ground, but now there arose in them hope of the best: And the king himself appeared not to have had foundation enough to build such an accusation upon, he having no real evidence wherewith to convict them. Indeed he

* Since some prejudiced men have indulged a wild suspicion, as we have supposed already, *Antiq. B. XV. ch. xi. § 7.* that Josephus's history of Herod's rebuilding the temple is no better than a fable, it may not be amiss to take notice of this occasional clause in the speech of Alexander before his father Herod, in his and his brother's vindication, which mentions the temple as known by every body to have been built by Herod. See *John ii. 20*. See also another speech of Herod's own to the young men that pulled down his golden eagle from the front of the temple, where he takes notice, "How the building of the temple cost him a vast sum; and that the Asamoneans, in those 125 years they held the government were not able to perform so great a work, to the honour of God, as this was." *Antiq. B. XVII. ch. vi. § 3. vol. II.*

wanted some apology for making the accusation; but Cæsar, after some delay, said, That "although young men were thoroughly innocent of that for which they were calumniated, yet had they been so far to blame, that they had not demeaned themselves towards their father so as to prevent that suspicion which was spread abroad concerning them. He also exhorted Herod to lay all such suspicions aside, and to be reconciled to his sons, for that it was not just to give any credit to such reports concerning his own children; and that this repentance on both sides might still heal those breaches that had happened between them, and might improve that their good will to one another, whereby those on both sides excusing the rashness of their suspicions, might resolve to bear a greater degree of affection towards each other than they had before. After Cæsar had given them this admonition, he beckoned to the young men. When therefore they were disposed to fall down to make intercession to their father, he took them up and embraced them, as they were in tears, and took each of them distinctly in his arms, till not one of those that were present, whether freeman or slave, but was deeply affected with what they saw.

5. Then did they return thanks to Cæsar, and went away together; and with them went Antipater, with an hypocritical pretence that he rejoiced at this reconciliation. And in the last days they were with Cæsar, Herod made him a present of three hundred talents, as he was then exhibiting shows and largesses to the people of Rome: And Cæsar made him a present of half the revenue of the copper mines in Cyprus, and committed the care of the other half to him, and honoured him with other gifts and incomes: And as to his own kingdom, he left it in his own power to appoint which of his sons he pleased for his successor, or to distribute it in parts to every one, that the dignity might thereby come to them all. And when Herod was disposed to make such a settlement immediately, Cæsar said, "He would not give him leave to deprive himself, while he was alive, of the power over his kingdom, or over his sons."

6. After this Herod returned to Judea again: But during his absence no small part of his dominions about Trachon had revolted, whom yet the commanders he left there had vanquished, and compelled to a submission again. Now, as Herod was sailing with his sons, and was come over against Cilicia, to [the island] Eleusa, which hath now changed its name for Sebaste, he met with Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, who received him kindly, as rejoicing that he was reconciled to his sons, and that the accusation against Alexander, who had married his daughter, was at an end. They also made one another such presents as it became kings to make. From thence Herod came to Judea and to the temple, where he made a speech to the people, concerning what had been done in this

his journey : “ He also discoursed them about Cæsar’s kindness to him, and about as many of the particulars he had done, as he thought it for his advantage other people should be acquainted with. At last he turned his speech to the admonition of his sons ; and exhorted those that lived at court, and the multitude, to concord : And informed them, that his sons were to reign after him ; Antipater first, and then Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Mariamne ; but he desired that at present they should all have regard to himself, and esteem him king and lord of all, since he was not yet hindered by old age, but was in that period of life when he must be the most skilful in governing ; and that he was not deficient in other arts of management that might enable him to govern the kingdom well, and to rule over his children also. He farther told the rulers under him, and the soldiery, that in case they would look upon him alone, their life would be led in a peaceable manner, and they would make one another happy.” And when he had said this, he dismissed the assembly. Which speech was acceptable to the greatest part of the audience, but not so to them all, for the contention among his sons, and the hopes he had given them, occasioned thoughts and desires of innovations among them.

C H A P. V.

How Herod celebrated the Games that were to return every fifth year, upon the building of Cesarea ; and how he built and adorned many other places after a Magnificent manner ; and did many other actions gloriously.

§ 1. ABOUT this time it was that Cesarea Sebaste, which he had built, was finished. The entire building being accomplished in the tenth year, the solemnity of it fell into the twenty-eighth year of Herod’s reign, and into the hundred and ninety-second olympiad : There was accordingly a great festival, and most sumptuous preparations made presently, in order to its dedication ; for he had appointed a contention in music, and games to be performed naked : He had also gotten ready a great number of those that fight single combats, and of beasts for the like purpose ; horse races also, and the most chargeable of such sports and shows as used to be exhibited at Rome, and in other places. He consecrated this combat to Cæsar and ordered it to be celebrated every fifth year. He also sent all sorts of ornaments for it out of his own furniture, that it might want nothing to make it decent : Nay Julia, Cæsar’s wife, sent a great part of her most valuable furniture [from Rome,] insomuch that he had no want of any thing : The sum of them all was estimated at five hundred talents. Now when a great multitude was come to that city,

to see the shows, as well as the ambassadors whom other people sent, on account of the benefits they had received [from Herod,] he entertained them all in the public inns and at public tables. and with perpetual feasts, this solemnity having in the day-time the diversions of the fights, and in the night-time such merry meetings as cost vast sums of money, and publicly demonstrated the generosity of his soul, for in all his undertakings he was ambitious to exhibit what exceeded whatsoever had been done before of the same kind. And it is related that Cæsar and Agrippa often said, That “the dominions of Herod were too little for the greatness of his soul, for that he deserved to have both all the kingdom of Syria, and that of Egypt also.”

2. After this solemnity and these festivals were over, Herod erected another city in the plain called Capharsaba, where he chose out a fit place, both for plenty of water, and goodness of soil, and proper for the production of what was there planted, where a river encompassed the city itself, and a grove of the best trees for magnitude was round about it: This he named Antipatris from his father Antipater. He also built upon another spot of ground above Jericho of the same name with his mother, a place of great security, and very pleasant for habitation, and called it Cypros. He also dedicated the finest monuments to his brother Phasaëlus, on account of the great natural affection there had been between them, by erecting a tower in the city itself, not less than the tower of Pharos, which he named Phasaëlus, which was at once a part of the strong defences of the city, and a memorial for him that was deceased, because it bore his name. He also built a city of the same name in the valley of Jericho, as you go from it northward, whereby he rendered the neighbouring country more fruitful, by the cultivation its inhabitants introduced; and this also he called *Phasaëlis*.

3. But as for his other benefits it is impossible to reckon them up, those which he bestowed on cities, both in Syria and in Greece, and in all the places he came to in his voyages; for he seems to have conferred, and that after a most plentiful manner, what would minister to many necessities, and the building of public works and gave them the money that was necessary to such works as wanted it, to support them upon the failure of their other revenues: But what was the greatest and most illustrious of all his works, he erected Apollo's temple at Rhodes, at his own expences, and gave them a great number of talents of silver for the repair of their fleet. He also built the greatest part of the public edifices for the inhabitants of * Nicopolis, at Actium: And for the Antioch-

* Dr. Hudson here gives us the words of Suetonius concerning this Nicopolis, when Augustus rebuilt it: “And that the memory of the victory at Actium might be celebrated the more afterward, he built Nicopolis at Actium, and appointed public shows to be there exhibited every fifth year.” In August § 18.

ians, the inhabitants of the principal city of Syria, where a broad street cuts through the place lengthways, he built cloisters along it on both sides and laid the open road with polished stone, and was of very great advantage to the inhabitants. And as to the olympic games, which were in a very low condition by reason of the failure of their revenues, he recovered their reputation, and appointed revenues for their maintenance, and made that solemn meeting more venerable, as to the sacrifices and other ornaments : And by reason of this vast liberality, he was generally declared in their inscriptions to be one of the perpetual managers of those games.

4. Now some there are who stand amazed at the diversity of Herod's nature and purposes ; for when we have respect to his magnificence, and the benefits which he bestowed on all mankind, there is no possibility for even those that had the least respect for him, to deny, or not openly to confess that he had a nature vastly beneficent ; but when any one looks upon the punishments he inflicted, and the injuries he did, not only to his subjects, but to his nearest relations, and takes notice of his severe and unrelenting disposition there, he will be forced to allow, that it was brutish, and a stranger to all humanity ; in-
somuch, that these men suppose his nature to be different, and sometimes at contradiction with itself : But I am myself of another opinion, and imagine that the occasion of both these sort of actions was one and the same ; for being a man ambitious of honour, and quite overcome by that passion, he was induced to be magnificent, wherever there appeared any hopes of a future memorial, or of reputation at present ; and as his expences were beyond his abilities, he was necessitated to be harsh to his subjects, for the persons on whom he expended his money were so many, that they made him a very bad procurer of it : And because he was conscious that he was hated by those under him, for the injuries he did them, he thought it not an easy thing to amend his offences, for that was inconvenient for his revenue, he therefore strove on the other side to make their ill will an occasion of his gains. As to his own court, therefore, if any one was not very obsequious to him in his language, and would not confess himself to be his slave, or but seemed to think of any innovation in his government, he was not able to contain himself, but prosecuted his very kindred and friends, and punished them as if they were enemies ; and this wickedness he undertook out of a desire that he might be himself alone honoured. Now for this my assertion about that passion of his, we have the greatest evidence, by what he did to honour Cæsar and Agrippa, and his other friends ; for with what honours he paid his respects to them who were his superiors, the same did he desire to be paid to himself ; and what he thought the most excellent present he could make another, he discovered an inclination to have the like presented to himself. But now the Jewish nation is by their law a

stranger to all such things, and accustomed to prefer righteousness to glory ; for which reason that nation was not agreeable to him, because it was out of their power to flatter the king's ambition, with statutes or temples, or any other such performances. And this seems to me to have been at once the occasion of Herod's crimes as to his own courtiers and counsellors, and of his benefactions as to foreigners and those that had no relation to them.

C H A P. VI.

An embassy of the Jews in Cyrene and Asia to Cæsar, concerning the complaints they had to make against the Greeks : With copies of the epistles which Cæsar and Agrippa wrote to the cities for them.

§ 1. **N**OW the cities ill treated the Jews in Asia, and all those also of the same nation which lived in Libya, which joins to Cyrene, while the former kings had given them equal privileges with the other citizens ; but the Greeks affronted them at this time, and that so far as to take away their sacred money, and to do them mischief on other particular occasions. When therefore they were thus afflicted, and found no end of their barbarous treatment they met with among the Greeks, they sent ambassadors to Cæsar on those accounts ; who gave them the same privileges as they had before, and sent letters to the same purpose to the governors of the provinces, copies of which I subjoin here, as testimonials of the ancient favourable disposition the Roman emperors had towards us.

2. " Cæsar Augustus, high priest, and tribune of the people, ordains thus : Since the nation of the Jews hath been found greatful to the Roman people, not only at this time, but in time past also, and chiefly Hyrcanus the high priest, under my * father Cæsar the emperor, it seemed good to me and my counsellors, according to the sentence and oath of the people of Rome, that the Jews have liberty to make use of their own customs, according to the law of their fathers, as they made use of them under Hyrcanus the high priest of Almighty God ; and that their sacred money be not touched, but be sent to Jerusalem, and that it be committed to the care of the receivers at Jerusalem : And that they be not obliged to go before any judge on the Sabbath-day, nor on the † day

* Augustus here calls Julius Cæsar his *father*, though by birth he was only his *uncle*. on account of his adoption by him See the same, Antiq. B. XIV. ch. xiv. § 4.

† This is authentic evidence, that the Jews, in the days of Augustus, began to prepare for the celebration of the Sabbath at the ninth hour on Friday, as the tradition of the elders did, it seems, then require of them.

of the preparation to it, after the ninth hour : But if any one be caught stealing their holy books, or their sacred money, whether it be out of the synagogue or public school, he shall be deemed a sacrilegious person, and his goods shall be brought into the public treasury of the Romans. And I give order, that the testimonials which they have given me, on account of my regard to that piety which I exercise toward all mankind, and out of regard to Caius Marcus Censorinus, together with the present decree he proposed in that most eminent place which hath been consecrated to me by the community of Asia at Ancyra. And if any one transgress any part of what is above decreed, he shall be severely punished." This was inscribed upon a pillar in the temple of Cæsar.

3. " Cæsar to Norbanus Flacus, sendeth greeting : Let those Jews, how many soever they be, who have been used, according to their ancient custom, to send their sacred money to Jerusalem do the same freely." These were the decrees of Cæsar.

4. Agrippa also did himself write after the manner following, on behalf of the Jews : " Agrippa to the magistrates, senate and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting ; I will that the care and custody of the sacred money that is carried to the temple at Jerusalem be left to the Jews of Asia, to do with it according to their ancient custom ; and that such as steal that sacred money of the Jews, and fly to a sanctuary, shall be taken thence and delivered to the Jews, by the same law that sacrilegious persons are taken thence. I have also written to Sylvanus the pretor, that no one compel the Jews to come before a judge on the Sabbath-day."

5. " Marcus Agrippa, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Cyrene, sendeth greeting : The Jews of Cyrene have interceded with me for the performance of what Augustus sent orders about to Flavius the then pretor of Libya, and to the other procurators of that province, that the sacred money may be sent to Jerusalem freely, as hath been their custom from their forefathers, they complaining that they are abused by certain informers, and under pretence of taxes which were not due, are hindered from sending them, which I command to be restored without any diminution or disturbance given to them : And if any of that sacred money in the cities be taken from their proper receivers, I farther enjoin, that the same be exactly returned to the Jews in that place."

6. " Caius Norbanus Flaccus proconsul, to the magistrates of the Sardians, sendeth greeting ; Cæsar hath written to me, and commanded me not to forbid the Jews, how many soever they be, from assembling together according to the custom of their forefathers nor from sending their money to Jerusalem : I have therefore written to you, that you may know that both Cæsar and I would have you act accordingly."

7. Nor did Julius Antonius the proconsul write otherwise To the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians send-

eth greeting ; as I was dispensing justice at Ephesus, on the ides of February, the Jews that dwell in Asia demonstrated to me, that Augustus and Agrippa had permitted them to use their own laws and customs, and to offer those their first fruits which every one of them freely offers to the Deity on account of piety, and to carry them in a company together to Jerusalem without disturbance. They also petitioned me, that I also would confirm what had been granted by Augustus and Agrippa by my own sanction. I would therefore have you take notice, that according to the will of Augustus and Agrippa I permit them to use and do according to the customs of their forefathers without disturbance."

8. I have been obliged to set down these decrees because the present history of our own acts will go generally among the Greeks ; and I have hereby demonstrated to them, that we have formerly been in great esteem, and have not been prohibited by those governors we were under from keeping any of the laws of our forefathers ; nay, that we have been supported by them, while we followed our own religion, and the worship we payed to God : And I frequently make mention of these decrees, in order to reconcile other people to us, and to take away the causes of that hatred which unreasonable men bear to us. As for our * customs, there is no nation which always makes use of the same and in every city almost we meet with them different from one another ; but natural justice is most agreeable to the advantage of all men equally, both Greeks and Barbarians, to which our laws have the greatest regard, and thereby render us, if we abide in them after a pure manner, benevolent and friendly to all men : On which account we have reason to expect the like return from others, and to inform them that they ought not to esteem difference of positive institutions a sufficient cause of alienation, but [join with us in] the pursuit of virtue and probity, for this belongs to all men in common, and of itself alone is sufficient for the preservation of human life. I now return to the thread of my history.

C H A P. VII.

How upon Herod's going down into David's sepulchre, the sedition in his family greatly increased.

§ 1. **A**S for Herod. he had spent vast sums about the cities, both without and within his own kingdom : And as he had before heard that Hyrcanus, who had been king before him, had opened David's sepulchre, and taken out of it three thousand talents of silver, and that there was much great-

* The remaining part of this chapter is a remarkable one, as justly distinguishing natural justice, religion, and morality, from positive institutions in all countries,

er a number left behind, and indeed enough to suffice all his wants, he had a great while an intention to make the attempt ; and at this time he opened that sepulchre by night and went into it, and endeavoured that it should not be at all known in the city, but took only his most faithful friends with him. As for any money, he found none, as Hyrcanus had done, but that furniture of gold, and those precious goods that were laid up there, all which he took away. However, he had a great desire to make a more diligent search, and to go farther in, even as far as the very bodies of David and Solomon ; where two of his guards were slain, by a flame that burst out upon those that went in, as the report was. So he was terribly affrighted, and went out, and built a propitiatory monument of that fright he had been in, and this of white stone at the mouth of the sepulchre, and that at great expence also. And even * Nicolaus his historiographer makes mention of this monument built by Herod, though he does not mention his going down into the sepulchre, as knowing that action to be of ill repute ; and many other things he treats of in the same manner in his book ; for he wrote in Herod's lifetime, and under his reign, and so as to please him, and as a servant to him, touching upon nothing but what tended to his glory, and openly excusing many of his notorious crimes, and very diligently concealing them. And as he was desirous to put handsome colours on the death of Mariamne, and her sons, which were barbarous actions in the king, he tells falsehoods about the incontinence of Mariamne, and the treacherous designs of his sons upon him ; and thus he proceeded in his whole work, making a pompous encomium upon what just actions he had done, but earnestly apologizing for his unjust ones. Indeed a man, as I said, may have a great deal to say by way of excuse for Nicolaus ; for he did not so properly write this as an history for others, as somewhat that might be subservient to the king himself. As for ourselves, who come of a family nearly relied to the Asmonean kings, and on that account have an honourable place, which is the priesthood, we think it indecent to say any thing that is false about them, and accordingly we have described their actions after an unblemished and upright manner. And although we reverence many of Her-

and evidently preferring the former before the latter, as did the true prophets of God always under the Old Testament, and Christ and his Apostles always under the New ; whence our Josephus seems to have been at this time nearer Christianity, than were the Scribes and Pharisees of his age, who, as we know from the New Testament, were entirely of a different opinion and practice.

* It is here worth our observation, how careful Josephus was as to the discovery of truth in Herod's history, since we would not follow Nicolaus of Damascus himself, so great an historian, where there was great reason to suspect that he flattered Herod ; which impartiality in history Josephus here solemnly professes, and of which impartiality he has given more demonstrations than almost any historian whomsoever : But as to Herod's taking great wealth out of David's sepulchre, tho' I cannot prove it, yet do I strongly suspect it from this very history.

od's posterity, who still reign. yet do we pay a greater regard to truth than to them, and this though it sometimes happens that we incur their displeasure by so doing.

2. And indeed Herod's troubles in his family seemed to be augmented, by reason of this attempt he made upon David's sepulchre, whether divine vengeance increased the calamities he lay under, in order to render them incurable, or whether fortune made an assault upon him, in those cases, wherein the reasonableness of the cause made it strongly believed that the calamities came upon him for his impiety, for the tumult was like a civil war in his palace, and their hatred towards one another was like that where each one strove to exceed another in calumnies. However, Antipater used stratagems perpetually against his brethren, and that very cunningly: While abroad he loaded them with accusations, but still took upon him frequently to apologize for them, that this apparent benevolence to them might make him be believed, and forward his attempts against them, by which means he, after various manners, circumvented his father, who believed that all he did was for his preservation. Herod also recommended Ptolemy, who was a great director of the affairs of his kingdom to Antipater; and consulted with his mother about the public affairs also. And indeed these were all in all and did what they pleased, and made the king angry against any other persons, as they thought it might be to their own advantage: But still the sons of Mariamne were in a worse and worse condition perpetually and while they were thrust out, and set in a more dishonourable rank, who yet by birth, were the most noble, they could not bear the dishonour. And for the women, Glaphyra, Alexander's wife, the daughter of Archelaus, hated Salome, both because of her love to her husband, and because Glaphyra seemed to behave herself somewhat insolently towards Salome's daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus, which equality of hers to herself Glaphyra took very impatiently.

3. Now, besides this second contention that had fallen among them, neither did the king's brother Pheroras keep himself out of trouble, but had a particular foundation for suspicion and hatred; for he was overcome with the charms of his wife, to such a degree of madness that he despised the king's daughter, to whom he had been betrothed, and wholly bent his mind to the other, who had been but a servant. Herod also was grieved by the dishonour that was done him, because he had bestowed many favours upon him, and had advanced him to that height of power that he was almost a partner with him in the kingdom, and saw that he had not made him a due return for his favours, and esteemed himself unhappy on that account. So upon Pheroras's unworthy refusal, he gave the damsel to Phasaelus's son; but after some time, when he tho't the heat of his brother's affections was over, he blamed him for his former conduct, and desired him to take his second daugh-

ter, whose name was Cypros. Ptolemy also advised him to leave off affronting his brother, and to forsake her whom he had loved, for that it was a base thing to be so enamoured of a servant, as to deprive himself of the king's good will to him, and become an occasion of his trouble, and make himself hated by him. Pheroras knew that this advice would be for his own advantage, particularly because he had been accused before, and forgiven; so he put his wife away although he already had a son by her, and engaged to the king, that he would take his second daughter, and agreed that the thirtieth day after should be the day of marriage; and sware he would have no farther conversation with her whom he had put away; but when the thirty days were over, he was such a slave to his affections, that he no longer performed any thing he had promised, but continued still with his former wife. This occasioned Herod to grieve openly, and made him angry, while the king dropped one word or other against Pheroras perpetually; and many made the king's anger an opportunity for raising calumnies against him. Nor had the king any longer a single quiet day or hour, but occasions of one fresh quarrel or another arose among his relations, and those that were dearest to him; for Salome was of an harsh temper, and ill-natured to Mariamne's sons; nor would she suffer her own daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus, one of those young men to bear a good will to her husband, but persuaded her to tell her, if he said any thing to her in private, and when any misunderstandings happened, as is common, she raised a great many suspicions out of it: By which means she learned all their concerns, and made the damsel ill-natured to the young man. And in order to gratify her mother, she often said, that the young men used to mention Mariamne when they were by themselves; and that they hated their father, and were continually threatening, that if they had once got the kingdom, they would make Herod's sons by his other wives country school-masters, for that the present education which was given them, and their diligence in learning, fitted them for such an employment. And as for the women, whenever they saw them adorned with their mother's clothes, they threatened, that instead of their present gaudy apparel, they should be clothed in sackcloth, and confined so closely that they should not see the light of the sun. These stories were presently carried by Salome to the king, who was troubled to hear them, and endeavoured to make up matters: But these suspicions afflicted him, and becoming more and more uneasy, he believed every body against every body. However, upon his rebuking his sons, and hearing the defence they made for themselves, he was easier for a while, though a little afterwards much worse accidents came upon him.

4. For Pheroras came to Alexander, the husband of Glaphyra, who was the daughter of Archelaus, as we have already

told you, and said, that he had heard from Salome, that Herod was enamoured on Glaphyra, and that his passion for her was incurable. When Alexander heard that, he was all on fire, from his youth and jealousy; and he interpreted the instances of Herod's obliging behaviour to her, which were very frequent, for the worse, which came from those suspicions he had on account of that word which fell from Pheroras; nor could he conceal his grief at the thing, but informed him what words Pheroras had said. Upon which Herod was in a greater disorder than ever; and not bearing such a false calumny, which was to his shame, was much disturbed at it: And often did he lament the wickedness of his domestics, and how good he had been to them, and how ill requitals they had made him. So he sent for Pheroras, and reproached him, and said, "Thou vilest of all men! art thou come to that unmeasurable and extravagant degree of ingratitude, as not only to suppose such things of me, but to speak of them? I now indeed perceive what thy intentions are: It is not thy only aim to reproach me, when thou usest such words to my son, but thereby to persuade him to plot against me, and get me destroyed by poison. And who is there, if he had not a good genius at his elbow, as hath my son, but would not bear such a suspicion of his father, but would revenge himself upon him? Dost thou suppose that thou hast only dropped a word for him to think of, and not rather hast put a sword into his hand to slay his father? And what dost thou mean, when thou really hatest both him and his brother, to pretend kindness to them, only in order to raise a reproach against me, and talk of such things as no one but such an impious wretch as thou art could either devise in their mind, or declare in their words. Be gone, thou art such a plague to thy benefactor, and thy brother, and may that evil conscience of thine go along with thee; while I still overcome my relations by kindness, and am so far from avenging myself of them, as they deserve, that I bestow greater benefits upon them than they are worthy of."

5. Thus did the king speak. Whereupon Pheroras, who was caught in the very act of his villany, said, That "it was Salome who was the framer of this plot, and that the words came from her." But as soon as she heard that, for she was at hand, she cried out, like one that would be believed, that no such thing ever came out of her mouth: That they all earnestly endeavoured to make the king hate her, and to make her away, because of the good will she bore to Herod, and because she was always foreseeing the dangers that were coming upon him, and that at present there were more plots against him than usual; for while she was the only person who persuaded her brother to put away the wife he now had, and to take the king's daughter, it was no wonder if she were hated by him. As she said this, and often tore her hair, and often beat her breast, her countenance made her denial to be be-

lieved, but the perverseness of her manners declared at the same time her dissimulation in these proceedings : But Pheroras was caught between them, and had nothing plausible to offer in his own defence, while he confessed that he had said what was charged upon him, but was not believed when he said he had heard it from Salome : So the confusion among them was increased, and their quarrelsome words one to another. At last the king, out of his hatred to his brother and sister, sent them both away ; and when he had commended the moderation of his son, and that he had himself told him of the report, he went in the evening to refresh himself. After such a contest as this had fallen out among them, Salome's reputation suffered greatly since she was supposed to have first raised the calumny ; and the king's wives were grieved at her, as knowing she was a very ill natured woman, and would sometimes be a friend, and sometimes an enemy at different seasons : So they perpetually said one thing or another against her, and somewhat that now fell out made them the bolder in speaking against her.

6. There was one Obodus, king of Arabia, an inactive and slothful man in his nature ; but Sylleus managed most of his affairs to him. He was a shrewd man, although he were but young and was handsome withal. This Sylleus, upon some occasion coming to Herod, and supping with him, saw Salome, and set his heart upon her ; and understanding that she was a widow, he discoursed with her. Now because Salome was at this time less in favour with her brother, she looked upon Sylleus with some passion, and was very earnest to be married to him ; and on the days following there appeared many, and those very great indications of their agreement together. Now the women carried this news to the king, and laughed at the indecency of it ; whereupon Herod enquired about it farther of Pheroras, and desired him to observe them at supper, how their behaviour was one toward another ; who told him, that by the signals which came from their heads and their eyes, they both were evidently in love. After this Sylleus the Arabian being suspected, went away, but came again two or three months afterwards, as it were on that very design, and spake to Herod about it, and desired that Salome might be given him to wife, for that his affinity might not be disadvantageous to his affairs, by an union with Arabia, the government of which country was already in effect under his power, and more evidently would be his hereafter. Accordingly when Herod discoursed with his sister about it, and asked her, whether she were disposed to this match ? She immediately agreed to it. But when Sylleus was desired to come over to the Jewish religion, and then he should marry her, and that it was impossible to do it on any other terms he would not bear that proposal, and went his way ; for he said, that if he should do so, he should be stoned by the Arabs. Then did

Pheroras reproach Salome for her incontinency, as did the women much more; and said, that Sylleus had debauched her. As for that damsel, which the king had betrothed to his brother Pheroras, but he had not taken her, as I have before related, because he was enamoured on his former wife, Salome desired of Herod she might be given to her son by Costobarus; which match he was very willing to, but was dissuaded from it by Pheroras, who pleaded, that this young man would not be kind to her, since his father had been slain by him, and that it was more just that his son, who was to be his successor in the tetrarchy, should have her: So he begged his pardon, and persuaded him to do so. Accordingly the damsel, upon this change of her espousals, was disposed of to this young man, the son of Pheroras, the king giving for her portion an hundred talents.

C H A P. VIII.

How Herod took up Alexander, and bound him; whom yet Archelaus, King of Cappadocia, reconciled to his Father Herod again.

§ 1. **B**UT still the affairs of Herod's family were no better, but perpetually more troublesome. Now this accident happened, which arose from no decent occasion, but proceeded so far as to bring great difficulties upon him. There was certain eunuchs which the king had, and on account of their beauty was very fond of them; and the care of bringing him drink was entrusted to one of them, of bringing his supper to another, and of putting him to bed to the third, who also managed the principal affairs of the government: And there was one told the king that these eunuchs were corrupted by Alexander the king's son, with great sums of money: And when they were asked, whether Alexander had had criminal conversation with them? They confessed it, but said they knew of no farther mischief of his against his father; but when they were more severely tortured, and were in the utmost extremity, and the tormentors, out of compliance with Antipater, stretched the rack to the very utmost, they said, that Alexander bare great ill-will and innate hatred to his father; and that he told them, that Herod despaired to live much longer; and that in order to cover his great age, he coloured his hair black, and endeavoured to conceal what would discover how old he was; but that if he would apply himself to him, when he should attain the kingdom, which, in spite of his father, could come to no one else, he should quickly have the first place in that kingdom under him, for that he was now ready to take the kingdom, not only as his birth-right, but by the preparations he had made for obtaining it, because a great ma-

ny of the rulers, and a great many of his friends, were of his side, and those no ill men neither, ready both to do and to suffer whatsoever should come on that account.

2. When Herod heard this confession, he was all over anger and fear, some parts seeming to him reproachful, and some made him suspicious of dangers that attended him, insomuch, that on both accounts he was provoked, and bitterly afraid lest some more heavy plot was laid against him than he should be then able to escape from; whereupon he did not now make an open search, but sent about spies to watch such as he suspected, for he was now over-run with suspicion and hatred against all about him; and indulging abundance of those suspicions, in order to his preservation, he continued to suspect those that were guiltless: Nor did he set any bounds to himself, but supposing that those who staid with him had the most power to hurt him, they were to him very frightful; and for those that did not use to come to him, it seemed enough to name them [to make them suspected,] and he thought himself safer when they were destroyed: And at last his domestics were come to that pass, that being no way secure of escaping themselves, they fell to accusing one another, and imagining that he who first accused another was most likely to save himself; yet, when any had overthrown others they were hated, and they were thought to suffer justly, who unjustly accused others, and they only thereby prevented their own accusation; nay, they now executed their own private enmities by this means, and when they were caught, they were punished in the same way. Thus these men contrived to make use of this opportunity as an instrument and a snare against their enemies, yet when they tried it, were themselves caught also in the same snare which they laid for others: And the king soon repented of what he had done, because he had no clear evidence of the guilt of those whom he had slain; and yet what was still more severe in him, he did not make use of his repentance, in order to leave off doing the like again, but in order to inflict the same punishment upon their accusers.

3. And in this state of disorder were the affairs of the palace: And he had already told many of his friends directly, that they ought not to appear before him, nor to come into the palace; and the reason of this injunction was, that [when they were there] he had less freedom of acting, or a greater restraint on himself on their account: For at this time it was that he expelled Andromachus and Gemellus, men who had of old been his friends, and been very useful to him in the affairs of his kingdom, and been of advantage to his family, by their ambassages and counsels; and had been tutors to his sons, and had in a manner the first degree of freedom with him. He expelled Andromachus, because his son Demetrius was a companion to Alexander; and Gemellus, because he knew that he wished him well, which arose from his having been

with him in his youth, when he was at school, and absent at Rome. These he expelled out of his palace, and was willing enough to have done worse by them; but that he might not seem to take such liberty against men of so great reputation, he contented himself with depriving them of their dignity, and of their power to hinder his wicked proceedings.

4. Now it was Antipater, who was the cause of all this; who when he knew what a mad and licentious way of acting his father was in, and had been a great while one of his counsellors, he hurried him on, and then thought he should bring him to do somewhat to purpose, when every one that could oppose him was taken away. When therefore Andromachus and his friends were driven away, and had no discourse nor freedom with the king any longer, the king, in the first place, examined by torture all whom he thought to be faithful to Alexander, whether they knew of any of his attempts against him; but these died without having any thing to say to that matter which made the king more zealous [after discoveries,] when he could not find out what evil proceedings he suspected them of. As for Antipater, he was very sagacious to raise a calumny against those that were really innocent, as if their denial was only their constancy and fidelity [to Alexander,] and thereupon provoked Herod to discover by the torture of great numbers, what attempts were still concealed. Now there was a certain person among the many that were tortured, who said, that he knew that the young man had often said, that when he was commended as a tall man in his body, and a skilful marksman, and that in his commendable exercises he exceeded all men, these qualifications given him by nature, though good in themselves, were not advantageous to him, because his father was grieved at them, and envied him for them; and that when he walked along with his father, he endeavoured to depress and shorten himself, that he might not appear too tall; and that when he shot any thing as he was hunting, when his father was by, he missed his mark on purpose, for he knew how ambitious his father was of being superior in such exercises. So when the man was tormented about this saying, and had ease given his body after it, he added, that he had his brother Aristobulus for his assistance, and contrived to lie in wait for their father as they were hunting, and kill him; and when they had done so, to fly to Rome, and desire to have the kingdom given them. There were also letters of the young man found, written to his brother, wherein he complained, that his father did not act justly in giving Antipater a country, whose [yearly] revenues amounted to two hundred talents. Upon these confessions Herod presently thought he had somewhat to depend on, in his own opinion as to his suspicion about his sons: So he took up Alexander and bound him: Yet did he still continue to be uneasy, and was not quite satisfied of the truth of what he had heard; and

when he came to recollect himself, he found that they had only made juvenile complaints and that it was an incredible thing, that when his son should have slain him he should openly go to Rome [to beg the kingdom] so he was desirous to have some surer mark of his son's wickedness, and was very solicitous about it, that he might not appear to have condemned him to be put in prison too rashly : So he tortured the principal of Alexander's friends, and put not a few of them to death, without getting any of the things out of them which he suspected. And while Herod was very busy about this matter, and the palace was full of terror and trouble, one of the younger sort, when he was in the utmost agony, confessed that Alexander had sent to his friends at Rome, and desired that he might be quickly invited thither by Cæsar, and that he could discover a plot against him, that Mithridates the king of Parthia, was joined in friendship with his father against the Romans, and that he had a poisonous potion ready prepared at Askelon.

5. To these accusations Herod gave credit, and enjoyed hereby, in his miserable case some sort of consolation, in excuse of his rashness, as flattering himself with finding things in so bad a condition : But as for the poisonous potion, which he laboured to find, he could find none. As for Alexander, he was very desirous to aggravate the vast misfortunes he was under, so he pretended not to deny the accusations, but punish the rashness of his father with a greater crime of his own ; and perhaps he was willing to make his father ashamed of his easy belief of such calamities : He aimed especially if he could gain belief to his story to plague him, and his whole kingdom ; for he wrote four letters and sent them to him, that " he did not need to torture any more persons, for he had plotted against him ; and that he had for his partners Pheroras, and the most faithful of his friends : And that Salome came in to him by night, and that she lay with him whether he would or no ; and that all men were come to be of one mind, to make away with him as soon as they could, and so get clear of the continual fear they were in from him." Among these were accused Ptolemy, and Sapinnus, who were the most faithful friends to the king. And what more can be said, but that those who before were the most intimate friends were become wild beasts to one another, as if a certain madness had fallen upon them, while there was no room for defence or retutation, in order to the discovery of the truth, but all were at random doomed to destruction ; so that some lamented those that were in prison, some those that were put to death, and others lamented that they were in the expectation of the same miseries ; and a melancholy solitude rendered the kingdom deformed and quite the reverse to that happy state it was formerly in. Herod's own life also was entirely disturbed ; and because he could trust no body, he was sorely punished by

the expectation of farther misery, for he often fancied in his imagination, that his son had fallen upon him, or stood by him with a sword in his hand; and thus was his mind night and day intent upon this thing, and revolved it over and over, no otherwise than if he were under a distraction. And this was the sad condition Herod was now in.

6. But when Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, heard of the state that Herod was in, and being in great distress about his daughter, and the young man [her husband], and grieving with Herod, as with a man that was his friend, on account of so great a disturbance as he was under, he came [to Jerusalem] on purpose to compose their differences; and when he found Herod in such a temper, he thought it wholly unreasonable to reprove him, or to pretend that he had done any thing rashly. for that he should thereby naturally bring him to dispute the point with him, and by still more and more apologizing for himself to be the more irritated, he went therefore another way to work, in order to correct the former misfortunes, and appeared angry at the young man, and said, that Herod had been so very mild a man that he had not acted a rash part at all. He also said, he would dissolve his daughter's marriage with Alexander, nor could in justice spare his own daughter, if she were conscious of any thing, and did not inform Herod of it. When Archelaus appeared to be of this temper, and otherwise than Herod expected or imagined, and for the main, took Herod's part, and was angry on his account, the king abated of his harshness, and took occasion from his appearing to have acted justly hitherto, to come by degrees to put on the affection of a father, and was on both sides to be pitied; for when some persons refuted the calumnies that were laid on the young man he was thrown into a passion, but when Archelaus joined in the accusation, he was dissolved into tears and sorrow after an affectionate manner. Accordingly he desired that he would not dissolve his son's marriage, and became not so angry as before for his offences. So when Archelaus had brought him to a more moderate temper, he transferred the calumnies upon his friends; and said, it must be owing to them that so young a man, and one unacquainted with malice, was corrupted, and he supposed that there was more reason to suspect the brother than the son. Upon which Herod was very much displeased at Pheroras, who indeed now had no one that could make a reconciliation between him and his brother. So when he saw that Archelaus had the greatest power with Herod, he betook himself to him, in the habit of a mourner, and like one that had all the signs upon him of an undone man. Upon this Archelaus did not overlook the intercession he made to him, nor yet did he undertake to change the King's disposition towards him immediately; and he said, that it was better for him to come himself to the King, and confess himself the occasion of all, that this

would make the king's anger not to be extravagant towards him, and that then he would be present to assist him. When he had persuaded him to this, he gained his point with both of them; and the calumnies raised against the young man were, beyond all expectation, wiped off. And Archelaus, as soon as he had made the reconciliation, went then away to Cappadocia, having proved at this juncture of time the most acceptable person to Herod in the world; on which account he gave him the richest presents, as tokens of his respects to him, and being on other occasions magnanimous, he esteemed him one of his dearest friends. He also made an agreement with him that he would go to Rome, because he had written to Cæsar about these affairs; so they went together as far as Antioch, and there Herod made a reconciliation between Archelaus and Titus, the president of Syria, who had been greatly at variance, and so returned back to Judea.

C H A P. IX.

Concerning the revolt of the Trachonites: How Sylleus accused Herod before Cæsar: And how Herod, when Cæsar was angry at him, Resolved to send Nicolaus to Rome.

§ 1. **W**HEN Herod had been at Rome, and was come back again, a war arose between him and the Arabians, on the occasion following: The inhabitants of Trachonites, after Cæsar had taken the country away from Zenodorus, and added it to Herod, had not now power to rob, but were forced to plough the land, and to live quietly, which was a thing they did not like: And when they did take that pains, the ground did not produce much fruit for them. However, at the first the king would not permit them to rob, and so they abstained from that unjust way of living upon their neighbours which procured Herod a great reputation for his care: But when he was sailing to Rome, it was at that time when he went to accuse his son Alexander, and to commit Antipater to Cæsar's protection, the Trachonites spread a report as if he were dead, and revolted from his dominion, and betook themselves again to their accustomed way of robbing their neighbours; at which time the king's commanders subdued them during his absence, but about forty of the principal robbers, being terrified by those that had been taken, left the country, and retired into Arabia, Sylleus entertaining them, after he had missed of marrying Salome, and gave them a place of strength, in which they dwelt. So they overran not only Judea, but all Celestria also, and carried off the prey, while Sylleus afforded them places of protection and quietness during their wicked practices. But when Herod came back from Rome, he perceived that his dominions had greatly

suffered by them, and since he could not reach the robbers themselves, because of the secure retreat they had in that country, and which the Arabians government afforded them, and yet being very uneasy at the injuries they had done him. he went all over Trachonites, and slew their relations; whereupon these robbers were more angry than before, it being a law among them to be avenged on the murderers of their relations by all possible means, so they continued to tear and rend every thing under Herod's dominion with impunity: Then did he discourse about these robberies to Saturninus and Volumnius, and required that they should be punished; upon which occasion they still the more confirmed themselves in their robberies, and became more numerous; and made very great disturbances, laying waste the countries and villages that belonged to Herod's kingdom, and killing those men whom they caught, till these unjust proceedings came to be like a real war, for the robbers were now become about a thousand. At which Herod was sore displeased, and required the robbers, as well as the money which he had lent Obodas, by Sylleus, which was sixty talents, and since the time of payment was now past, he desired to have it paid him; but Sylleus, who had laid Obodas aside, and managed all by himself, denied that the robbers were in Arabia, and put off the payment of the money; about which there was an hearing before * Saturninus and Volumnius, who were then the presidents of Syria. At last, he, by their means, agreed that within thirty day's time Herod should be paid his money, and that each of them should deliver up the others subjects reciprocally. Now, as to Herod, there was not one of the other subjects found in his kingdom, either as doing any injustice, or on any other account, but it was proved that the Arabians had the robbers among them.

2. When this day appointed for payment of the money was past, without Sylleus's performing any part of his agreement, and he was gone to Rome, Herod demanded the payment of the money, and that the robbers that were in Arabia should be delivered up; and, by the permission of Saturninus and Volumnius, executed the judgment himself upon those that were refractory. He took an army that he had, and led it into Arabia, and in three day's time marched seven mansions; and when he came to the garrison wherein the robbers were, he made an assault upon them, and took them all, and demolished the place, which was called *Raepta*, but did no harm to any others; but as the Arabians came to their assistance, under Naceb their captain, there ensued a battle, wherein a few of Herod's soldiers, and Naceb, the captain of the Arabians, and

* These joint presidents of Syria, Saturninus and Volumnius, were not perhaps of equal authority, but the latter like a procurator under the former, as the very learned Noris and Pagi, and with them Dr. Hudson, determine.

about twenty of his soldiers fell, while the rest betook themselves to flight. So when he had brought these to punishment, he placed three thousand Idumeans in Trachonitis, and thereby restrained the robbers that were there. He also sent an account to the captains that were about Phenicia, and demonstrated that he had done nothing but what he ought to do in punishing the refractory Arabians, which, upon an exact inquiry they found to be no more than what was true.

3. However, messengers were hasted away to Sylleus to Rome, and informed him what had been done, and, as is usual, aggravated every thing. Now Sylleus had already insinuated himself into the knowledge of Cæsar, and was then about the palace : and soon as he heard of these things, he changed his habit into black, and went in, and told Cæsar, That “ Arabia was afflicted with war, and that all his kingdom was in great confusion, upon Herod’s laying it waste with his army ; and he said, with tears in his eyes, that two thousand five hundred of the principal men among the Arabians had been destroyed, and that their captain Nacabus, his familiar friend and kinsman, was slain ; and that the riches that were at Raeptra were carried off ; and that Obodas was despised, whose infirm state of body rendered him unfit for war ; on which account neither he, nor the Arabian army, were present.” When Sylleus said so, and added invidiously, That “ he would not himself have come out of the country, unless he had believed that Cæsar would have provided that they should all have peace one with another, and that, had he been there, he would have taken care that the war should not have been to Herod’s advantage.” Cæsar was provoked when this was said ; and asked no more than this one question, both of Herod’s friends that were there, and of his own friends, who were come from Syria, “ Whether Herod had led an army thither ?” and when they were forced to confess so much, Cæsar, without staying to hear for what reason he did it, and how it was done, grew very angry, and wrote to Herod sharply. The sum of his epistle was this : That “ whereas of old he had used him as his friend, he should now use him as his subject.” Sylleus also wrote an account of this to the Arabians ; who were so elevated with it, that they neither delivered up the robbers that had fled to them, nor payed the money that was due : They retained those pastures also which they had hired, and kept them without paying their rent, and all this because the king of the Jews was now in a low condition, by reason of Cæsar’s anger at him. Those of Trachonitis also made use of this opportunity, and rose up against the Idumean garrison, and followed the same way of robbing with the Arabians, who had pillaged their country, and were more rigid in their unjust proceedings, not only in order to get by it, but by way of revenge also.

4. Now Herod was forced to bear all this, that confidence of

his being quite gone with which Cæsar's favour used to inspire him ; for Cæsar would not admit so much as an ambassage from him, to make an apology for him : And when they came again, he sent them away without success : So he was cast into sadness and fear ; and Sylleus's circumstances grieved him exceedingly, who was now believed by Cæsar, and was present at Rome, nay sometimes aspiring higher. Now it came to pals that Obodas was dead : And Eneas, whose name was afterward changed to * Aretas, took the government, for Sylleus endeavoured by calumnies to get him turned out of his principality, that he might himself take it ; with which design he gave much money to the courtiers, and promised much money to Cæsar, who indeed was angry that Aretas had not sent to him first before he took the kingdom, yet did Eneas send an epistle and presents to Cæsar, and a golden crown of the weight of many talents. Now that epistle accused Sylleus as having been a wicked servant, and having killed Obodas by poison ; and that while he was alive, he had governed him as he pleased ; and had also debauched the wives of the Arabians ; and had borrowed money, in order to obtain the dominion for himself ; yet did not Cæsar give heed to these accusations, but sent his ambassadors back, without receiving any of his presents : But in the mean time the affairs of Judea and Arabia became worse and worse, partly because of the anarchy they were under, and partly because, as bad as they were, nobody had power to govern them, for of the two kings, the one was not yet confirmed in his kingdom, and so had not authority sufficient to restrain the evil doers ; and as for Herod, Cæsar was immediately angry at him, for having avenged himself, and so he was compelled to bear all the injuries that were offered him. At length, when he saw no end of the mischief which surrounded him he resolved to send ambassadors to Rome again, to see whether his friends had prevailed to mitigate Cæsar, and to address themselves to Cæsar himself : and the ambassador he sent thither was Nicolaus of Damascus.

C H A P. X.

How Eurycles falsely accused Herod's sons ; and how their Father bound them, and wrote to Cæsar about them. Of Sylleus, and how he was accused by Nicolaus.

§ 1. **T**HE disorders about Herod's family and children about this time grew much worse ; for it now appeared certain, nor was it unforeseen before hand, that fortune

* This Aretas was now become so established a name for the kings of Arabia, [at Petra and Damascus,] that when the crown came to this Eneas, he changed his name to *Aretas*, as Havercamp here justly observes. See Antiq. B. XIII. ch. xv.

threatened the greatest and most unsupportable misfortunes possible to his kingdom. Its progress and augmentation at this time arose on the occasion following: One Eurycles, a Lacedemonian (a person of note there, but a man of a perverse mind, and so cunning in his ways of voluptuousness and flattery, as to indulge both, and yet seem to indulge neither of them), came in his travels to Herod, and made him presents, but so that he received more presents from him. He also took such proper seasons for insinuating himself into his friendship, that he became one of the most intimate of the king's friends. He had his lodging in Antipater's house; but he had not only access, but free conversation with Alexander, as pretending to him that he was in great favour with Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia; whence he pretended much respect to Glaphyra, and, in an occult manner, cultivated a friendship with them all, but always attending to what was said and done, that he might be furnished with calumnies to press them all. In short, he behaved himself so to every body in his conversation, as to appear to be his particular friend, and he made others believe that his being any where was for that person's advantage. So he won upon Alexander, who was but young; and persuaded him, that he might open his grievances to him with assurance, and with nobody else. So he declared his grief to him, how his father was alienated from him. He related to him also the affairs of his mother, and of Antipater; that he had driven them from their proper dignity, and had the power over every thing himself; that no part of this was tolerable, since his father was already come to hate them; and he added, that he would neither admit them to his table, nor to his conversation. Such were the complaints, as was but natural, of Alexander about the things that troubled him: And these discourses Eurycles carried to Antipater; and told him, he did not inform him of this on his own account, but that being overcome by his kindness, the great importance of the thing obliged him to do it: And he warned him to have a care of Alexander, for that what he said was spoken with vehemency, and that, in consequence of what he said, he would certainly kill him with his own hand. Whereupon Antipater, thinking him to be his friend by this advice, gave him presents upon all occasions, and at length persuaded him to inform Herod of what he had heard. So when he related to the king, Alexander's ill temper, as discovered by the words he had heard him speak, he was easily believed by him, and he thereby brought the king to that pass, turning him about by his words, and irritating him, till he increased his hatred to him, and made him implacable, which he shewed at that very time, for he immediately gave Eurycles a present of fifty talents; who, when he had gotten them, went to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and commended Alexander before him, and told him that he had been many ways of advantage to him, in

making a reconciliation between him and his father. So he got money from him also, and went away, before his pernicious practices were found out: But when Eurycles was returned to Lacedemon, he did not leave off doing mischief, and so, for his many acts of injustice, he was banished from his own country.

2. But as for the king of the Jews, he was not now in the temper he was in formerly towards Alexander and Aristobulus, when he had been content with the hearing their calumnies when others told him of them, but he was now come to that pass as to hate them himself, and to urge men to speak against them, though they did not do it of themselves. He also observed all that was said and put questions, and gave ear to every one that would but speak, if they could but say any thing against them, till at length he heard that Euaratus of Cos was a conspirator with Alexander; which thing to Herod was the most agreeable and sweetest news imaginable.

3. But still a greater misfortune came upon the young men; while the calumnies against them were continually increased, and, as a man may say, one would think it was every one's endeavour to lay some grievous thing to their charge, which might appear to be for the king's preservation. There were two guards of Herod's body, who were in great esteem for their strength and tallness, Jucundus and Tyranus; these men had been cast off by Herod, who was displeased at them; these now used to ride along with Alexander and for their skill in their exercises were in great esteem with him, and had some gold and other gifts bestowed on them. Now the king having an immediate suspicion of those men, had them tortured; who endured the torture courageously for a long time, but at last confessed, that Alexander would have persuaded them to kill Herod, when he was in pursuit of the wild beasts; that it might be said he fell from his horse, and was ran through with his own spear, for that he had once such a misfortune formerly. They also shewed where there was money hidden in the stable under ground, and these convicted the king's chief hunter, that he had given the young men the royal hunting spears and weapons to Alexander's dependents, at Alexander's command.

4. After these the commander of the garrison of Alexandrium was caught and tortured; for he was accused to have promised to receive the young men into his fortress, and to supply them with that money of the king's which was laid up in that fortress, yet did not he acknowledge any thing of it himself; but his son came in, and said, it was so, and delivered up the writing, which, so far as could be guessed, was in Alexander's hand. Its contents were these: "When we have finished, by God's help, all that we have proposed to do, we will come to you, but do your endeavours, as you have promised, to receive us into your fortress." After this writing was pro-

duced, Herod had no doubt about the treacherous designs of his sons against him. But Alexander said, that Diophantus the scribe, had imitated his hand, and that the paper was maliciously drawn up by Antipater; for Diophantus appeared to be very cunning in such practices and as he was afterward convicted of forging other papers, he was put to death for it.

5. So the king produced those that had been tortured before the multitude at Jericho, in order to have them accuse the young men; which accusers many of the people stoned to death; and when they were going to kill Alexander and Aristobulus likewise, the king would not permit them to do so, but restrained the multitude, by the means of Ptolemy and Pheroras. However, the young men were put under a guard, and kept in custody, that no body might come at them; and all that they did or said was watched; and the reproach and fear they were in was little or nothing different from those of condemned criminals: And one of them, who was so deeply affected, that he brought Salome, who was his aunt, and his mother-in-law to lament with him for his calamities, and to hate him who had suffered things to come to that pass; when he said to her, "Art not thou in danger of destruction also, while the report goes that thou hadst disclosed before hand all our affairs to Sylleus when thou wast in hopes of being married to him?" But she immediately carried those words to her brother: Upon this he was out of patience, and gave command to bind him; and enjoined them both, now they were kept separate one from the other, to write down the ill things they had done against their father, and bring the writings to him. So when this was enjoined them, they wrote this, that they had laid no treacherous designs, nor made any preparations against their father, but that they had intended to fly away; and that by the distress they were in, their lives being now uncertain and tedious to them.

6. About this time there came an ambassador out of Cappadocia from Archelaus, whose name was *Melas*: He was one of the principal rulers under him. So Herod being desirous to shew Archelaus's ill-will to him, called for Alexander, as he was in his bonds, and asked him again concerning his flight, whether and how they had resolved to retire? Alexander replied, "To Archelaus, who had promised to send them away to Rome, but that they had no wicked nor mischievous designs against their father, and that nothing of that nature which their adversaries had charged upon them was true; and that their desire was, that he might have examined Tyrannus, and Jucundus more strictly, but that they had been suddenly slain by the means of Antipater, who put his own friends among the multitude [for that purpose]."

7. When this was said, Herod commanded that both Alexander and Melas should be carried to Glaphyra, Archelau's daughter, and that she should be asked, whether she did not

know somewhat of Alexander's treacherous designs against Herod ? Now as soon as they were come to her, and she saw Alexander in bonds, she beat her head, and, in a great consternation, gave a deep and a moving groan. The young man also fell into tears. This was so miserable a spectacle to those present, that, for a great while, they were not able to say or to do any thing ; but at length Ptolemy, who was ordered to bring Alexander, bid him say, whether his wife were conscious of his actions ? He replied, " How is it possible that she, whom I love better than my own soul, and by whom I have had children, should not know what I do ? Upon which she cried out, That " she knew of no wicked designs of his ; but that yet, if her accusing herself falsely would tend to his preservation, she would confess it all." Alexander replied, " There is no such wickedness as those (who ought the least of all so to do) suspect, which either I have imagined, or thou knowest of, but this only, that we had resolved to retire to Archelaus, and from thence to Rome." Which she also confessed. Upon which Herod, supposing that Archelaus's ill-will to him was fully proved, he sent a letter by Olympus and Volumnius, and bid them, as they failed by, to touch at Eleusa of Cilicia, and gave Archelaus the letter. And that when they had expostulated with him, that he had an hand in his son's treacherous design against him, they should from thence sail to Rome ; and that, in case they found Nicolaus had gained any ground, and that Cæsar was no longer displeased at him, he should give his letters, and the proofs which he had ready to shew against the young men. As to Archelaus, he made this defence for himself, That " he had promised to receive the young men, because it was both for their own and their father's advantage so to do, lest some too severe procedure should be gone upon in that anger and disorder they were in on occasion of the present suspicions ; but that still he had not promised to send them to Cæsar ; and that he had not promised any thing else to the young men that could shew ill-will to him."

8. When these ambassadors were come to Rome, they had a fit opportunity of delivering their letters to Cæsar : Because they found him reconciled to Herod ; for the circumstances of Nicolaus's ambassage had been as follows : As soon as he was come to Rome, and was about the court, he did not first of all set about what he was come for only, but he thought fit also to accuse Sylleus. Now the Arabians, even before he came to talk with them, were quarrelling one with another ; and some of them left Sylleus's party, and joining themselves to Nicolaus, informed him of all the wicked things that had been done : And produced to him evident demonstrations of the slaughter of a great number of Obodas's friends by Sylleus, for when these men left Sylleus they had carried off with them those whereby they could convict him. When Nicolaus saw such an opportunity afforded him, he made use of it, in order to gain his own

point afterward, and endeavoured immediately to make a reconciliation between Cæsar, and Herod ; for he was fully satisfied that if he should desire to make a defence for Herod directly, he should not be allowed that liberty ; but that if he desired to accuse Sylleus, there would an occasion present itself of speaking on Herod's behalf. So when the cause was ready for a hearing and the day was appointed, Nicolaus, while Aretas's ambassadors were present, accused Sylleus, and said, That " he imputed to him the destruction of the king [Obodas], and of many others of the Arabians : That he had borrowed money for no good design ; and he proved that he had been guilty of adultery, not only with the Arabians, but Roman women also." And he added, That " above all the rest he had alienated Cæsar from Herod ; and that all that he had said about the actions of Herod were falsities." When Nicolaus was come to this topic, Cæsar stopped him from going on ; and desired him only to speak to this affair of Herod's ; and to shew that " he had not led an army into Arabia, nor slain two thousand five hundred men there, nor taken prisoners, nor pillaged the country." To which Nicolaus made this answer, " I shall principally demonstrate that either nothing at all, or but a very little of those imputations are true, of which thou hast been informed, for had they been true, thou mightest justly have been still more angry at Herod." At this strange assertion, Cæsar was very attentive : And Nicolaus said, That " there was a debt due to Herod of five hundred talents, and a bond, wherein it was written, that if the time appointed be elapsed, it should be lawful to make a seizure out of any part of his country. As for the pretended army, he said, it was no army, but a party sent out to require the just payment of the money : That this was not sent immediately, nor so soon as the bond allowed, but that Sylleus had frequently come before Saturninus, and Volumnius, the presidents of Syria ; and that at last he had sworn at Berytus, * by the fortune, that he would certainly pay the money within thirty days, and deliver up the fugitives that were under his dominion. And that when Sylleus had performed nothing of this, Herod came again before the presidents ; and upon their permission to make a seizure of his money, he with difficulty, went out of his country with a party of soldiers for that purpose. And this is all the war which these men so tragically describe ; and this is the affair of the expedition into Arabia. And how can this be called a war ? When thy presidents permitted it ; the covenants allowed it ; and it was not executed till thy name, O Cæsar, as well as that of the other gods, had been profaned. And now I must speak in order about the captives. There were robbers that dwelt in

* This oath, by the fortune of Cæsar, was put to Polycarp, a bishop of Smyrna, by the Roman governor, to try whether he were a Christian, as they were then esteemed who refused to swear that oath. Martyr, Polycarp, § 9.

Trachonitis : At first their number was no more than forty, but they became more afterwards. and they escapèd the punishment Herod would have inflictèd on them, by making Arabia their refuge. Sylleus received them, and supported them with food, that they might be mischievous to all mankind, and gave them a country to inhabit, and himself received the gains they made by robbery ; yet did he promise that he would deliver up these men, and that by the same oaths, and same time that he sware and fixed for payment of his debt : Nor can he by any means shew that any other persons have at this time been out of Arabia besides these, and indeed not all these neither, but only so many as could not conceal themselves. And thus does the calumny of the captives, which hath been so odiously represented appear to be no better than a fiction and a lie made on purpose to provoke thy indignation ; for I venture to affirm, that when the forces of the Arabians came upon us, and one or two of Herod's party fell, he then only defended himself, and there tell Nacebus their general, and, in all, about twenty-five others, and no more ; whence Sylleus, by multiplying every single soldier to an hundred, he reckons the slain to have been two thousand five hundred."

7. This provoked Cæsar more than ever : So he turned to Sylleus full of rage, and asked him how many of the Arabians were slain ? Hereupon he hesitated, and said he had been imposed upon. The covenants also were read about the money he had borrowed, and the letters of the presidents of Syria, and the complaints of the several cities, so many as had been injured by the robbers. The conclusion was this, that Sylleus was condemned to die, and that Cæsar was reconciled to Herod, and owed his repentance for what severe things he had written to him, occasioned by calumny, inasmuch, that he told Sylleus that he had compelled him, by his lying account of things, to be guilty of ingratitude against a man that was his friend. At the last all came to this, Sylleus was sent away to answer Herod's suit, and to repay the debt that he owed, and after that to be punished [with death] : But still Cæsar was offended with Aretas, that he had taken upon himself the government, without his consent first obtained, for he had determinèd to bestow Arabia upon Herod ; but that the letters he had sent hindered him from so doing, for Olympus and Volumnius perceiving that Cæsar was now become favourable to Herod, thought fit immediately to deliver him the letters they were commanded by Herod to give him concerning his sons. When Cæsar had read them, he thought it would not be proper to add another government to him, now he was old, and in an ill state with relation to his sons, so he admitted Aretas's ambassadors ; and after he had just reproved him for his rashness, in not tarrying till he received the kingdom from him, he accepted of his presents, and confirmed him in his government.

C H A P. XI.

How Herod, by permission from Cæsar, accused his Sons before an Assembly of Judges at Berytus; and what Tero suffered for using a boundless and military Liberty of Speech. Concerning also the Death of the Young Men, and their burial at Alexandrium.

§ 1. SO Cæsar was now reconciled to Herod; and wrote thus to him, That "he was grieved for him on account of his sons; and that in case they had been guilty of any protane and insolent crimes against him, it would behove him to punish them as parricides, for which he gave him power accordingly; but if they had only contrived to fly away, he would have him give them an admonition, and not proceed to extremity with them. He also advised him to get an assembly together, and to appoint some place near * Berytus, which is a city belonging to the Romans, and to take the presidents of Syria, and Archelaus king of Cappadocia, and as many more as he thought to be illustrious, for their friendship to him, and the dignities they were in, and determine what should be done by their approbation." These were the directions that Cæsar gave him. Accordingly Herod, when the letter was brought to him, was immediately very glad of Cæsar's reconciliation to him, and very glad also that he had a complete authority given him over his sons. And it strangely came about, that whereas before in his adversity, though he had indeed shewed himself severe, yet had he not been very rash, nor hasty in procuring the destruction of his sons, he now, in his prosperity, took advantage of this change for the better, and the freedom he now had, to exercise his hatred against them, after an unheard-of manner; he therefore sent and called as many as he thought fit to this assembly, excepting Archelaus, for as for him he either hated him, so that he would not invite him, or he thought he would be an obstacle to his designs.

2. When the presidents, and the rest that belonged to the cities, were come to Berytus, he kept his sons in a certain village belonging to Sidon, called *Platana*, but near to this city, that if they were called he might produce them, for he did not think fit to bring them before the assembly: And when there were one hundred and fifty assessors present, Herod came

* What Josephus relates Augustus to have here said, that Berytus was a city belonging to the Romans, is confirmed by Spanheim's notes here. "It was, says he, a colony placed there by Augustus. Whence Ulpian, *De cens. bel. L. T. XV* The colony of Berytus was rendered famous by the benefits of Cæsar: And thence it is that, among the coins of Augustus, we meet with some having this inscription: *The happy colony of Augustus at Berytus.*"

by himself alone and accused his sons, and that in such a way as if it were not a melancholy accusation, and not made but out of necessity, and upon the misfortunes he was under; indeed in such a way, as was very indecent for a father to accuse his sons, for he was very vehement, and disordered, when he came to the demonstration of the crime they were accused of, and gave the greatest signs of passion and barbarity: Nor would he suffer the assessors to consider of the weight of the evidence, but asserted them to be true by his own authority, after a manner most indecent in a father against his sons, and read himself what they themselves had written, wherein there was no confession of any plots or contrivances against him. But only how they had contrived to fly away, and containing withal certain reproaches against him, on account of the ill-will he bare them; and when he came to those reproaches, he cried out most of all, and exaggerated what they said, as if they had confessed the design against him, and took his oath that he had rather lose his life than hear such reproachful words. At last he said, That "he had sufficient authority both by nature, and by Cæsar's grant to him [to do what he thought fit]. He also added an allegation of a law of their country, which enjoined this. That if parents laid their hands on the head of him that was accused, the standers by were obliged to cast stones at him, and thereby to slay him? Which though he were ready to do in his own country and kingdom, yet did he wait for their determination, that yet they came thither not so much as judges, to condemn them for such manifest designs against him, whereby he had almost perished by his son's means, but as persons that had an opportunity of shewing their detestation of such practices, and declaring how unworthy a thing it must be in any, even the most remote, to pass over such treacherous designs [without punishment.]"

3. When the king had said this, and the young men had not been produced to make any defence for themselves, the assessors perceived there was no room for equity, reconciliation, so they confirmed his authority. And in the first place, Saturninus, a person that had been consul, and one of great dignity, pronounced his sentence, but with great moderation, and trouble; and said, That "he condemned Herod's sons, but did not think they should be put to death. He had sons of his own, and to put one's son to death, is a greater misfortune than any other that could befall him by their means." After him Saturninus's sons, for he had three sons that followed him, and were his legates, pronounced the same sentence with their father: On the contrary, Volumnius's sentence was, to inflict death on such as had been so impiously ungrateful to their father; and the greatest part of the rest said the same, insomuch that the conclusion seemed to be, that the young men were condemned to die. Immediately after this

Herod came away from thence, and took his sons to Tyre, where Nicolaus met him in his voyage from Rome ; of whom he enquired, after he had related to him what had passed at Berytus, what his sentiments were about his sons, and what his friends at Rome thought of that matter ? His answer was, " That what they had determined to do to thee was impious, and that thou oughtest to keep them in prison ; and if thou thinkest any thing farther necessary, thou mayest indeed so punish them, that thou mayest not appear to indulge thy anger more than to govern thyself by judgement ; but if thou inclinest to the milder side, thou mayest absolve them, lest perhaps thy misfortunes be rendered incurable : And this is the opinion of the greatest part of thy friends at Rome also." Whereupon Herod was silent, and in great thoughtfulness, and bid Nicolaus sail along with him.

4. Now as they came to Cesarea every body was there talking of Herod's sons, and the kingdom was in suspense, and the people in great expectation of what would become of them, for a terrible fear seized upon all men, lest the ancient disorders of the family should come to a sad conclusion, and they were in great trouble about their sufferings ; nor was it without danger to say any rash thing about this matter, nor even to hear another saying it, but mens pity was forced to be shut up in themselves, which rendered the excels of their sorrow very irksome, but very silent ; yet was there an old soldier of Herod's, whose name was *Tero*, who had a son of the same age with Alexander, and his friend, who was so very free, as openly to speak out what others silently thought about that matter ; and was forced to cry out often among the multitude, and said, in the most unguarded manner, " That truth was perished, and justice taken away from men, while lies and ill will prevailed, and brought such a mist before public affairs, that the offenders were not able to see the greatest mischiefs that can betal men." And as he was so bold, he seemed not to have kept himself out of danger, by speaking so freely ; but the reasonableness of what he said, moved men to regard him, as having behaved himself with great manhood. and this at a proper time also, for which reason every one heard what he said with pleasure ; and although they first took care of their own safety, by keeping silent themselves, yet did they kindly receive the great freedom he took, for the expectation they were in of so great an affliction, put a force upon them to speak of *Tero* whatsoever they pleased.

5. This man had thrust himself into the king's presence with the greatest freedom, and desired to speak with him by himself alone, which the king permitted him to do, where he said this : " Since I am not able, O king, to bear up under so great a concern as I am under, I have preferred the use of this bold liberty that I now take, which may be for thy advantage, if thou mind to get any profit by it, before my own safety,

Whither is thy understanding gone, and left thy soul empty? Whither is that extraordinary sagacity of thine gone, whereby thou hast performed so many and such glorious actions? Whence comes this solitude, and desertion of thy friends and relations? Of which I cannot but determine, that they are neither thy friends nor relations, while they overlook so horrid wickedness in thy once happy kingdom. Dost not thou perceive what is doing? Wilt thou slay these two young men, born of thy queen, who are accomplished with every virtue in the highest degree, and leave thyself destitute in thy old age, but exposed to one son, who hath very ill managed the hopes thou hast given him, and to relations, whose death thou hast so often resolved on thyself? Dost not thou take notice that the very silence of the multitude at once sees the crime, and abhors the fact? The whole army and the officers have, commiseration on the poor unhappy youths, and hatred to those that are the actors in this matter." These words the king heard, and for some time with good temper. But what can one say? When Tero plainly touched upon the bad behaviour and perfidiousness of his domestics, he was moved at it; but Tero went on farther, and by degrees used an unbounded military freedom of speech, nor was he so well disciplined as to accommodate himself to the time: So Herod was greatly disturbed, and seeming to be rather reproached by this speech, than to be hearing what was for his advantage, while he learned hereby, that both the soldiers abhorred the thing he was about and the officers had indignation at it, he gave order that all whom Tero had named, and Tero himself, should be bound and kept in prison.

6. When this was over, one Trypho, who was the king's barber, took the opportunity and came and told the king, that Tero would often have persuaded him, when he trimmed him with a razor, to cut his throat, for that by this means he should be among the chief of Alexander's friends, and receive great rewards from him. When he had said this, the king gave order that Tero, and his son and the barber, should be tortured, which was done accordingly; but while Tero bore up himself, his son, seeing his father already in a sad case, and had no hope of deliverance, and perceiving what would be the consequence of his terrible sufferings, said, that "if the king would free him and his father from these torments, for what he should say he would tell the truth." And when the king had given his word to do so, he said that "there was an agreement made, that Tero should lay violent hands on the king, because it was easy for him to come when he was alone; and that if, when he had done the thing, he should suffer death for it, as was not unlikely, it would be an act of generosity done in favour of Alexander." This was what Tero's son said, and thereby freed his father from the distress he was in; but uncertain it is whether he had been thus forced to speak

what was true, or whether it were a contrivance of his, in order to procure his own and his father's deliverance from their miseries.

7. As for Herod, if he had before any doubt about the slaughter of his sons there was now no longer any room left in his soul for it, but he had banished away whatsoever might afford him the least suggestion of reasoning better about this matter, so he already made haste to bring his purpose to a conclusion. He also brought out three hundred of the officers that were under an accusation, as also Tero and his son, and the barber that accused them, before an assembly, and brought an accusation against them all; whom the multitude stoned with whatsoever came to hand, and thereby slew them. Alexander also and Aristobulus were brought to Sebaste by their father's command, and there strangled; but their dead bodies were in the night time carried to Alexandrium, where their uncle by the mother's side, and the greatest part of their ancestors, had been deposited.

8. * And now perhaps it may not seem unreasonable to some, that such an inveterate hatred might increase so much [on both sides,] as to proceed farther, and overcome nature: But it may justly deserve consideration, whether it be to be laid to the charge of the young men, that they gave such an occasion to their father's anger, and led him to do what he did, and by going on long in the same way, put things past remedy, and brought him to use them so unmercifully; or whether it be to be laid to the father's charge, that he was so hard hearted, and so very tender in the desire of government, and of other things that would tend to his glory, that he would take no one into a partnership with him, that so whatsoever he would have done himself might continue immovable; or indeed, whether fortune have not greater power than all prudent reasonings: Whence we are persuaded that human actions are thereby determined before hand by an inevitable necessity, and we call her *Fate*, because there is nothing which is not done by her; wherefore I suppose it will be sufficient to compare this notion with that other, which attributes somewhat to to ourselves, and renders men not unaccountable for the different conducts of their lives, which notion is no other than the philosophical determination of our ancient law. Accordingly of the two other causes of this sad event, any body may lay the blame on the young men, who acted by youthful vanity, and pride of their royal birth, that they should bear to hear the calumnies that were raised against their father, while certainly they were not equitable judges of the actions of his life, but ill-natured in suspecting and intemperate in

* The reader is here to note, that this eighth section is entirely wanting in the old Latin version, as Spanheim truly observes; nor is there any other reason for it, I suppose, than the great difficulty of an exact translation.

speaking of it, and on both accounts easily caught by those that observed them, and revealed them to gain favour; yet cannot their father be thought worthy of excuse, as to that horrid impiety which he was guilty of about them, while he ventured, without any certain evidence of their treacherous designs against him, and without any proofs that they had made preparation for such attempt to kill his own sons, who were of very comely bodies, and the great darlings of other men, and no way deficient in their conduct, whether it were in hunting, or in warlike exercises, or in speaking upon occasional topics of discourse; for in all these they were skilful, and especially Alexander, who was the eldest; for certainly it had been sufficient, even though he had condemned them, to have kept them alive in bonds, or to let them live at a distance from his dominions in banishment, while he was surrounded by the Roman forces, which were a strong security to him whose help would prevent his suffering any thing by a sudden onset, or by open force, but for him to kill them on the sudden, in order to gratify a passion that governed him, was a demonstration of insufferable impiety: He also was guilty of so great a crime in his elder age; nor will the delays that he made, and the length of time in which the thing was done plead at all for his excuse; for when a man is on a sudden amazed, and in commotion of mind, and then commits a wicked action, although this be an heavy crime, yet is it a thing that frequently happens, but to do it upon deliberation, and after frequent attempts, and as frequent puttings off, to undertake it at last, and accomplish it, was the action of a murderous mind and such as was not easily moved from that which is evil: And this temper he shewed in what he did afterward, when he did not spare those that seemed to be the best beloved of his friends that were left, wherein, though the justice of the punishment caused those that perished to be the less pitied, yet was the barbarity of the man here equal, in that he did not abstain from their slaughter also: But of those persons we shall have occasion to discourse more hereafter.

BOOK XVII.

Containing the interval of fourteen years.

[*From the death of ALEXANDER and ARISTOBULUS, to the banishment of ARCHELAUS.*]

CHAP. I.

How Antipater was hated by all the nation [of the Jews] for the slaughter of his brethren; and how, for that reason, he got into peculiar favour with his friends at Rome, by giving them many presents; as he did also with Saturninus the president of Syria, and the governors who were under him; and concerning Herod's wives and children.

§ I. **W**HEN Antipater had thus taken off his brethren, and had brought his father into the highest degree of impiety, till he was haunted with furies for what he had done, his hopes did not succeed to his mind, as to the rest of his life; for, although he was delivered from the fear of his brethren being his rivals as to the government, yet did he find it a very hard thing, and almost impracticable, to come at the kingdom, because the hatred of the nation against him on that account was become very great: And, besides this very disagreeable circumstance, the affair of the soldiery grieved him still more who were alienated from him, from which yet these kings derived all the safety which they had, whenever they found the nation desirous of innovation: And all this danger was drawn upon him by his destruction of his brethren. However, he governed the nation jointly with his father, being indeed no other than a king already; and he was for that very reason trusted, and the more firmly depended on, for the which he ought himself to have been put to death, as appearing to have betrayed his brethren out of his concern for the preservation of Herod, and not rather out of his ill-will to them, and, before them, to his father himself; and this was the accursed state he was in. Now, all Antipater's contrivances tended to make his way to take off Herod, that he might have nobody to accuse him in the vile practices he was devising; and that Herod might have no refuge, nor any to afford him their assistance, since they must thereby have Antipater for their open enemy; insomuch that the very plots he had laid against his brethren, were occasioned by the hatred he bore his father. But at this time he was more than ever set upon

the execution of his attempts against Herod, because if he were once dead, the government would now be firmly secured to him ; but if he were suffered to live any longer, he should be in danger upon a discovery of that wickedness of which he had been the contriver, and his father would of necessity then become his enemy. And on this account it was that he became very bountiful to his father's friends, and bestowed great sums on several of them, in order to surprise men with his good deeds, and take off their hatred against him. And he sent great presents to his friends at Rome particularly, to gain their good will ; and above all the rest to Saturninus, the president of Syria. He also hoped to gain the favour of Saturninus's brother with the large presents he bestowed on him ; as also he used the same art to [Salome] the king's sister, who had married one of Herod's chief friends. And, when he counterfeited friendship to those with whom he conversed, he was very subtle in gaining their belief, and very cunning to hide his hatred against any that he really did hate. But he could not impose upon his aunt, who understood him of a long time, and was a woman not easily to be deluded ; especially while she had already used all possibly caution in preventing his pernicious designs. Although Antipater's uncle by the mother's side, were married to her daughter, and this by his own connivance and management, while she had before been married to Aristobulus, and while Salome's other daughter by that husband were married to the son of Calleas. But that marriage was no obstacle to her, who knew how wicked he was, in her discovering his designs, as her former kindred to him could not prevent her hatred of him. Now Herod compelled Salome, while she was in love with Sylleus the Arabian, and had taken a fondness for him, to marry Alexas ; which match was by her submitted to at the instance of Julia, who persuaded Salome not to refuse it, lest she should herself be their open enemy, since Herod had sworn that he would never be friends with Salome, if she would not accept of Alexas for her husband ; so she submitted to Julia as being Cæsar's wife, and, besides that, as she advised her to nothing but what was very much for her own advantage. At this time also it was that Herod sent back king Archelaus's daughter, who had been Alexander's wife, to her father, returning the portion he had with her out of his own estate, that there might be no dispute between them about it.

2. Now Herod brought up his son's children with great care : for Alexander had two sons by Glaphyra, and Aristobulus had three sons by Bernice Salome's daughter, and two daughters : And, as his friends were one with him, he presented the children before them ; and deploring the hard fortune of his own sons, he prayed that no such ill fortune might befall these who were their children, but that they might improve in virtue, and obtain what they justly deserved, and might make

him amends for his care of their education. He also accused them to be betrothed against they should come to the proper age of marriage; the elder of Alexander's sons to Pherora's daughter, and Antipater's daughter to Aristobulus's eldest son. He also allotted one of Aristobulus's daughter to Antipater's son and Aristobulus's other daughter to Herod, a son of his own, who was born to him by the high priest's daughter; for it is the ancient practice among us to have many wives at the same time. Now the king made these espousals for the children, out of commiseration of them now they were fatherless, as endeavouring to render Antipater kind to them by these intermarriages. But Antipater did not fail to bear the same temper of mind to his brother's children, which he had borne to his brothers themselves; and his father's concern about them provoked his indignation against them upon this supposal, that they would become greater than ever his brothers had been; while Archelaus, a king, would support his daughter's sons and Pheroras, a tetrarch, would accept of one of the daughters as a wife to his son. What provoked him also was this, that all the multitude would so commiserate these fatherless children, and so hate him, [for making them fatherless], that all would come out, since they were no strangers to his vile disposition towards his brethren. He contrived therefore to overturn his father's settlements, as thinking it a terribler thing that they should be so related to him, and be so powerful withal. So Herod yielded to him, and changed his resolution at his entreaty; and the determination now was, that Antipater himself should marry Aristobulus's daughter, and Antipater's son should marry Pheroras's daughter. So the espousals for the marriages were changed after this manner, even without the king's real approbation.

3. Now Herod the king had at this time nine wives; one of them Antipater's mother, and another the high priest's daughter, by whom he had a son of his own name. He had also one who was his brother's daughter, and another his sister's daughter; which two had no children. One of his wives also was of the Samaritan nation, whose sons were Antipas and Archelaus, and whose daughter was Olympias; which daughter was afterward married to Joseph, the king's brother's son; but Archelaus and Antipas were brought up with a certain private man at Rome. Herod had also to wife Cleopatra of Jerusalem, and by her he had his sons Herod and Philip; which last was also brought up at Rome: Pallas also was one of his wives which bare him his son Phasaelus. And besides these, he had for his wives Phedra and Elpis, by whom he

* Those who have a mind to know all the family and descendants of Antipater the Idumean, and of Herod the Great, his son, and have a memory to preserve them all distinctly, may consult Josephus, *Antiq. B. XVIII. ch. v. § 4. vol. II.* and *Of the War, B. I. ch. xxviii. § 4. vol. III.* and Noldius in *Havercamp's edition, p. 336.* and Spanheim, *ib. p. 402—405.* and Reland, *Palestin. Part I. p. 175, 276.*

had his daughters Roxana and Salome. As for his elder daughters by the same mother with Alexander and Aristobulus, and whom Pheroras neglected to marry, he gave the one in marriage to Antipater the king's sister's son, and the other to Phalaelus, his brother's son. And this was the posterity of Herod.

CHAP. II.

Concerning Zamaris, the Babylonian Jew. Concerning the plots laid by Antipater against his father ; and somewhat about the Pharisees.

§ 1. **A**ND now it was that Herod, being desirous of securing himself on the side of the Trachonites, resolved to build a village, as large as a city for the Jews, in the middle of that country, which might make his own country difficult to be assaulted, and whence he might be at hand to make sallies upon them, and do them a mischief. Accordingly, when he understood that there was a man that was a Jew come out of Babylon with five hundred horsemen, all of whom could shoot their arrows as they rode on horseback, and with an hundred of his relations, had passed over Euphrates, and now abode at Antioch by Daphne of Syria, where Saturninus, who was then president had given them a place for habitation, called *Valatha*, he sent for this man, with the multitude that followed him, and promised to give him land in the toparchy called *Batanca*, which country is bounded with Trachonites as desirous to make that his habitation a guard to himself. He also engaged to let him hold the country free from tribute and that they should dwell entirely without paying such customs as used to be paid, and gave it him tax-free.

2. The Babylonian was induced by these offers to come hither ; so he took possession of the land and built in it fortresses and a village, and named it *Bathyra*. Whereby this man became a safeguard to the inhabitants against the Trachonites, and preserved those Jews who came out of Babylon, to offer their sacrifices at Jerusalem, from being hurt by the Trachonite robberies ; so that a great number came to him from all those parts where the ancient Jewish laws were observed, and the country became full of people, by reason of their universal freedom from taxes. This continued during the life of Herod ; but when Philip, who was [tetrarch] after him, took the government, he made them pay some small taxes, and that for a little while only ; and Agrippa the Great, and his son of the same name, although they harrassed them greatly, yet would they not take their liberty away. From whom when the Romans have now taken the government into their own hands, they still gave them the privilege of their freedom, but oppress them entirely with the imposition of taxes. Of which

matter I shall treat more accurately in the progress of this history *.

3. At length Zamaris, the Babylonian, to whom Herod had given that country for a possession, died ; having lived virtuously, and left children of a good character behind him : One of which was Jacim, who was famous for his valour, and taught his Babylonians how to ride their horses ; and a troop of them were guards to the forementioned kings. And when Jacim was dead in his old age, he left a son whose name was Philip, one of great strength in his hands, and in other respects also more eminent for his valour than any of his contemporaries ; on which account there was a confidence and firm friendship between him and King Agrippa. He had also an army, which he maintained, as great as that of a King ; which he exercised and led wheresoever he had occasion to march.

4. When the affairs of Herod were in the condition I have described, all the public affairs depended upon Antipater ; and his power was such, that he could do good turns to as many as he pleased, and this by his father's concession, in hopes of his good will and fidelity to him ; and this till he ventured to use his power still farther, because his wicked designs were concealed from his father, and he made him believe every thing he said. He was also formidable to all, not so much on account of the power and authority he had, as for the shrewdness of his vile attempts before-hand ; But he who principally cultivated a friendship with him was Pheroras, who received the like marks of his friendship ; while Antipater had cunningly encompassed him about by a company of women, whom he placed as guards about him : For Pheroras was greatly enslaved to his wife, and to her mother, and to her sister ; and this notwithstanding the hatred he bore them, for the indignities they had offered to his virgin daughters. Yet he did bear them, and nothing was to be done without the women, who had got this man into their circle, and continued still to assist each other in all things insomuch that Antipater was entirely addicted to them, both by himself, and by his mother ; for these four women † said all one and the same thing ; but the opinions of Pheroras and Antipater were different in some points of no consequence. But the king's sister [Salome] was their antagonist, who for a good while had looked about all their affairs, and was apprized that this their friendship was made in order to do Herod some mischief, and was disposed to inform the king of it. And since these people knew that their friendship was very disagreeable to Herod, as tending to do him a mischief, they contrived that their meetings should not be discovered ; so they pretended to hate one another, and to abuse one another when time served, and es-

* This is now wanting.

† Pheroras's wife and her mother, and sister, and Doris, Antipater's mother.

pecially when Herod was present, or when any one was there that would tell him ; but still their intimacy was firmer than ever, when they were private. And this was the course they took ; but they could not conceal from Salome neither their first contrivance, when they set about these their intentions, nor when they had made some progress in them : But she searched out every thing ; and, aggravating the relations to her brother, declared to him, “ As well their secret assemblies and computations, as their counsels taken in a clandestine manner, which, if they were not in order to destroy him, they might well enough have been open and public. But to appearance, they are at variance, and speak about one another as if they intended one another a mischief, but agree so well together when they are out of the sight of the multitude ; for when they are alone by themselves they act in concert, and profess that they will never leave off their friendship, but will fight against those from whom they conceal their designs.” And thus did she search out these things, and get a perfect knowledge of them, and then told her brother of them, who understood also of himself a great deal of what she said, but still durst not depend upon it, because of the suspicions he had of his sister’s calumnies. For there was a certain sect of men that were Jews, who valued themselves highly upon the exact skill they had in the law of their fathers, and made men believe they were highly favoured by God, by whom this set of women were inveigled. These are those that are called the sect of the *Pharisees*, who were in a capacity of greatly opposing kings. A cunning sect they were, and soon elevated to a pitch of open fighting, and doing mischief. Accordingly, when all the people of the Jews gave assurance of their good-will to Cæsar, and to the king’s government, these very men did not swear, being above six thousand ; and when the king imposed a fine upon them. Pheroras’s wife paid their fine for them. In order to requite which kindness of her’s, since they were believed to have the foreknowledge of things to come by divine inspiration, they foretold how God had decreed, that Herod’s government should cease, and his posterity should be deprived of it ; but that the kingdom should come to her and Pheroras, and to their children. These predictions were not concealed from Salome, but were told the king ; as also how they had perverted some persons about the palace itself ; so the king slew such of the *Pharisees* as were principally accused and Bagoas the eunuch, and one Carus, who exceeded all men of that time in comeliness, and one that was his catamite. He slew also all those of his own family who had consented to what the *Pharisees* foretold : And for Bagoas, he had been puffed up by them, as though he should be named the father and the benefactor of him who, by the prediction, was foretold to be their appointed king ; for that this king would have all things in his power, and would enable Bagoas to marry, and to have children of his own body begotten.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the enmity between Herod and Pheroras : How Herod sent Antipater to Cæsar ; and of the Death of Pheroras.

§ I. **W**HEN Herod had punished those Pharisees who had been convicted of the foregoing crimes, he gathered an assembly together of his friends, and accused Pheroras's wife, and ascribing the abuses of the virgins to the impudence of that woman, brought an accusation against her for the dishonour she had brought upon them : That " she had studiously introduced a quarrel between him and his brother, and, by her ill temper, had brought them into a state of war, both by her words and actions ; that the fines which he had laid had not been paid, and the offenders had escaped punishment by her means ; and that nothing which had of late been done had been done without her : For which reason Pheroras would do well, if he would, of his own accord, and by his own command, and not at my entreaty, or as following my opinion, put this his wife away, as one that will still be the occasion of war between thee and me. And now Pheroras, if thou valuest thy relation to me, put this wife of thine away ; for by this means thou wilt continue to be a brother to me, and wilt abide in thy love to me." Then said Pheroras, (although he were pressed hard by the former words,) that " As he would not do so unjust a thing as to renounce his brotherly relation to him, so would he not leave off his affection for his wife : That he would rather choose to die than to live, and be deprived of a wife that was so dear unto him." Hereupon Herod put off his anger against Pheroras on these accounts, although he himself thereby underwent a very uneasy punishment. However, he forbade Antipater and his mother to have any conversation with Pheroras, and bid them to take care to avoid the assemblies of the women : Which they promised to do ; but still got together when occasion served, and both Pheroras and Antipater had their own merry meetings. The report went also, that Antipater had criminal conversation with Pheroras's wife ; and that they were brought together by Antipater's mother.

2. But Antipater had now a suspicion of his father, and was afraid that the effects of his hatred to him might increase : So he wrote to his friends at Rome, and bid them to send to Herod, that he would immediately send Antipater to Cæsar ; which, when it was done, Herod sent Antipater thither, and sent most noble presents along with him ; as also his testament, wherein Antipater was appointed to be his successor : And that if Antipater should die first, [Herod Philip] son by the high-priest's daughter, should succeed. And, together with

Antipater, there went to Rome, Sylleus the Arabian, although he had done nothing of all that Cæsar had enjoined him. Antipater also accused him of the same crimes of which he had been formerly accused by Herod. Sylleus was also accused by Aretas, that without his consent, he had slain many of the chief of the Arabians at Petra; and particularly Soemus, a man that deserved to be honoured by all men, and that he had slain Fabatus, a servant of Cæsar's. These were the things of which Sylleus was accused, and that on the occasion following: There was one Corinthus belonging to Herod, of the guards of the king's body, and one who was greatly trusted by him. Sylleus had persuaded this man with the offer of a great sum of money, to kill Herod; and he had promised to do it. When Fabatus had been acquainted with this, for Sylleus had himself told him of it, he informed the king of it; who caught Corinthus and put him to the torture, and thereby got out of him the whole conspiracy. He also caught two other Arabians, who were discovered by Corinthus; the one the head of a tribe, and the other a friend to Sylleus, who both were by the king brought to the torture, and confessed, that they were come to encourage Corinthus not to fail of doing what he had undertaken to do; and to assist him with their own hands in the murder, if need should require their assistance. So Saturninus, upon Herod's discovering the whole to him, sent them to Rome.

3. At this time, Herod commanded Pheroras, that since he was so obstinate in his affection for his wife, he should retire into his own tetrarchy; which he did very willingly, and swore many oaths that he would not come again, till he heard that Herod was dead. And indeed, when, upon a sickness of the king's, he was desired to come to him before he died, that he might intrust him with some of his injunctions, he had such a regard to his oath, that he would not come to him: Yet did not Herod so retain his hatred to Pheroras, but remitted of his purpose [not to see him,] which he before had, and that for such great causes as have been already mentioned: But as soon as he began to be ill, he came to him, and this without being sent for; and when he was dead, he took care of his funeral, and had his body brought to Jerusalem and buried there, and appointed a solemn mourning for him. This [death of Pheroras] became the origin of Antipater's misfortunes, although he were already tailed for Rome, God now being about to punish him for the murder of his brethren. I will explain the history of this matter very distinctly, that it may be for a warning to mankind, that they take care of conducting their whole lives by the rules of virtue.

C H A P. IV.

Pheroras's Wife is accused by his Freed Men, as guilty of poisoning him; and how Herod, upon Examination of the matter by Torture, found the Poison; but so that it had been prepared for himself by his son Antipater: And, upon an enquiry by Torture, he discovered the dangerous designs of Antipater.

§ 1. **A**S soon as Pheroras was dead, and his funeral was over, two of Pheroras's freed men who were much esteemed by him, came to Herod, and entreated him not to leave the murder of his brother without avenging it, but to examine into such an unreasonable and unhappy death. When he was moved with these words, for they seemed to him to be true, they said, That "Pheroras supped with his wife the day before he fell sick, and that a certain potion was brought him in such a sort of food as he was not used to eat; but that when he had eaten he died of it: That this potion was brought out of Arabia by a woman, under pretence indeed as a love potion, for that was its name, but in reality to kill Pheroras; for that the Arabian women are skilful in making such poisons: And the woman to whom they ascribe this, was confessedly a most intimate friend of one of Sylleus's mistresses; and that both the mother and the sister of Pheroras's wife had been at the places where she lived, and had persuaded her to sell them this potion; and had come back and brought it with them the day before that his supper." Hereupon the king was provoked, and put the women slaves to the torture, and some that were free with them: And as the fact did not yet appear, because none of them would confess it; at length one of them, under her utmost agonies, said no more but this, That "she prayed that God would send the like agonies upon Antipater's mother, who had been the occasion of these miseries to all of them." This prayer induced Herod to increase the women's tortures, till thereby all was discovered: "Their merry meetings, their secret assemblies, and the disclosing of what he had said to his son alone, unto Pheroras's * women." (Now what Herod had charged Antipater to conceal was, the gift of an hundred talents to him not to have any conversation

* His wife, her mother and sister.

It seems to me, by this whole story put together, that Pheroras was not himself poisoned, as is commonly supposed; for Antipater had persuaded him to poison Herod, ch. v. § 1. which would fall to the ground, if he were himself poisoned; nor could the poisoning of Pheroras serve any design that appears now going forward, it was only the supposal of two of his freed men, that this love-potion, or poison, which they knew was brought to Pheroras's wife, was made use of for poisoning him; whereas it appears to have been brought, for her husband to poison Herod withal, as the future examinations demonstrate.

with Pheroras.) “ And what hatred he bore to his father ; and that he complained to his mother how very long his father lived ; and that he was himself almost an old man, insomuch, that if the kingdom should come to him, it would not afford him any great pleasure ; and that there were a great many of his brothers, or brother’s children, bringing up, that might have hopes of the kingdom as well as himself, all which, made his own hopes of it uncertain ; for that even now if he should himself not live, Herod had ordained that the government should be conferred not on his son but rather on a brother. He also had accused the king of great barbarity, and of the slaughter of his sons ; and that it was out of the fear he was under, lest he should do the like to him, that made him contrive this his journey to Rome, and Pheroras contrive to go to his own tetrarchy.”

2. These confessions agreed with what his sister had told him, and tended greatly to corroborate her testimony, and to free her from the suspicion of her unfaithfulness to him. So the king having satisfied himself of the spite which Doris, Antipater’s mother, as well as himself, bore to him, took away from her all her fine ornaments, which were worth many talents ; and then sent her away, and entered into friendship with Pheroras’s women. But he who most of all irritated the king against his son, was one Antipater, the procurator of Antipater the king’s son, who when he was tortured, among other things said, That Antipater had prepared a deadly potion and given it to Pheroras, with his desire that he would give it to his father during his absence, and when he was too remote to have the least suspicion cast upon him thereto relating ; that Antiphilus, one of Antipater’s friends brought that potion out of Egypt ; and that it was sent to Pheroras by Theudion, the brother of the mother of Antipater the king’s son, and by that means came to Pheroras’s wife, her husband having given it her to keep. And when the king asked her about it, she confessed it ; and as she was running to fetch it, she threw herself down from the house top ; yet did she not kill herself because she fell upon her feet : By which means, when the king had comforted her, and had promised her and her domestics pardon, upon condition of their concealing nothing of the truth from him, but had threatened her with the utmost miseries if she proved ungrateful, [and concealed any thing] ; so she promised and swore that she would speak out every thing, and tell after what manner every thing was done ; and said what many took to be entirely true, that “ the potion was brought out of Egypt by Antiphilus ; and that his brother, who was a physician had procured it ; and that when Theudion brought it us, she kept it upon Pheroras’s committing it to her ; and that it was prepared by Antipater for thee. When, therefore, Pheroras was fallen sick, and thou camest to him and took’st care of him, and when he saw the kindness thou hadst for

him, his mind was overborne thereby." So he called me to him, and said to me, "O woman! Antipater hath circumvented me in this affair o' his father and my brother, by persuading me to have a murderous intention to him, and procuring a potion to be subservient thereto: Do thou, therefore, go and fetch my potion, (since my brother appears to have still the same virtuous disposition towards me which he had formerly, and I do not expect to live long myself, and that I may not defile my forefathers by the murder of a brother) and burn it before my face: That accordingly she immediately brought it, and did as her husband bade her; and that she burnt the greatest part of the potion; but that a little of it was left, that if the king, after Pheroras's death, should treat her ill, she might poison herself, and thereby get clear of her miseries." Upon her saying thus, she brought out the potion, and the box in which it was before them all. Nay, there was another brother of Antipater's, and his mother also, who by the extremity of pain and torture, confessed the same things, and owned the box [to be that which had been brought out of Egypt]. The high-priest's daughter also, who was the king's wife, was accused to have been conscious of all this, and had resolved to conceal it; for which reason Herod divorced her, and blotted her son out of his testament, wherein he had been mentioned as one that was to reign after him; and he took the high priesthood away from his father-in-law, Simeon the son of Boethus, and appointed Matthias the son of Theophilus, who was born at Jerusalem, to be high priest in his room.

3 While this was doing, Bathyllus, also Antipater's freedman came from Rome, and, upon the torture, was found to have brought another potion, to give it into the hands of Antipater's mother, and of Pheroras, that if the former potion did not operate upon the king, this at least might carry him off. There came also letters from Herod's friends at Rome, by the approbation and at the suggestion of Antipater to accuse Archelaus and Philip, as if they calumniated their father on account of the slaughter of Alexander and Aristobulus, and as if they commiserated their deaths, and as if, because they were sent for home, (for their father had already recalled them), they concluded they were themselves also to be destroyed. These letters had been procured by great rewards by Antipater's friends; but Antipater himself wrote to his father about them, and laid the heaviest things to their charge; yet did he entirely excuse them of any guilt, and said, they were but young men, and so imputed their words to their youth. But he said, that he had himself been very busy in the affair relating to Sylleus, and in getting interest among the great men; and on that account had bought splendid ornaments to present them withal, which cost him two hundred talents. Now, one may wonder how it came about, that while so many accusations were laid against him in Judea during seven months be-

fore this time, he was not made acquainted with any of them. The causes of which were, that the roads were exactly guarded, and that men hated Antipater; for there were no body who would run any hazard himself, to gain him any advantages.

C H A P. V.

Antipater's Navigation from Rome to his Father; and how he was accused by Nicolaus of Damascus, and condemned to die by his Father, and by Quintilius Varus, who was then President of Syria; and how he was then bound till Cæsar should be informed of his Cause.

§ 1. **N**OW Herod, upon Antipater's writing to him, that having done all that he was to do, and this in the manner he was to do it, he would suddenly come to him, concealed his anger against him, and wrote back to him, and bid him not delay his journey, lest any harm should befall himself in his absence. At the same time also he made some little complaint about his mother, but promised, that he would lay those complaints aside when he should return. He withal expressed his entire affection for him, as fearing lest he should have some suspicion of him, and defer his journey to him; and lest while he lived at Rome he should lay plots for the kingdom, and moreover, do somewhat against himself. This letter Antipater met with in Cilicia; but had received an account of Pheroras's death before at Tarentum. This last news affected him deeply; not out of any affection for Pheroras, but because he was dead without having murdered his father, which he had promised him to do. And when he was at Celenderis in Cilicia, he began to deliberate with himself about his sailing home, as being much grieved with the ejection of his mother. Now some of his friends advised him that he should tarry a while somewhere, in expectation of farther information. But others advised him to sail home without delay; for that if he were once come thither, he would soon put an end to all accusations, and that nothing afforded any weight to his accusers at present but his absence. He was persuaded by these last, and sailed on, and landed at the haven called Sebastus which Herod had built at vast expences in honour of Cæsar, and called Sebastus. And now was Antipater evidently in a miserable condition, while no body came to him nor saluted him, as they did at his going away, with good wishes or joyful acclamations; nor was there now any thing to hinder them from entertaining him, on the contrary, with bitter curses, while they supposed he was come to receive his punishment for the murder of his brethren.

2. Now Quintilius Varus was at this time at Jerusalem, be-

ing sent to succeed Saturninus, as president of Syria, and was come as an assessor to Herod, who had desired his advice in his present affairs ; and as they were sitting together, Antipater came upon them, without knowing any thing of the matter ; so he came into the palace clothed in purple. The porters indeed received him in, but excluded his friends. And now he was in great disorder, and presently understood the condition he was in, while upon his going to salute his father, he was repulsed by him, who called him a murderer of his brethren, and a plotter of destruction against himself, and told him that Varus should be his auditor and his judge the very next day ; so he found, that what misfortune he now heard of was already upon him, with the greatness of which he went away in confusion ; upon which his mother and his wife met him, (which wife was the daughter of Antigonus who was king of the Jews before Herod), from whom he learned all circumstances which concerned him, and then prepared himself for his trial.

3. On the next day Varus and the king sat together in judgment, and both their friends were also called in, as also the king's relations, with his sister Salome, and as many as could discover any thing, and such as had been tortured ; and besides these, some slaves of Antipater's mother, who were taken up a little before Antipater's coming, and brought with them a written letter, the sum of which was this, that " he should not come back because all was come to his father's knowledge ; and that Cæsar was the only refuge he had left to prevent both his and her delivery into his father's hands." Then did Antipater fall down at his father's feet, and besought him " not to prejudge his cause, but that he might be first heard by his father and that his father would keep him still unprejudiced." So Herod ordered him to be brought into the midst, and then " lamented himself about his children, from whom he had suffered such great misfortunes ; and because Antipater fell upon him in his old age. He also reckoned up what maintenance, and what education he had given them ; and what seasonable supplies of wealth he had afforded them, according to their own desires, none of which favours had hindered them from contriving against him, and from bringing his very life into danger, in order to gain his kingdom, after an impious manner, by taking away his life before the course of nature, their father's wishes, or justice, required that that kingdom should come to them ; and that he wondered what hopes could elevate Antipater to such a pass as to be hardy enough to attempt such things ; that he had by his testament in writing declared him his successor in the government ; and while he was alive he was in no respect inferior to him, either in his illustrious dignity, or in power and authority, he having no less than fifty talents for his yearly income, and had received for his journey to Rome no fewer than thirty talents. He

also objected to him the case of his brethren whom he had accused ; and if they were guilty, he had imitated their example ; and if not, he had brought him groundless accusations against his near relations ; for that he had been acquainted with all those things by him, and by no body else, and had done what was done by his approbation, and whom he now absolved from all that was criminal, by becoming the inheritor of the guilt of such their parricide."

4. When Herod had thus spoken, he fell a weeping, and was not able to say any more ; but at his desire Nicolaus of Damascus, being the king's friend, and always conversant with him, and acquainted with whatsoever he did, and with the circumstances of his affairs, proceeded to what remained, and explained all that concerned the demonstrations, and evidences of the facts. Upon which Antipater, in order to make his legal defence, turned himself to his father, and " enlarged upon the many indications he had given of his good will to him ; and instanced in the honours that had been done him, which yet had not been done, had he not deserved them by his virtuous concern about him ; for that he had made provision for every thing that was fit to be foreseen before hand, as to giving him his wisest advice ; and whenever there was occasion for the labours of his own hands, he had not grudged any such pains for him. And that it was almost impossible that he, who had delivered his father from so many treacherous contrivances laid against him, should be himself in a plot against him, and so lose all the reputation he had gained for his virtue, by his wickedness which succeeded it ; and this while he had nothing to prohibit him, who had already appointed his successor, to enjoy the royal honour with his father also at present, and that there was no likelihood that a person who had the one half of that authority without any danger, and with a good character, should hunt after the whole infamy and danger, and this when it was doubtful whether he could obtain it or not ; and when he saw the sad example of his brethren before him, and was both the informer and the accuser against them, at a time when they might not otherwise have been discovered ; nay, was the author of the punishment inflicted on them, when it appeared evidently that they were guilty of a wicked attempt against their father ; and that even the contentions there were in the king's family were indications that he had ever managed affairs out of the sincerest affection to his father. And as to what he had done at Rome, Cæsar was a witness thereto ; who yet was no more to be imposed upon than God himself : Of whose opinions his letters sent hither are sufficient evidence ; and that it was not reasonable to prefer the calumnies of such as proposed to raise disturbances, before those letters ; the greatest part of which calumnies had been raised during his absence, which gave scope to his enemies to forge them, which they had not been able to do if he had been there." Moreover he

shewed the weaknels of the evidence obtained by torture, which was commonly false ; because the distress men are in under such tortures naturally obliges them to say many things in order to please those that govern them. He also offered himself to the torture.

5. Hereupon there was a change observed in the assembly, while they greatly pitied Antipater, who by weeping and putting on a countenance suitable to his sad case, made them commiserate the same ; insomuch that his very enemies were moved to compassion ; and it appeared plainly that Herod himself was affected in his own mind, although he was not willing it should be taken notice of. Then did Nicolaus begin to prosecute what the king had begun, and that with great bitterness ; and summed up all the evidence which arose from the tortures, or from the testimonies. “ He principally and largely cried up the king’s virtues, which he had exhibited in the maintenance and education of his sons ; while he could never gain any advantage thereby, but still fell from one misfortune to another. Although he owned, that he was not so much surpris’d with that thoughtless behaviour of his former sons, who were but young, and were besides corrupted by wicked counsellors, who were the occasions of their wiping out of their minds the righteous dictates of nature, and this out of a desire of coming to the government sooner than they ought to do ; yet that he could not but justly stand amazed at the horrid wickedness of Antipater, who although he had not only had great benefits bestowed on him by his father, enough to tame his reason, yet could not be more tamed than the most envenomed serpents ; whereas even those creatures admit of some mitigation, and will not bite their benefactors, while Antipater hath not let the misfortunes of his brethren be any hindrance to him, but he hath gone on to imitate their barbarity notwithstanding. Yet wast thou, O Antipater, (as thou hast thyself confessed) the informer as to what wicked actions they had done, and the searcher out of the evidence against them, and the author of the punishment they underwent upon their detection. Nor do we say this as accusing thee for being so zealous in thy anger against them, but are astonish’d at thy endeavours to imitate their profligate behaviour ; and we discover thereby, that thou didst not act thus for the safety of thy father, but for the destruction of thy brethren, that by such outside hatred of their impiety, thou mightest be believed a lover of thy father, and mightest thereby get thee power enough to do mischief with the greatest impunity ; which design thy actions indeed demonstrate. It is true, thou tookest thy brethren off because thou didst convict them of their wicked designs : But thou didst not yield up to justice those who were their partners ; and thereby didst make it evident to all men, that thou madest a covenant with them against thy father, when thou chosest to be the accuser of thy brethren, as desirous to gain to thyself alone

this advantage of laying plots to kill thy father, and so to enjoy double pleasure, which is truly worthy of thy evil disposition, which thou hast openly shewed against thy brethren ; on which account thou didst rejoice, as having done a most famous exploit, nor, was that behaviour unworthy of thee. But if thy intention were otherwise thou art worse than they ; while thou didst contrive to hide thy treachery against thy father, thou didst hate them, not as plotters against thy father, for in that case thou hadst not thyself fallen upon the like crime, but as successor of his dominions, and more worthy of that succession than thyself. Thou wouldest kill thy father after thy brethren, lest thy lies raised against them might be detected ; and lest thou shouldest suffer what punishment thou hadst deserved, thou hadst a mind to exact that punishment of thy unhappy father, and didst devise such a sort of uncommon parricide as the world never yet saw. For thou who art his son did not only lay a treacherous design against thy father, and didst it while he loved thee and had been thy benefactor, had made thee in reality his partner in the kingdom, and had openly declared thee his successor, while thou wast not forbidden to taste the sweetness of authority already, and hadst the firm hope of what was future by thy father's determination, and the security of a written testament. But for certain, thou didst not measure these things according to thy father's various disposition, but according to thy own thoughts and inclinations ; and wast desirous to take the part that remained away from thy too indulgent father, and soughtest to destroy him with thy deeds, whom thou in words pretendedst to preserve. Nor wast thou content to be wicked thyself, but thou filledst thy mother's head with thy devices, and raised disturbances among thy brethren, and hadst the boldness to call thy father a wild beast ; while thou hadst thyself a mind more cruel than any serpent, whence thou sendest out that poison among thy nearest kindred and greatest benefactors, and invitedst them to assist thee and guard thee, and didst hedge thyself in on all sides by the artifices of both men and women, against an old man ; as though that mind of thine was not sufficient of itself to support so great an hatred as thou baredest to him. And here thou appearest after the tortures of free men, of domestics, of men and women, which have been examined on thy account, and after the informations of thy fellow conspirators, as making haste to contradict the truth ; and hast thought on ways not only how to take thy father out of the world, but to disannul that written law which is against thee, and the virtue of Varus, and the nature of justice ; nay, such is that impudence of thine on which thou confidest, that thou desirest to be put to the torture thyself, while thou allegest, that the tortures of those already examined thereby have made them tell lies ; that those that have been the deliverers of thy father, may not be allowed to have spoken the truth ; but that thy tortures

may be esteemed the discoverers of truth. Wilt not thou. O Varus deliver the king from the injuries of his kindred? Wilt not thou destroy this wicked wild beast, which hath pretended kindness to his father, in order to destroy his brethren; while yet he is himself alone ready to carry off the kingdom immediately, and appears to be the most bloody butcher to him of them all? For thou art sensible, that parricide is a general injury both to nature and to common life; and that the intention of parricide is not inferior to its preparation; and he who does not punish it, is injurious to nature itself."

6. Nicolaus added farther what belonged to Antipater's mother, and whatsoever she had prattled like a woman; as also about the predictions and the sacrifices relating to the king; and whatsoever Antipater had done lasciviously in his cups and his amours among Pheroras's women; the examination upon torture; and whatsoever concerned the testimonies of the witnesses, which were many, and of various kinds, some prepared before hand, and others were sudden answers, which farther declared and confirmed the foregoing evidence. For those men who were not acquainted with Antipater's practices, but had concealed them out of fear, when they saw that he was exposed to the accusations of their former witnesses, and that his great good fortune, which had supported him hitherto, had now evidently betrayed him into the hands of his enemies, who were now insatiable in their hatred to him, told all they knew of him. And his ruin was now hastened, not so much by the enmity of those that were his accusers, as by his gross, and impudent, and wicked contrivances, and by his ill-will to his father and his brethren; while he had filled their house with disturbance, and caused them to murder one another; and was neither fair in his hatred, nor kind in his friendship, but just so far as served his own turn. Now, there were a great number who for a long time before hand had seen all this, and especially such as were naturally disposed to judge of matters by the rules of virtue, because they were used to determine about affairs without passion, but had been restrained from making any open complaints before; these, upon the leave now given them, produced all that they knew before the public. The demonstrations also of these wicked facts could no way be disproved: Because the many witnesses there were did neither speak out of favour to Herod, nor were they obliged to keep what they had to say silent, out of suspicion of any danger they were in; but they spake what they knew, because they thought such actions very wicked, and that Antipater deserved the greatest punishment; and indeed not so much for Herod's safety, as on account of the man's own wickedness. Many things were also said, that those by a great number of persons, who were no way obliged to say them; insomuch, that Antipater, who used generally to be very shrewd in his lies and impudence, was not able to say one

word to the contrary. When Nicolaus had left off speaking, and had produced the evidence, Varus bid Antipater to betake himself to the making his defence, if he had prepared any thing whereby it might appear that he was not guilty of the crimes he was accused of ; for that, as he was himself desirous, so did he know that his father was in like manner desirous also to have him found entirely innocent. But Antipater fell down on his face, and appealed to God, and to all men, for testimonials of his innocency, desiring that God would declare by some evident signals, that he had not laid any plot against his father. This being the usual method of all men destitute of virtue, that when they set about any wicked undertakings, they fall to work according to their own inclinations, as if they believed that God was unconcerned in human affairs ; but when once they are found out, and are in danger of undergoing the punishment due to their crimes, they endeavour to overthrow all the evidence against them, by appealing to God ; which was the very thing which Antipater now did : For whereas he had done every thing as if there were no God in the world, when he was on all sides distressed by justice, and when he had no other advantage to expect from any legal proofs, by which he might disprove the accusations laid against him, he impudently abused the majesty of God, and ascribed it to his power, that he had been preserved hitherto ; and produced before them all, what difficulties he had ever undergone in his bold acting for his father's preservation.

7. So when Varus, upon asking Antipater what he had to say for himself, found that he had nothing to say besides his appeal to God, and saw that there was no end of that, he bid them bring the potion before the court, that he might see what virtue still remained in it ; and when it was brought, and one that was condemned to die had drank it by Varus's command, he died presently. Then Varus got up, and departed out of the court, and went away the day following to Antioch, where his usual residence was, because that was the palace of the Syrians ; upon which Herod laid his son in bonds. But what were Varus's discourses to Herod, was not known to the generality, and upon what words it was that he went away ; though it was also generally supposed, that whatsoever Herod did afterward about his son, was done with his approbation. But, when Herod had bound his son, he sent letters to Rome to Cæsar about him, and such messengers withal as should, by word of mouth, inform Cæsar of Antipater's wickedness. Now, at this very time there was seized a letter of Antiphilus, written to Antipater out of Egypt (for he lived there ;) and, when it was opened by the king, it was found to contain what follows : " I have sent thee Acme's letter, and hazarded my own life ; for thou knowest that I am in danger from two families, if I be discovered. I wish thee

good success in thy affair." These were the contents of this letter ; but the king made enquiry about the other letter also, for it did not appear, and Antiphilus's slave, who brought that letter which had been read, denied that he had received the other. But while the king was in doubt about it, one of Herod's friends seeing a seam upon the inner coat of the slave, and a doubling of the cloth (for he had two coats on,) he guessed that the letter might be within that doubling, which accordingly proved to be true. So they took out the letter, and its contents were these : " Acme to Antipater. I have written such a letter to thy father as thou desirest me. I have also taken a copy, and sent it, as if it came from Salome to my lady [Livia ;] which, when thou readest, I know that Herod will punish Salome, as plotting against him." Now this pretended letter of Salome's to her lady was composed by Antipater, in the name of Salome, as to its real meaning, but in the words of Acme. The letter was this : " Acme to king Herod. I have done my endeavour that nothing that is done against thee should be concealed from thee. So, upon my finding a letter of Salome written to my lady against thee, I have written out a copy, and sent it thee ; with hazard to myself, but for thy advantage. The reason why she wrote it was this, that she had a mind to be married to Syllus. Do thou therefore tear this letter in pieces, that I may not come into danger of my life." Now Acme had written to Antipater himself, and informed him that, in compliance with his command, she had both herself written to Herod as if Salome had laid a sudden plot entirely against him, and had herself sent a copy of an epistle, as coming from Salome to her lady. Now Acme was a Jew by birth, and a servant to Julia, Cæsar's wife ; and did this out of her friendship for Antipater, as having been corrupted by him with a large present of money, to assist in his pernicious designs against his father and his aunt.

8. Hereupon Herod was so amazed at the prodigious wickedness of Antipater, that he was ready to have ordered him to be slain immediately, as a turbulent person in the most important concerns, and as one that had laid a plot not only against himself, but against his sister also, and even corrupted Cæsar's own domestics. Salome also provoked him to it, beating her breast, and bidding him kill her, if he could produce any credible testimony that she had acted in that manner. Herod also sent for his son, and asked him about this matter, and bid him contradict it if he could, and not suppress any thing he had to say for himself ; and, when he had not one word to say, he asked him, since he was every way caught in his villany, that he would make no farther delay, but discover his associates in these his wicked designs. So he laid all upon Antiphilus ; but discovered nobody else. Hereupon Herod was in such great grief, that he was ready to send his son to Rome to Cæsar, there to give an account of these his wicked contriv-

ances. But he soon became afraid, lest he might there, by the assistance of his friends, escape the danger he was in: So he kept him bound as before, and sent more ambassadors and letters [to Rome] to accuse his son, and an account of what assistance Acme had given him in his wicked designs, with copies of the epistles before mentioned.

C H A P. VI.

Concerning the Disease that Herod fell into, and the Sedition which the Jews raised thereupon; with the Punishment of the Seditious.

§ 1. **N**OW Herod's ambassadors made haste to Rome; but went as instructed before hand what answers they were to make to the questions put to them. They also carried the epistles with them. But Herod now fell into a distemper, and made his will, and bequeathed his kingdom to [Antipas] his youngest son; and this out of that hatred to Archelaus and Philip, which the calumnies of Antipater had raised against them. He also bequeathed a thousand talents to Cæsar, and five hundred to Julia, Cæsar's wife, to Cæsar's children, and friends and freed men. He also distributed among his sons and their sons his money, his revenues and his lands. He also made Salome his sister very rich, because she had continued faithful to him in all his circumstances, and was never so rash as to do him any harm: And as he despaired of recovering, for he was about the seventieth year of his age, he grew fierce, and indulged the bitterest anger upon all occasions; the cause whereof was this, that he thought himself despised, and that the nation was pleased with his misfortunes; besides which, he resented a sedition which some of the lower sort of men excited against him, the occasion of which was as follows.

2. There was one Judas, the son of Saripheus, and Matthias, the son of Margalothus, two of the most eloquent men among the Jews, and the most celebrated interpreters of the Jewish laws, and men well beloved by the people, because of their education of their youth; for all those that were studious of virtue, frequented their lectures every day. These men, when they found that the king's distemper was incurable, excited the young men that they would pull down all those works which the king had erected contrary to the law of their fathers, and thereby obtain the rewards which the law will confer on them for such actions of piety; for that it was truly on account of Herod's rashness in making such things as the law had forbidden that his other misfortunes, and this distemper also, which was so unusual among mankind, and with which he was now afflicted, came upon him: For Herod had caused such things to be made, which were contrary

to the law, of which he was accused by Judas and Matthias; for the king had erected over the great gate of the temple a large golden eagle, of great value, and had dedicated it to the temple. Now the law forbids those that propose to live according to it, to erect images * or representations of any living creature. So these wise men persuaded [their scholars] to pull down the golden eagle; alledging, That "although they should incur any danger, which might bring them to their deaths, the virtue of the action now proposed to them, would appear much more advantageous to them than the pleasures of life; since they would die for the preservation and observation of the law of their fathers; since they would also acquire an everlasting fame and commendation; since they would be both commended by the present generation, and leave an example of life that would never be forgotten to posterity; since that common calamity of dying cannot be avoided by our living so as to escape any such dangers; that therefore it is a right thing for those who are in love with a virtuous conduct, to wait for that fatal hour by such a behaviour as may carry them out of the world with praise and honour; and that this will alleviate death to a great degree, thus to come at it by the performance of brave actions, which bring us into danger of it; and at the same time, to leave that reputation behind them to their children, and to all their relations, whether they be men or women, which will be of great advantage to them afterward."

3. And with such discourses as this did these men excite the young men to this action; and a report being come to them that the king was dead, this was an addition to the wise men's persuasions; so, in the very middle of the day, they got upon the place, they pulled down the eagle, and cut it into pieces with axes while a great number of the people were in the temple. And now the king's captain, upon hearing what the undertaking was, and supposing it was a thing of a higher nature than it proved to be, came up thither, having a great band of soldiers with him, such as was sufficient to put a stop to the multitude of those who pulled down what was dedicated to God: So he fell upon them unexpectedly, and as they were upon this bold attempt, in a foolish presumption rather than a cautious circumspection, as is usual with the multitude, and while they were in disorder, and incautious of what was for their advantage; so he caught no fewer than forty of the young men, who had the courage to stay behind when the rest ran away, together with the authors of this bold attempt, Judas and Matthias, who thought it an ignominious thing to retire upon his approach, and led them to the king. And when they were come to the king, and he had asked

* That the making of images, without an intention to worship them, was not unlawful to the Jews, see the note on Antiq. B. VIII. ch. vii. § 5. Vol. I.

them if they had been so bold as to pull down what he had dedicated to God? "Yes (said they), what was contrived, we contrived, and what had been performed, we performed it, and that with such a virtuous courage as becomes men; for we have given our assistance to those things which were dedicated to the majesty of God, and we have provided for what we have learned by hearing the law; and it ought not to be wondered at, if we esteem those laws which Moses had suggested to him, and were taught him by God, and which he wrote and left behind him, more worthy of observation than they commands. Accordingly we will undergo death, and all sorts of punishment which thou canst inflict upon us, with pleasure, since we are conscious to ourselves that we shall die, not for any unrighteous actions, but for our love to religion." And thus they all said, and their courage was still equal to their profession, and equal to that with which they readily set about this undertaking. And when the king had ordered them to be bound, he sent them to Jericho, and called together the principal men among the Jews; and when they were come, he made them assemble in the theatre, and because he could not himself stand, he lay upon a couch, and "enumerated the many labours that he had long endured on their account, and his building of the temple and what a vast charge that was to him; while the Asamoneans, during the hundred twenty-five years of their government, had not been able to perform any so great a work for the honour of God as that was: That he had also adorned it with very valuable donations; on which account he hoped that he had left himself a memorial and procured himself a reputation after his death. He then cried out, that these men had not abstained from affronting him, even in his life-time, but that in the very day-time, and in the sight of the multitude, they had abused him to that degree, as to fall upon what he had dedicated, and in that way of abuse, had pulled it down to the ground. They pretended, indeed, that they did it to affront him; but if any one, considering the thing truly, they will find that they were guilty of sacrilege against God therein."

4. But the people, on account of Herod's barbarous temper, and for fear he should be so cruel as to inflict punishment on them, said, "What was done, was done without their approbation, and that it seemed to them that the actors might well be punished for what they had done." But as for Herod, he dealt more mildly with others [of the assembly]; but he deprived Matthias of the high-priesthood, as in part an occasion of this action, and made Joazar, who was Matthias's wife's brother, high-priest in his stead. Now it happened that during the time of the high-priesthood of this Matthias, there was another person made high-priest for a single day, that very day which the Jews observed as a fast. The occasion was this: Matthias the high-priest, on the night before that day, when

the fast was to be celebrated, seemed, in a dream *, to have conversation with his wife ; and because he could not officiate himself on that account, Joseph, the son of Ellemus, his kinsman, assisted him in that sacred office. But Herod deprived this Matthias of the high-priesthood, and burnt the other Matthias, who had raised the sedition with his companions, alive. And that very night there was an eclipse of the moon †.

5. But now Herod's distemper greatly increased upon him after a severe manner, and this by God's judgment upon him for his sins ; for a fire glowed in him slowly, which did not so much appear to the touch outwardly, as it augmented his pains inwardly ; for it brought upon him a vehement appetite to eating, which he could not avoid to supply with one sort of food or other. His entrails were also exulcerated, and the chief violence of his pain lay on his colon ; an aqueous and transparent liquor also had settled itself about his feet, and a like matter afflicted him at the bottom of his belly. Nay, farther, his privy-member was putrified, and produced worms ; and when he sat upright, he had a difficulty of breathing, which was very loathsome, on account of the stench of his breath, and the quickness of its returns : He had also convulsions in all parts of his body, which increased his strength to an unsufferable degree. It was said by those who pretended to divine, and who were endued with wisdom to foretel such things, that God inflicted this punishment on the king, on account of his great impiety ; yet was he still in hopes of recovering, though his afflictions seemed greater than any one could bear. He also sent for physicians, and did not refuse to follow what they prescribed for his assistance, and went beyond the river Jordan, and bathed himself in the warm baths that were at Callirrhoe, which, besides their other general virtues, were also fit to drink ; which water runs into the lake called *Asphaltitis*. And when the physicians once thought fit to have him bathed in a vessel full of oil, it was supposed that he was just dying ;

* This fact, that one Joseph was made high-priest for a single day, on occasion of the action here specified, that beset Matthias, the real high-priest, in his sleep, the night before the great day of expiation, is attested to both in the Mishna and Talmud, as Dr. Hudson here informs us. And indeed, from this fact, this fully attested, we may confute that pretended rule in the Talmud here mentioned, and endeavoured to be excuted by Reland, that the high-priest was not suffered to sleep the night before that great day of expiation ; which watching would surely rather unfit him for the many important duties he was to perform on that solemn day, than dispose him duly to perform them. Nor do such Talmudical rules, when unsupported by better evidence, much less, when contradicted thereby, seem to me of weight enough to deserve that so great a man as Reland should spend his time in endeavours at their vindication.

† This eclipse of the moon (which is the only eclipse of either of the luminaries mentioned by our Josephus in any of his writings,) is of the greatest consequence for the determination of the time for the death of Herod and Antipater, and for the birth and entire chronology of Jesus Christ. It happened March 13th, in the year of the Julian period 4710, and the 4th year before the Christian æra. See its calculation by the rules of astronomy, at the end of the Astronological Lectures, edit. Lat. page 451, 452.

but, upon the lamentable cries of his domestics, he revived ; and having no longer the least hopes of recovering, he gave order that every soldier should be paid fifty drachmæ ; and he also gave a great deal to their commanders and to his friends, and came again to Jericho, where he grew so cholerick, that it brought him to do all things like a madman ; and though he were near his death, he contrived the following wicked designs. He commanded that all the principal men of the entire Jewish nation, wheresoever they lived, should be called to him. Accordingly, they were a great number that came, because the whole nation was called, and all men heard of this call, and death was the penalty of such as should despise the epistles that were sent to call them. And now the king was in a wild rage against them all, the innocent as well as those that had afforded ground for accusations ; and when they were come, he ordered them to be all shut up in the hippodrome * and sent for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexis, and spake thus to them : “ I shall die in a little time, so great are my pains, which death ought to be cheerfully borne, and to be welcomed by all men ; but what principally troubles me is this, that I shall die without being lamented ; and without such mourning as men usually expect at a king’s death. For that he was not unacquainted with the temper of the Jews, that his death would be a thing very desirable and exceedingly acceptable to them ; because during his lifetime they were ready to revolt from him, and to abuse the donations he had dedicated to God : That it therefore was their business to resolve to afford him some alleviation of his great sorrows on this occasion ; for that, if they do not refuse him their consent in what he desires, he shall have a great mourning at his funeral, and such as never any king had before him ; for then the whole nation would mourn from their very soul, which otherwise would be done in sport and mockery only. He desired therefore that as soon as they see he hath given up the ghost, they shall place soldiers round the hippodrome, while they do not know that he is dead ; and that they shall not declare his death to the multitude till this is done, but that they shall give orders to have those that are in custody shot with their darts ; and that this slaughter of them all will cause that he shall not miss to rejoice on a double account. That as he is dying, they will make him secure that his will shall be executed in what he charges them to do ; and that he shall have the honour of a memorable mourning at his funeral. So he deplored his condition, with tears in his eyes, and obtested them by the kindness due from them, as of his kindred, and by the faith they owed to God, and begged of them that they would not hinder him of this honourable mourning at his funeral.” So they promised him not to transgress his commands.

* A place for the horse-races.

6. Now any one may easily discover the temper of this man's mind, which not only took pleasure in doing what he had done formerly against his relations, out of the love of life, but by those commands of his which favoured of no humanity : Since he took care, when he was departing out of this life, that the whole nation should be put into mourning, and indeed made desolate of their dearest kindred, when he gave order that one out of every family should be slain, although they had done nothing that was unjust, or that was against him, nor were they accused of any other crimes ; while it is usual for those who have any regard to virtue, to lay aside their hatred at such a time, even with respect to those they justly esteemed their enemies.

C H A P. VII.

Herod has thoughts of Killing himself with his own hand ; and a little afterwards he orders Antipater to be slain.

§. I. **A**S he was giving these commands to his relations ; there came letters from his ambassadors, who had been sent to Rome unto Cæsar, which when they were read, their purport was this : That " Acme was slain by Cæsar, out of his indignation at what hand he had in Antipater's wicked practices ; and that as to Antipater himself, Cæsar left it to Herod to act as became a father and a king, and either to banish him, or take away his life, which he pleased." When Herod heard this, he was somewhat better, out of the pleasure he had from the contents of the letters, and was elevated at the death of Acme, and at the power that was given him over his son ; but as his pains were become very great, he was now ready to faint for want of somewhat to eat ; so he called for an apple, and a knife ; for it was his custom formerly to pare the apple himself, and soon afterwards to cut it, and eat it. When he had got the knife, he looked about, and had a mind to stab himself with it ; and he had done it, had not his first cousin Achiabus prevented him, and held his hand, and cried out loudly. Whereupon a woful lamentation echoed through the palace, and a great tumult was made, as if the king were dead. Upon which Antipater, who verily believed his father was deceased, grew bold in his discourse, as hoping to be immediately and entirely released from his bonds, and to take the kingdom into his hands, without any more ado ; so he discoursed with the jailor about letting him go, and in that case promised him great things, both now and hereafter, as if that were the only thing now in question. But the jailor did not only refuse to do what Antipater would have him, but informed the king of his intentions, and how many solicitations he had had from him [of that nature]. Hereupon Herod,

who had formerly no affection nor good will towards his son to restrain him, when he heard what the jailor said, he cried out, and beat his head, although he was at death's door, and raised himself upon his elbow, and sent for some of his guards, and commanded them to kill Antipater without any farther delay, and to do it presently, and to bury him in an ignoble manner at Hyreania.

C H A P. VIII.

Concerning Herod's Death, and Testament, and Burial.

§ 1. **A**ND now Herod altered his testament upon the alteration of his mind; for he appointed Antipas, to whom he had before left the kingdom, to be tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, and granted the kingdom to Archelaus. He also gave Gaulonitis, and Trachonitis, and Paneas to Philip, who was his son, but own brother * to Archelaus, by the name of tetrarchy; and bequeathed Jamnia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis, to Salome his sister, with five hundred thousand [drachmæ] of silver that was coined. He also made provision for all the rest of his kindred, by giving them sums of money and annual revenues, and so left them all in a wealthy condition. He bequeathed also to Cæsar ten millions [of drachmæ] of coined money, besides both vessels of gold and silver, and garments exceeding costly, to Julia, Cæsar's wife; and to certain others, five millions. When he had done these things, he died, the fifth day after he had caused Antipater to be slain; having reigned, since he had procured Antigonus † to be slain, thirty-four years; but since he had been declared king by the Romans, thirty-seven. A man he was of great barbarity towards all men equally, and a slave to his passion; but above the consideration of what was right: Yet was he favoured by fortune as much as any man ever was, for, from a private man he became a king; and though he were encompassed with ten thousand dangers, he got clear of them all, and continued his life till a very old age. But then, as to the affairs of his family

* When it is here said that Philip the tetrarch, and Archelaus the king, or eth-rarch, were ἀδελφοὶ γυναισι, or *genuine brothers*, if those words mean *own brothers*, or born of the same father and mother, there must be here some mistake; because they had indeed the same father, Herod, but different mothers; the former Cleopatra, and Archelaus Malthace. They were indeed brought up altogether privately at Rome like own brothers; and Philip was Archelaus's deputy when he went to have his kingdom confirmed to him at Rome; ch. ix. § 3. and *Of the War*, B. II. ch. ii. § 1. Vol. III. which intimacy is perhaps all that Josephus intended by the words before us.

† These numbers of years for Herod's reign, 34 and 37, are the very same with those of the *War*, B. I. ch. xxxiii. § 8. Vol. III. and are among the principal chronological characters belonging to the reign or death of Herod. See *Harm. of the Evang.* page 150—155.

and children in which indeed, according to his own opinion, he was also very fortunate, because he was able to conquer his enemies, yet, in my opinion, he was herein very unfortunate.

2. But when Salome and Alexis, before the king's death was made known, dismissed those that were shut up in the hippodrome, and told them that the king ordered them to go away to their own lands, and take care of their own affairs, which was esteemed by the nation a great benefit. And now the king's death was made public, when Salome and Alexis gathered the soldiery together in the amphitheatre at Jericho; and the first thing they did was, they read Herod's letter, written to the soldiery, thanking them for their fidelity and good will to him, and exhorting them to afford his son Archelaus, whom he had appointed for their king, like fidelity and good will. After which Ptolemy, who had the king's seal entrusted to him, read the king's testament, which was to be of force no otherwise than as it should stand when Cæsar had inspected it: So there was presently an acclamation made to Archelaus, as king, and the soldiers came by bands, and their commanders with them, and promised the same good will to him, and readiness to serve him, which they had exhibited to Herod; and they prayed God to be assistant to him.

3. After this was over, they prepared for his funeral, it being Archelaus's care that the procession to his father's sepulchre should be very sumptuous. Accordingly he brought out all his ornaments to adorn the pomp of the funeral. The body was carried upon a golden bier, embroidered with very precious stones of great variety, and it was covered over with purple, as well as the body itself: He had a diadem upon his head, and above it a crown of gold; he also had a sceptre in his right hand. About the bier were his sons and his numerous relations; next to these was the soldiery, distinguished according to their several countries and denominations; and they were put into the following order: First of all went his guards; then the band of Thracians; and after them the Germans; and next the band of Galatians, every one in their habiliments of war; and behind these marched the whole army in the same manner as they used to go out to war, and as they used to be put in array by their muster-masters and centurions; these were followed by five hundred of his domestics, carrying spices. So they went eight furlongs*, to Herodium; for there, by his own command, he was to be buried. And thus did Herod end his life.

4. Now Archelaus paid him so much respect, as to continue his mourning till the seventh day; for so many days are ap-

* At eight *stadia* or furlongs a-day, as here, Herod's funeral, conducted to Herodium (which lay at the distance from Jericho, where he died, of 200 *stadia* or furlongs; Of the War, B. I. ch. xxxiii. § 9. Vol. III), must have taken up no less than twenty-five days.

pointed for it by the law of our fathers. And when he had given a treat to the multitude, and left off his mourning, he went up into the temple ; he had also acclamations and praises given him, which way soever he went, every one striving with the rest who should appear to use the loudest acclamations. So he ascended an high elevation made for him, and took his seat in a throne made of gold, and spake kindly to the multitude, and declared, " with what joy he received their acclamations, and the marks of the good will they shewed to him ; and returned them thanks that they did not remember the injuries his father had done them, to his disadvantage ; and promised them he would endeavour not to be behind hand with them in rewarding their alacrity in his service, after a suitable manner ; but that he should abstain at present from the name of king, and that he should have the honour of that dignity, if Cæsar should confirm and settle that testament which his father had made ; and that it was on this account, that when the army would have put the diadem on him at Jericho, he would not accept of that honour, which is usually so much desired, because it was not yet evident that he who has to be principally concerned in bestowing it, would give it him ; although, by his acceptance of the government, he should not want the ability of rewarding their kindness to him ; and that it should be his endeavour, as to all things wherein they were concerned, to prove, in every respect, better than his father." Whereupon the multitude, as it is usual with them, supposed that the first days of those that enter upon such governments, declare the intentions of those that accept them ; and so by how much Archelaus spake the more gently and civilly to them, by so much did they more highly commend him, and made application to him for the grant of what they desired. Some made a clamour that he would ease them of some of their annual payments ; but others desired him to release those that were put into prison by Herod, who were many, and had been put there at several times ; others of them required that he would take away those taxes which had been severely laid upon what was publicly sold and bought. So Archelaus contradicted them in nothing, since he pretended to do all things so as to get the good will of the multitude to him, as looking upon that good will to be a great step towards his preservation of the government. Hereupon he went and offered sacrifice to God, and then betook himself to feast with his friends.

C H A P. IX.

How the People raised a Sedition against Archelaus, and how he Sailed to Rome.

§ 1. **A**T this time also it was, that some of the Jews got together, out of a desire of innovation. They lamented Matthias, and those that were slain with him by Herod, who had not any respect paid them by a funeral mourning, out of the fear men were in of that man; they were those who had been condemned for pulling down the golden eagle. The people made a great clamour and lamentation hereupon, and cast out some reproaches against the king also, as if that tended to alleviate the miseries of the deceased. These people assembled together, and desired of Archelaus, that, in way of revenge on their account, he would inflict punishment on those who had been honoured by Herod; and that, in the first and principal place, he would deprive that high-priest whom Herod had made, and would choose one more agreeable to the law, and of greater purity, to officiate as high-priest. This was granted by Archelaus, although he was mightily offended at their importunity, because he proposed to himself to go to Rome immediately, to look after Cæsar's determination about him. However, he sent the general of his forces to use persuasions, and to tell them that the death which was inflicted on their friends, was according to the law; and to represent to them, that their petitions about these things were carried to a great height of injury to him; that the time was not now proper for such petitions. but required their unanimity until such time as he should be established in the government by the consent of Cæsar, and should then be come back to them; for that he would then consult with them in common concerning the purport of their petitions, but that they ought at present to be quiet, lest they should seem seditious persons.

2. So when the king had suggested these things, and instructed his general in what he was to say, he sent him away to the people; but they made a clamour, and would not give him leave to speak, and put him in danger of his life, and as many more as were desirous to venture upon saying openly any thing which might reduce them to a sober mind, and prevent their going on in their present courses; because they had more concern to have all their own wills performed, than to yield obedience to their governors; thinking it to be a thing insufferable, that, while Herod was alive, they should lose those that were the most dear to them, and that when he was dead, they could not get the actors to be punished. So they went on with their designs after a violent manner, and

thought all to be lawful and right which tended to please them, and being unskilful in foreseeing what dangers they incurred; and when they had suspicion of such a thing, yet did the present pleasure they took in the punishment of those they deemed their enemies, overweigh all such considerations; and although Archelaus sent many to speak to them, yet they treated them not as messengers sent by him, but as persons that came of their own accord to mitigate their anger, and would not let one of them speak. The sedition also was made by such as were in a great passion; and it was evident that they were proceeding farther in seditious practices, by the multitude's running so fast upon them.

3. Now upon the approach of that feast of unleavened bread, which the law of their fathers had appointed for the Jews at this time, which feast is called the Passover,* and is a memorial of their deliverance out of Egypt (when they offer sacrifices with great alacrity, and when they are required to slay more sacrifices in number than at any other festival; and when an innumerable multitude came thither out of the country, nay from beyond its limits also, in order to worship God;) the seditious lamented Judas and Matthias, those teachers of the laws, and kept together in the temple, and had plenty of food, because these seditious persons were not ashamed to beg it. And as Archelaus was afraid lest some terrible thing should spring up by means of these men's madness, he sent a regiment of armed men, and with them a captain of a thousand, to suppress the violent efforts of the seditious, before the whole multitude should be infected with the like madness; and gave them this charge, that if they found any much more openly seditious than others, and more busy in tumultuous practices, they should bring them to him. But those that were seditious on account of those teachers of the law, imitated the people by the noise and clamours they used to encourage the people in their designs; so they made an assault upon the soldiers, and came up to them, and stoned the greatest part of them, although some of them ran away wounded, and their captain among them; and when they had thus done, they returned to the sacrifices which were already in their hands. Now Archelaus thought there was no way to preserve the entire government, but by cutting off those who made this attempt upon it; so he sent out the whole army upon them, and sent the horsemen to prevent those that had their tents without the temple, from assisting those that were within the temple, and to kill such as ran away from the footmen, when they thought themselves out of danger, which horsemen slew three thousand men, while the rest went to the neighbouring mountains. Then did Archelaus order proclamation to be made to them all, that they

* This passover, when the sedition here mentioned was moved against Archelaus, was not one, but thirteen months after the eclipse of the moon already mentioned.

should retire to their own homes ; so they went away, and left the festival out of fear of somewhat worse which would follow, although they had been so bold by reason of their want of instruction. So Archelaus went down to the sea with his mother, and took with him Nicolaus and Ptolemy, and many others of his friends, and left Philip his brother as Governor of all things belonging both to his own family and to the public. There went out also with him Salome, Herod's sister, who took with her her children, and many of her kindred were with her ; which kindred of hers went, as they pretended, to assist Archelaus in gaining the kingdom, but in reality to oppose him, and chiefly to make loud complaints of what he had done in the temple. But Sabinus, Cæsar's steward for Syrian affairs, as he was making haste into Judea, to preserve Herod's effects met with Archelaus at Cæsarea ; but Varus (president of Syria) came at that time, and restrained him from meddling with them. for he was there as sent for by Archelaus, by the means of Ptolemy. And Sabinus, out of regard to Varus, did neither seize upon any of the castles that were among the Jews, nor did he seal up the treasures in them, but permitted Archelaus to have them, until Cæsar should declare his resolution about them ; so that, upon this his promise, he tarried still at Cæsarea. But after Archelaus was sailed for Rome, and Varus was removed to Antioch, Sabinus went to Jerusalem, and seized on the king's palace. He also sent for the keepers of the garrisons, and for all those that had the charge of Herod's effects, and declared publicly, that he should require them to give an account of what they had ; and he disposed of the castles in the manner he pleased ; but those who kept them did not neglect what Archelaus had given them in command, but continued to keep all things in the manner that had been enjoined them ; and their pretence was, that they kept them all for Cæsar.

4. At the same time also did Antipas, another of Herod's sons, sail to Rome, in order to gain the government ; being buoyed up by Salome with promises, that he should take that government ; and that he was a much honest and fitter man than Archelaus, for that authority ; since Herod had, in his former testament, deemed him the worthiest to be made king, which ought to be esteemed more valid than his latter testament. Antipas also brought with him his mother, and Ptolemy the brother of Nicolaus, one that had been Herod's most honoured friend, and was now zealous for Antipas : But it was Ireneus the orator, and one who, on account of his reputation for sagacity, was entrusted with the affairs of the kingdom, who most of all encouraged him to attempt to gain the kingdom ; by whose means it was, that when some advised him to yield to Archelaus, as to his elder brother, and who had been declared king by their father's last will, he would not submit so to do. And when he was come to Rome, all

his relations revolted to him ; not out of their good will to him, but out of their hatred to Archelaus ; though indeed they were most of all desirous of gaining their liberty, and to be put under a Roman governor ; but, if there were too great an opposition made to that, they thought Antipas preferable to Archelaus, and so joined with him, in order to procure the kingdom for him. Sabinus also by letters, accused Archelaus to Cæsar.

5. Now when Archelaus had sent in his papers to Cæsar, wherein he pleaded his right to the kingdom, and his father's testament, with the accounts of Herod's money, and with Ptolemy, who brought Herod's seal, he so expected the event ; but when Cæsar had read these papers, and Varus's and Sabinus's letters, with the accounts of the money, and what were the annual incomes of the kingdom, and understood that Antipas had also sent letters to lay claim to the kingdom, he summoned his friends together, to know their opinions, and with them Caius, the son of Agrippa, and of Julia his daughter, whom he had adopted, and took him, and made him sit first of all, and desired such as pleased to speak their minds about the affairs now before them. Now Antipater, Salome's son, a very subtle orator, and a bitter enemy to Archelaus, spake first to this purpose : That " it was ridiculous in Archelaus to plead now, to have the kingdom given him, since he had, in reality, taken already the power over it to himself before Cæsar had granted it to him ; and appealed to those bold actions of his, in destroying so many at the Jewish festival ; and, if the men had acted unjustly, it was but fit the punishing them should have been reserved to those that were out of the country, but had the power to punish them, and not been executed by a man, that if he pretended to be a king, he did an injury to Cæsar, by usurping that authority before it was determined for him by Cæsar ; but, if he owned himself to be a private person, his case was much worse, since he who was putting in for the kingdom, could by no means expect to have that power granted him, of which he had already deprived Cæsar [by taking it to himself.] He also touched sharply upon him, and appealed to his changing the commanders in the army, and his sitting in the royal throne beforehand, and his determination of law suits ; all done as if he were no other than a king. He appealed also to his concessions to those that petitioned him on a publick account, and indeed doing such things, than which he could devise no greater if he had been already settled in the kingdom by Cæsar. He also ascribed to him the releasing of the prisoners that were in the hippodrome, and many other things, that either had been certainly done by him, or were believed to be done, and easily might be believed to have been done, because they were of such a nature as to be usually done by young men, and by such as out of a desire of ruling, seize

upon the government too soon. He also charged him with his neglect of the funeral mourning for his father, and with having merry meetings the very night in which he died ; and that it was thence the multitude took the handle of raising a tumult ; and if Archelaus could thus requite his dead father, who had bestowed such benefits upon him, and bequeathed such great things to him, by pretending to shed tears for him in the day time, like an actor on the stage, but every night making mirth for having gotten the government, he would appear to be the same Archelaus with regard to Cæsar, if he granted him the kingdom, which he hath been to his father ; since he had then dancing and singing, as though an enemy of his were fallen, and not as though a man were carried to his funeral, that was so nearly related, and had been so great a benefactor to him. But he said that the greatest crime of all was this, that he came now before Cæsar to obtain the kingdom by his grant, while he had before acted in all things as he could have acted if Cæsar himself, who ruled all, had fixed him firmly in the government. And what he most aggravated in his pleading, was the slaughter of those about the temple, and the impiety of it, as done at the festival ; and how they were slain like sacrifices themselves, some of whom were foreigners, and others of their own country, till the temple was full of dead bodies : And all this was done, not by an alien, but by one who pretended to the lawful title of a king, that he might complete the wicked tyranny which his nature prompted him to, and which is hated by all men. On which account his father never so much as dreamed of making him his successor in the kingdom, when he was of so sound a mind, because he knew his disposition ; and, in his former and more authentic testament, he appointed his antagonist Antipas to succeed ; but that Archelaus was called by his father to that dignity, when he was in a dying condition, both of body and mind, while Antipas was called when he was ripest in his judgment, and of such strength of body as made him capable of managing his own affairs : And if his father had the like notion of him formerly that he hath now shewed, yet hath he given a sufficient specimen what a king he is likely to be, when he hath [in effect] deprived Cæsar of that power of disposing of the kingdom, which he justly hath, and hath not abstained from making a terrible slaughter of his fellow citizens in the temple, while he was but a private person."

6. So when Antipater had made this speech, and had confirmed what he had said by producing many witnesses from among Archelaus's own relations, he made an end of his pleading. Upon which Nicolaus arose up to plead for Archelaus, and said, " That what had been done at the temple was rather to be attributed to the mind of those that had been killed, than to the authority of Archelaus ; for that those, who were the authors of such things are not only wicked in the injuries they

do of themselves, but in forcing sober persons to avenge themselves upon them. Now it is evident, that what these did in way of opposition was done under pretence indeed against Archelaus, but in reality against Cæsar himself, for they after an injurious manner, attacked and slew those who were sent by Archelaus, and who came only to put a stop to their doings. They had no regard, either to God or to the festival, whom Antipater yet is not ashamed to patronize, whether it be out of his indulgence of an enmity to Archelaus, or out of his hatred of virtue and justice. For as to those who begin such tumults, and first set about such unrighteous actions, they are the men who force those that punish them to betake themselves to arms even against their will. So that Antipater in effect ascribes the rest of what was done to all those who were of counsel to the accusers, for nothing which is here accused of injustice has been done but what was derived from them as its authors; nor are those things evil in themselves, but so represented only in order to do harm to Archelaus. Such is these mens inclinations to do an injury to a man that is of their kindred, their father's benefactor, and familiarly acquainted with them, and that hath ever lived in friendship with them; for that, as to this testament, it was made by the king when he was of a sound mind, and so ought to be of more authority than his former testament; and that for this reason, because Cæsar is therein left to be the judge and disposer of all therein contained; and for Cæsar he will not, to be sure, at all imitate the unjust proceedings of those men, who, during Herod's whole life, had on all occasions been joint partakers of power with him, and yet do zealously endeavour to injure his determination, while they have not themselves had the same regard to their kinsmen, [which Archelaus had,] Cæsar will not therefore disannul the testament of a man whom he had entirely supported, of his friend and confederate, and that which is committed to him in trust to ratify: Nor will Cæsar's virtuous and upright disposition, which are known and uncontested through all the habitable world, imitate the wickedness of these men in condemning a king as a madman, and as having lost his reason, while he hath bequeathed the succession to a good son of his, and to one who flies to Cæsar's upright determination for refuge. Nor can Herod at any time have been mistaken in his judgment about a successor, while he shewed so much prudence as to submit all to Cæsar's determination."

7. Now when Nicolaus had laid these things before Cæsar, he ended his plea; whereupon Cæsar was so obliging to Archelaus, that he raised him up when he had cast himself down at his feet, and said, that "he well deserved the kingdom;" and he soon let them know, that he was so far moved in his favour, that he would not act otherwise than his father's testament directed and than was for the advantage of Archelaus. However, while he gave this encouragement to Archelaus to

depend on him securely, he made no full determination about him ; and, when the assembly was broken up, he considered by himself, whether he should confirm the kingdom to Archelaus, or whether he should part it among all Herod's posterity ; and this because they all stood in need of much assistance to support them.

C H A P. X.

A Sedition of the Jews against Sabinus ; and how Varus brought the Authors of it to Punishment.

1. **B**UT before these things could be brought to a settlement, Malthace, Archelaus's mother, fell into a distemper, and died of it ; and letters came from Varus, the president of Syria, which informed Cæsar of the revolt of the Jews ; for, after Archelaus was sailed, the whole nation was in a tumult. So Varus, since he was there himself, brought the authors of the disturbance to punishment ; and when he had restrained them for the most part from this sedition, which was a great one, he took his journey to Antioch, leaving one legion of his army at Jerusalem to keep the Jews quiet, who were now very fond of innovation. Yet did not this at all avail to put an end to that their sedition ; for after Varus was gone away, Sabinus, Cæsar's procurator, staid behind, and greatly distressed the Jews, relying on the forces that were left there, that they would by their multitude protect him ; for he made use of them, and armed them as his guards, thereby so oppressing the Jews, and giving them so great disturbance, that at length they rebelled ; for he used force in seizing the citadels, and zealously pressed on the search after the king's money, in order to seize upon it by force, on account of his love of gain, and his extraordinary covetousness.

2. But the approach of Pentecost, which is a festival of ours so called from the days of our forefathers, a great many ten thousands of men got together ; nor did they come only to celebrate the festival, but out of their indignation at the madness of Sabinus, and at the injuries he offered them. A great number there was of Galileans, and Idumeans, and many men from Jericho, and others who had passed over the river Jordan, and inhabited those parts. This whole multitude joined themselves to all the rest, and were more zealous than the others in making an assault on Sabinus, in order to be avenged on him : So they parted themselves into three bands, and encamped themselves in the places following : Some of them seized on the Hipodrome, and of the other two bands, one pitched themselves from the northern part of the temple to the southern, on the east quarter ; but the third band held the western part of the city, where the king's palace was. Their

work tended entirely to besiege the Romans, and to inclose them on all sides. Now Sabinus was afraid of these mens number, and of their resolution, who had little regard to their lives, but were very desirous not to be overcome, while they thought it a point of puissance to overcome their enemies ; so he sent immediately a letter to Varus, and, as he used to do, was very pressing with him, and entreated him to come quickly to his assistance ; because the forces he had left were in imminent danger, and would probably, in no long time, be seized upon, and cut to pieces ; while he did himself get up to the highest tower of the fortress Phasaelus, which had been built in honour of Phasaelus, king Herod's brother, and called so when the * Parthians had brought him to his death. So Sabinus gave thence a signal to the Romans to fall upon the Jews, although he did not himself venture so much as to come down to his friends and thought he might expect that the others should expose themselves first to die on account of his avarice. However the Romans ventured to make a sally out of the place, and a terrible battle ensued ; wherein, though it is true the Romans beat their adversaries, yet were not the Jews daunted in their resolutions, even when they had the sight of that terrible slaughter that was made of them ; but they went round about and got upon those cloisters, which encompassed the outer court of the temple, where a great fight was still continued, and they cast stones at the Romans, partly with their hands, and partly with slings, as being much used to those exercises. All the archers also in array did the Romans a great deal of mischief ; because they used their hands dextrously from a place superior to the others, and because the others were at an utter loss what to do ; for when they tried to shoot their arrows against the Jews upwards, these arrows could not reach them, insomuch that the Jews were easily too hard for their enemies. And this sort of fight lasted a great while, till at last the Romans, who were greatly distressed by what was done, set fire to the cloisters so privately, that those who were gotten upon them did not perceive it. This fire † being fed by a great deal of combustible matter, caught hold immediately on the roof of the cloisters ; so the wood which was full of pitch and wax, and whose gold was laid on it with wax, yielded to the flame presently. and those vast works which were of the highest value and esteem, were destroyed utterly, while those that were on the roof unexpectedly perished at the same time ; for as the roof tumbled down,

* See Antiq. B. XIV. ch. xiii. § 10 Vol. II. and, Of the War, B. II. ch. xxi. § 9. Vol. III.

† These great devastations made about the temple here, and, Of the War, B. II. ch. lii. § 3. Vol. III. seem not to have been fully re-edified in the days of Nero ; till whose time there were 18000 workmen continually employed in rebuilding and repairing that temple, as Josephus informs us, Antiq. B. XX. ch. ix. § 7. Vol. II. See the note on that place.

some of these men tumbled down with it, and others of them were killed by their enemies who encompassed them. There was a great number more, who out of despair of saving their lives, and out of astonishment at the misery that surrounded them, did either cast themselves into the fire, or threw themselves upon their own swords, and so got out of their misery. But as to those that retired behind the same way by which they ascended, and thereby escaped, they were all killed by the Romans, as being unarmed men, and their courage failing them; their wild fury being now not able to help them, because they were destitute of armour, insomuch that, of those that went up to the top of the roof, not one escaped. The Romans also rushed through the fire, where it gave them room so to do, and seized on that treasure where the sacred money was repositèd; a great part of which was stolen by the soldiers and Sabinus got openly four hundred talents.

3. But this calamity of the Jews friends, who fell in this battle, grieved them, as did also this plundering of the money dedicated to God in the temple. Accordingly that body of them which continued best together, and was the most warlike, encompassed the palace, and threatened to set fire to it, and kill all that were in it. Yet still they commanded them to go out presently, and promised, that if they would do so, they would not hurt them, nor Sabinus neither, at which time the greatest part of the king's troops deserted to them, while Rufus and Gratus who had three thousand of the most warlike of Herod's army with them, who were men of active bodies, went over to the Romans. There was also a band of horsemen under the command of Rufus, which itself went over to the Romans also. However the Jews went on with the siege, and dug mines under the palace walls, and besought those that were gone over to the other side, not to be their hindrance, now they had such a proper opportunity for the recovery of their country's ancient liberty; and for Sabinus, truly he was desirous of going away with his soldiers, but was not able to trust himself with the enemy, on account of what mischief he had already done them; and he took this great [pretended] lenity of theirs for an argument why he should not comply with them; and so because he expected that Varus was coming, he still bore the siege.

4. Now at this time there were ten thousand other disorders in Judea, which were like tumults; because a great number put themselves into a warlike posture, either out of hopes of gain to themselves, or out of enmity to the Jews. In particular, two thousand of Herod's old soldiers, who had been already disbanded, got together in Judea itself, and fought against the king's troops; although Achiabus, Herod's first cousin opposed them; but as he was driven out of the plains into the mountainous parts by the military skill of those men, he kept himself in the fastnesses that were there, and saved what he could.

5. There was also Judas, * the son of that Ezekias who had been head of the robbers; which Ezekias was a very strong man, and had with great difficulty been caught by Herod. This Judas having gotten together a multitude of men of a profligate character about Sephoris in Galilee, made an assault upon the palace [there] and seized upon all the weapons that were laid up in it, and with them armed every one of those that were with him, and carried away what money was left there; and he became terrible to all men, by tearing and rending those that came near him; and all this in order to raise himself, and out an ambitious desire of the royal dignity; and he hoped to obtain that as the reward, not of his virtuous skill in war, but of his extravagance in doing injuries.

6. There was also Simon, who had been a slave of Herod the king, but in other respects a comely person, of a tall and robust body; he was one that was much superior to others of his order, and had had great things committed to his care. This man was elevated at the disorderly state of things, and was so bold as to put a diadem on his head, while a certain number of the people stood by him, and by them he was declared to be a king, and thought himself more worthy of that dignity than any one else. He burnt down the royal palace at Jericho, and plundered what was left in it. He also set fire to many other of the king's houses in several places of the country, and utterly destroyed them, and permitted those that were with him, to take what was left in them for a prey; and he would have done greater things unless care had been taken to repress him immediately; for Gratus, when he had joined himself to some Roman soldiers, took the forces he had with him, and met Simon, and after a great and a long fight, no small part of those that came from Perea who were a disordered body of men, and fought rather in a bold than in skilful manner, were destroyed; and although Simon had saved himself by flying away through a certain valley, yet Gratus overtook him, and cut off his head. The royal palace also at Amathus, by the river Jordan, was burnt down by a party of men that were got together, as were those belonging to Simon. And thus did a great and a wild fury spread itself over the nation, because they had no king to keep the

* Unless this Judas, the son of Ezekias, be the same with that Theudas mentioned, Acts v. 36. Josephus must have omitted him; for that other Theudas, whom he afterward mentions under Fadus, the Roman governor, B. XX. ch. v. § 1. vol. II is much too late to correspond to him that is mentioned in the acts. The names *Theudas*, *Thaudeus*, and *Judas*, differ but little. See Abp Usher's Annals at A. M. 4001. However, since Josephus does not pretend to reckon up the heads of all those *ten thousand* disorders in Judea, which he tells us were then abroad, see sect. 4. and 8. the Theudas of the Acts might be at the head of one of those seditions, though not particularly named by him. Thus he informs us here, sect. 6. and Of the War, B. II. ch. iv. sect. 2. Vol. III. that certain of the seditious came and burnt the royal palace at Amathus, or Betharamphtha, upon the river Jordan. Perhaps their leader, who is not named by Josephus, might be this Theudas.

multitude in good order, and because those foreigners, who came to reduce the seditious to sobriety, did on the contrary set them more in a flame, because of the injuries they offered them, and the avaricious management of their affairs.

7. But because Athronges a person neither eminent by the dignity of his progenitors, nor for any great wealth he was possessed of, but one that had in all respects been a shepherd only, and was not known by any body ; yet because he was a tall man, and excelled others in the strength of his hands, he was so bold as to set up for king. This man thought it so sweet a thing to do more than ordinary injuries to others, that although he should be killed, he did not much care if he lost his life in so great a design. He had also four brethren, who were tall men themselves and were believed to be superior to others in the strength of their hands, and thereby were encouraged to aim at great things, and thought that strength of theirs would support them in retaining the kingdom. Each of these ruled over a band of men of their own ; for those that got together to them were very numerous. They were every one of them also commanders ; but, when they came to fight they were subordinate to him, and fought for him, while he put a diadem about his head, and assembled a council to debate about what things should be done, and all things were done according to his pleasure. And this man retained his power a great while ; he was also called king, and had nothing to hinder him from doing what he pleased. He also, as well as his brethren, slew a great many both of the Romans, and of the king's forces, and managed matters with the like hatred to each of them. The king's forces they fell upon, because of the licentious conduct they had been allowed under Herod's government ; and they fell upon the Romans, because of the injuries they had so lately received from them. But in process of time, they grew more cruel to all sorts of men ; nor could any one escape from one or other of these seditions, since they slew some out of the hopes of gain, and others from a mere custom of slaying men. They once attacked a company of Romans at Emmaus, who were bringing corn and weapons to the army, and fell upon Arius, the centurion, who commanded the company, and shot forty of the best of his foot soldiers ; but the rest of them were affrighted at their slaughter, and left their dead behind them, but saved themselves by the means of Gratus, who came with the king's troops that were about him to their assistance. Now these four brethren continued the war a long while by such sort of expeditions, and much grieved the Romans ; but did their own nation also a great deal of mischief. Yet were they afterward subdued ; one of them in a fight with Gratus, another with Ptolemy ; Archelaus also took the eldest of them prisoner ; while the last of them was so dejected at the other's misfortune and saw so plainly that he had no way now left to save himself, his army being worn

away with sickness and continual labours that he also delivered himself up to Archelaus, upon his promise and oath to God [to preserve his life.] But these things came to pass a good while afterward.

8. And now Judea was full of robberies; and, as the several companies of the seditious light upon any one to head them, he was created a king immediately, in order to do mischief to the public. They were in some small measure indeed, and in small matters hurtful to the Romans; but the murders they committed upon their own people lasted a long while.

9. As soon as Varus was once informed of the state of Judea by Sabinus's writing to him, he was afraid for the legion he had left there; so he took the two other legions, (for there were three legions in all belonging to Syria) and four troops of horsemen, with the several auxiliary forces which either the kings, or certain of the tetrarches, afforded him, and made what haste he could to assist those that were then besieged in Judea. He also gave order, that all that were sent out for this expedition should make haste to Ptolemais. The citizens of Berytus also gave him 1500 auxiliaries, as he passed through their city. Aretas also, the king of Arabia Petrea, out of his hatred to Herod, and in order to purchase the favour of the Romans, sent him no small assistance, besides their footmen and horsemen; and, when he had now collected all his forces together, he committed part of them to his son, and to a friend of his, and sent them upon an expedition into Galilee, which lies in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais; who made an attack upon the enemy, and put them to flight, and took Sepphoris, and made its inhabitants slaves and burnt the city. But Varus himself pursued his march for Samaria with his whole army: Yet did not he meddle with the city of that name, because it had not at all joined with the seditious; but pitched his camp at a certain village that belonged to Ptolemy, whose name was *Arus*, which the Arabians burnt, out of their hatred to Herod, and out of the enmity they bore to his friends; whence they marched to another village, whose name was *Sampho*, which the Arabians plundered and burnt, although it was a fortified and a strong place; and all along this march nothing escaped them, but all places were full of fire and of slaughter. Emmaus was also burnt by Varus's order, after its inhabitants had deserted it, that he might avenge those that had there been destroyed. From thence he now marched to Jerusalem; whereupon those Jews whose camp lay there, and who had besieged the Roman legion, not bearing the coming of this army, left the siege imperfect: But as to the Jerusalem Jews, when Varus reproached them bitterly for what had been done, they cleared themselves of the accusation, and alledged, that the conflux of the people was occasioned by the feast; that the war was not made with their approbation, but the rashness of

the strangers, while they were on the side of the Romans, and besieged together with them, rather than having any inclination to besiege them. There also came before hand, to meet Varus, Joseph, the cousin-german of king Herod, as also Gratus and Rufus, who brought their soldiers along with them, together with those Romans who had been besieged : But Sabinus did not come into Varus's presence, but stole out of the city privately, and went to the sea-side.

10. Upon this Varus sent a part of his army into the country, to seek out those that had been the authors of the revolt ; and when they were discovered, he punished some of them that were most guilty, and some he dismissed : Now the number of those that were crucified on this account, were two thousand. After which he disbanded his army, which he found noways useful to him in the affairs he came about ; for they behaved themselves very disorderly, and disobeyed his orders, and what Varus desired them to do, and this out of regard to that gain which they made by the mischief they did. As for himself, when he was informed that ten thousand Jews had gotten together, he made haste to catch them ; but they did not proceed so far as to fight him, but, by the advice of Achabab, they came together, and delivered themselves up to him : Hereupon Varus forgave the crime of revolting to the multitude, but sent their several commanders to Cæsar, many of whom Cæsar dismissed ; but for the several relations of Herod who had been among these men in this war, they were the only persons whom he punished, who, without the least regard to justice, fought against their own kindred.

C H A P. XI.

An Ambassage of the Jews to Cæsar ; and how Cæsar confirmed Herod's Testament.

§ 1. SO when Varus had settled these affairs, and had placed the former legion at Jerusalem, he returned back to Antioch ; but as for Archelaus, he had new sources of trouble came upon him at Rome, on the occasions following : For an ambassage of the Jews was come to Rome, Varus having permitted the nation to send it, that they might petition for the liberty * of living by their own laws. Now the number of the ambassadors that were sent by the authority of the nation was fifty, to which they joined above eight thousand of the Jews that were at Rome already. Hereupon Cæsar assembled his friends, and the chief men among the Romans in the temple of Apollo †, which he had built at a vast charge ; whither

* See Of the War, B. II. ch. ii. sect. 3. Vol. III.

† See the note, Of the War, B. II. ch. vi. sect. 1. Vol. III.

the ambassadors came, and a multitude of the Jews that were there already, came with them, as did also Archelaus and his friends ; but as for the several kinsmen which Archelaus had, they would not join themselves with him, out of their hatred to him ; and yet they thought it too gross a thing for them to assist the ambassadors [against him], as supposing it would be a disgrace to them in Cæsar's opinion to think of thus acting in opposition to a man of their own kindred*. Philip also was come hither out of Syria, by the persuasion of Varus, with this principal intention to assist his brother [Archelaus] ; for Varus was his great friend ; but still so, that if there should any change happen in the form of government (which Varus suspected there would), and if any distribution should be made on account of the number that desired the liberty of living by their own laws, that he might not be disappointed, but might have his share in it.

2. Now, upon the liberty that was given to the Jewish ambassadors to speak, they who hoped to obtain a dissolution of kingly government betook themselves to accuse Herod of his iniquities ; and they declared, " That he was indeed in name a king, but that he had taken to himself that uncontrollable authority which tyrants exercise over their subjects, and had made use of that authority for the destruction of the Jews, and did not abstain from making many innovations among them besides according to his own inclinations ; and that whereas there were a great many who perished by that destruction he brought upon them, so many indeed as no other history relates, they that survived were far more miserable than those that suffered under him, not only by the anxiety they were in from his looks and disposition towards them, but from the danger their estates were in of being taken away by him. That he did never leave off adorning these cities that lay in their neighbourhood, but were inhabited by foreigners ; but so that the cities belonging to his own government were ruined, and utterly destroyed : That whereas when he took the kingdom, it was in an extraordinary flourishing condition, he had filled the nation with the utmost degree of poverty ; and when, upon unjust pretences, he had slain any of the nobility, he took away their estates ; and when he permitted any of them to live, he condemned them to the forfeiture of what they possessed. And besides the annual impositions which he laid upon every one of them they were to make liberal presents to himself, to his domestics and friends, and to such of his slaves as were vouchsafed the favour of being his tax-gatherers ; because there was no way of obtaining a freedom from unjust violence, without giving either gold or silver for it. That they would say nothing of the corruption of the chastity of their virgins, and the reproach laid on their wives for in-

* He was tetrarch afterward.

continency, and those things acted after an insolent and inhuman manner; because it was not a smaller pleasure to the sufferers to have such things concealed, than it would have been to have suffered them. That Herod had put such abuses upon them as a wild beast would not have put on them, if he had power given him to rule over us; and that although their nations had passed through many subversions and alterations of government, their history gave no account of any calamity they had ever been under that could be compared with this which Herod had brought upon their nation: That it was for this reason, that they thought they might justly and gladly salute Archelaus as king, upon this supposition, that whosoever should be set over their kingdom, he would appear more mild to them than Herod had been; and that they had joined with him in the mourning for his father, in order to gratify him, and were ready to oblige him in other points also, if they could meet with any degree of moderation from him; but that he seemed to be afraid lest he should not be deemed Herod's own son; and so, without any delay; and he immediately, let the nation understand his meaning, and this before his dominion was well established, since the power of disposing of it belonging to Cæsar, who could either give it to him, or not, as he pleased. That he had given a specimen of his future virtue to his subjects, and with what kind of moderation and good administration he would govern them, by that his first action which concerned them, his own citizens, and God himself also, when he made the slaughter of three thousand of his own countrymen at the temple. How then could they avoid the just hatred of him, who, to the rest of his barbarity, hath added this as one of our crimes that we have opposed and contradicted him in the exercise of his authority?" Now the main thing they desired was this, That "they might be delivered from kingly * and the like forms of government, and might be added to Syria, and be put under the authority of such presidents of theirs as should be sent to them; for that it would thereby be made evident, whether they be really a seditious people, and generally fond of innovations, or whether they

* If any one compare that divine prediction concerning the tyrannical power which Jewish kings would exercise over them, if they would be so foolish as to prefer it before their ancient theocracy or aristocracy, 1 Sam. viii. 1—22. Antiq. B. I. ch. iv. sect. 4. Vol. I. he will soon find that it was super-abundantly fulfilled in the days of Herod, and that to such a degree, that the nation now at last seem sorely to repent of such their ancient choice, in opposition to God's better choice for them, and had much rather be subject to even a Pagan Roman government, and their deputies, than to be any longer under the oppression of the family of Herod; which request of theirs Augustus did not now grant them, but did it for the one half of that nation in a few years afterward, upon fresh complaints made by the Jews against Archelaus, who, under the more humble name of an ethnarch, which Augustus only would now allow him, soon took upon him the insolence and tyranny of his father king Herod, as the remaining part of this book will inform us, and particularly chap. xiii. sect. 2.

would live in an orderly manner, if they might have governors of any sort of moderation set over them."

3. Now when the Jews had said this, Nicolaus vindicated the kings from those accusations, and said, That "as for Herod, since he had never been thus accused * all the time of his life, it was not fit for those that might have accused them of lesser crimes than those now mentioned, and might have procured him to be punished during his life time, to bring an accusation against him now he is dead. He also attributed the actions of Archelaus to the Jews injuries to him, who affecting to govern contrary to the laws, and going about to kill those that would have hindered them from acting unjustly, when they were by him punished for what they had done, made their complaints against him; so he accused them of their attempts for innovation, and of the pleasure they took in sedition, by reason of their not having learned to submit to justice, and to the laws, but still desiring to be superior in all things." This was the substance of what Nicolaus said.

4. When Cæsar had heard these pleadings, he dissolved the assembly; but a few days afterwards he appointed Archelaus, not indeed to be king of the whole country, but ethnarch of the one half of that which had been subject to Herod, and promised to give him the royal dignity hereafter, if he governed his part virtuously. But as for the other half, he divided it into two parts, and gave it to two other of Herod's sons, to Philip and to Antipas, that Antipas who disputed with Archelaus for the whole kingdom. Now to him it was that Perea and Galilee paid their tribute, which amounted † annually two hundred talents, while Batanea, with Trachonitis, as well as

* This is not true. See Antiq. B. XIV. ch. ix. sect. 3. 4. and ch. xii. sect. 2. and ch. xiii. sect. 1. 2. Antiq. B. XV. ch. iii. sect. 5. and ch. x. sect. 2. 3. Antiq. B. XVI. ch. ix. sect. 3. Vol. II.

† Since Josephus here informs us that Archelaus had one-half of the kingdom of Herod, and presently informs us farther, that Archelaus's annual income, after an abatement of one quarter for the present, was 600 talents, we may therefore gather pretty nearly what was Herod the Great's yearly income, I mean about 1600 talents, which, at the known value of 3000 shekels to a talent, and about 2s. 10d. to a shekel, in the days of Josephus, see the note on Antiq. B. III. ch. viii. sect. 2. Vol. I. amounts to L. 680,000 Sterling *per annum*; which income, though great in itself, bearing no proportion to his vast expences every where visible in Josephus, and to the vast sums he left behind him in his will, chap. viii. sect. 1. and chap. xii. sect. 1. the rest must have arisen either from his confiscation of those great men's estates whom he put to death, or made to pay fine for the saving of their lives, or from some other heavy methods of oppression which such savage tyrants usually exercise upon their miserable subjects; or rather from these several methods put together, all which yet seem very much too small for his expences being drawn from no larger a nation than that of the Jews, which was very populous, but without the advantage of trade, to bring them riches; so that I cannot but strongly suspect that no small part of this his wealth arose from another source, I mean from some vast sums he took out of David's sepulchre, but concealed from the people. See the note on Antiq. B. VII ch. xv. sect. 3. vol. I.

Auranitis, with a certain * part of what was called the *house of Zenodorus*, paid the tribute of one hundred talents to Philip ; but Idumea, and Judea, and the country of Samaria paid tribute to Archelaus, but had now a fourth part of that tribute taken off by the order of Cæsar, who decreed them that mitigation, because they did not join in this revolt with the rest of the multitude. There were also certain of the cities which paid tribute to Archelaus, Strato's tower, and Sebaste, with Joppa and Jerusalem ; for as to Gaza and Gadara, and Hippos, they were Grecian cities, which Cæsar separated from his government, and added them to the province of Syria. Now the tribute-money that came to Archelaus every year from his own dominions, amounted to six hundred talents.

5. And so much came to Herod's sons from their father's inheritance. But Salome, besides what her brother left her by his testament, which were Jamnia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis, and five hundred thousand [drachmæ] of coined silver, Cæsar made her a present of a royal habitation at Askelon ; in all, her revenues amounted to sixty talents by the year, and her dwelling-house was within Archelaus's government. The rest also of the king's relations received what his testament allotted them. Moreover, Cæsar made a present to each of Herod's two Virgin-daughters, besides what their father left them, of two hundred and fifty thousand [drachmæ] of silver, and married them to Pheroras's sons : He also granted all that was bequeathed to himself to the king's sons, which was one thousand five hundred talents, excepting a few of the vessels, which he reserved for himself ; and they were acceptable to him, not so much for the great value they were of as because they were memorials of the king to him.

C H A P. XII.

Concerning a spurious Alexander.

§ 1. **W**HEN these affairs had been thus settled by Cæsar, a certain young man, by birth a Jew, but brought

* Take here a very useful note of Grotius, on Luke, B. III. ch. i. here quoted by Dr. Hudson : " When Josephus says that some part of the house [or possession] of Zenodorus (i. e. Abilene,) was allotted to Philip, he thereby declares that the larger part of it belonged to another ; this other was Lyfania, whom Luke mentions, of the posterity of that Lyfania who was possessed of the same country called *Abilene*, from the city Abila, and by others *Chalcidene*, from the city Chalcis, when the government of the east was under Antonius, and this after Ptolemy, the son of Mennius, from which Lyfania, this country, came to be commonly called the *Country of Lyfania* ; and as, after the death of the former Lyfania, it was called the *tetrarchy of Zenodorus*, so, after the death of Zenodorus, or when the time for which he hired it was ended, when another Lyfania, of the same name with the former, was possessed of the same country, it began to be called again the *tetrarchy of Lyfania*." However, since Josephus elsewhere, Antiq. B. XX. ch. vii. § 1. Vol. II. clearly distinguishes Abilene from Chalcidene, Grotius must be here so far mistaken.

up by a Roman freed-man in the city Sidon, ingrafted himself into the kindred of Herod, by the resemblance of his countenance, which those that saw him attested to be that of Alexander, the son of Herod, whom he had slain; and this was an incitement to him to endeavour to obtain the government: So he took to him as an assistant, a man of his own country, (one that was well acquainted with the affairs of the palace, but on other accounts, an ill man, and one whose nature made him capable of causing great disturbances to the public, and one that became a teacher of such a mischievous contrivance to the other,) and declared himself to be Alexander, and the son of Herod, but stolen away by one of those who were sent to slay him, who, in reality, slew other men in order to deceive the spectators, but saved both him and his brother Aristobulus. Thus was this man elated, and able to impose on those that came to him; and when he was come to Grete, he made all the Jews that came to discourse with him believe him [to be Alexander]. And when he had gotten much money which had been presented to him there, he passed over to Melos, where he got much more money than he had before, out of the belief they had that he was of the royal family, and their hopes that he would recover his father's principality, and reward his benefactors; so he made haste to Rome, and was conducted thither by those strangers who entertained him. He was also so fortunate, as, upon his landing at Dicearchia, to bring the Jews that were there into the same delusion; and not only other people, but also all those that had been great with Herod, or had a kindness for him, joined themselves to this man as to their king. The cause of it was this, that men were glad of his pretences, which were seconded by the likeness of his countenance, which made those that had been acquainted with Alexander strongly to believe that he was no other but the very same person, which they also confirmed to others by oath; insomuch that when the report went about him that he was coming to Rome, the whole multitude of the Jews that were there went out to meet him, ascribing it to divine providence that he had so unexpectedly escaped, and being very joyful on account of his mother's family. And when he was come, he was carried in a royal litter through the streets, and all the ornaments about him was such as kings are adorned withal; and this was at the expences of those that entertained him. The multitude also flocked about him greatly, and made mighty acclamations to him, and nothing was omitted which could be thought suitable to such as had been so unexpectedly preserved.

2. When this thing was told Cæsar, he did not believe it, because Herod was not easily to be imposed upon in such affairs as were of great concern to him; yet having some suspicion it might be so, he sent one Celadus, a freed man of his, and one that had conversed with the young men themselves,

and bad him bring Alexander into his presence : So he brought him, being no more accurate in judging about him than the rest of the multitude. Yet did not he decieve Cæsar ; for although there were a resemblance between him and Alexander, yet was it not so exact as to impose on such as were prudent in discerning ; for this spurious Alexander had his hands rough by the labours he had been put to, and instead of that softness of body which the other had, and this as derived from his delicate and generous education, this man, for the contrary reason, had a rugged body. When therefore, Cæsar saw how the master and the scholar agreed in this lying story, and in a bold way of talking, he enquired about Aristobulus, and asked what become of him, who (it seems) was stolen away together with him, and for what reason it was that he did not come along with him, and endeavour to recover that dominion which was due to his high birth also ? And when he said, That “ he had been left in the isle of Crete, for fear of the dangers of the sea, that in case any accident should come to himself, the posterity of Mariamne might not utterly perish, but that Aristobulus might survive, and punish those that laid such treacherous designs against them.” And when he persevered in his affirmations, and the author of the imposture agreed in supporting it, Cæsar took the young man by himself, and said to him, “ If thou wilt not impose upon me, thou shalt have this for thy reward, that thou shalt escape with thy life ; tell me then who thou art ! And who it was that had boldness enough to contrive such a cheat as this ? For this contrivance is too considerable a piece of villany to be undertaken by one of thy age.” Accordingly, because he had no other way to take, he told Cæsar the contrivance, and after what manner, and by whom it was laid together. So Cæsar, upon observing the spurious Alexander to be a strong active man, and fit to work with his hands, that he might not break his promise to him, put him among those that were to row among the mariners ; but slew him that induced him to do what he had done ; for as for the people of Melos, he thought them sufficiently punished, in having thrown away so much of their money upon this spurious Alexander. And such was the ignominious conclusion of this bold contrivance about the spurious Alexander.

C H A P. XIII.

How Archelaus, upon a second Accusation, was banished to Vienna.

§ 1. **W**HEN Archelaus was entered on his ethnarchy, and was come into Judea, he accused Joazar, the son of Boethus, of assisting the seditious, and took away the high-

priesthood from him, and put Eleazer his brother in his place. He also magnificently rebuilt the royal palace that had been at Jericho, and he diverted half the water with which the village of Neara used to be watered, and drew of that water into the plain, to water those palm trees which he had there planted: He also built a village, and put his own name upon it, and called it *Archeleis*. Moreover, he * transgressed the law of our fathers, and married Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, who had been the wife of his brother Alexander, which Alexander had three children by her, while it was a thing detestable among the Jews, to marry the brother's wife; nor did this Eleazer abide long in the high-priesthood, Jesus, the son of Sie, being put in his room while he was still living.

2. But in the tenth year of Archelaus's government, both his brethren, and the principal men of Judea and Samaria, not being able to bear his barbarous and tyrannical usage of them, accused him before Cæsar, and that especially because they knew he had broken the commands of Cæsar, which obliged him to behave himself with moderation among them. Whereupon Cæsar, when he heard it, was very angry and called for Archelaus's steward, who took care of his affairs at Rome, and whose name was Archelaus also, and thinking it beneath him to write to Archelaus, he bid him sail away as soon as possible, and bring him to us; so the man made haste in his voyage, and when he came into Judea he found Archelaus feasting with his friends; so he told him what Cæsar had sent him about, and hastened him away. And when he was come [to Rome,] Cæsar, upon hearing what certain accusers of his had to say, and what reply he could make, both banished him, and appointed Vienna a city of Gaul to be the place of his habitation, and took his money away from him.

3. Now before Archelaus was gone up to Rome upon this message, he related this dream to his friends, that "he saw ears of corn, in number ten, full of wheat perfectly ripe, which ears, as it seemed to him, were devoured by oxen." And when he was awake and gotten up, because the vision appeared to be of great importance to him, he sent for the diviners, whose study was employed about dreams. And while some were of one opinion, and some of another, (for all their interpretations did not agree,) Simon, a man of the sect of the Essens, desired leave to speak his mind freely, and said that "the vision denoted a change in the affairs of Archelaus, and that not for the better; that oxen, because that animal takes uneasy pains in his labours denoted afflictions, and indeed denoted farther, a change of affairs; because that land which is ploughed by oxen cannot remain in its former state: And

* Spanheim seasonably observes here, that it was forbidden the Jews to marry their brother's wife, when she had children by her first husband, and that Zenoras [cites, or] interprets the clause before us accordingly.

that the ears of corn being ten, determined the like number of years, because an ear of corn grows in one year; and that the time of Archelaus's government was over." And thus did this man expound the dream. Now on the fifth day after this dream came first to Archelaus, the other Archelaus, that was sent to Judea by Cæsar to call him away came hither also.

4. The like accident betel Glaphyra his wife, who was the daughter of king Archelaus, who, as I said before, was married while she was a virgin, to Alexander the son of Herod, and brother of Archelaus; but since it fell out so that Alexander was slain by his father, she was married to Juba, the king of Lydia, and when he was dead, and she lived in widowhood in Cappadocia with her father, Archelaus divorced his former wife Mariamne, and married her, so great was his affection for this Glaphyra; who during her marriage to him saw the following dream. She thought "she saw Alexander standing by her, at which she rejoiced, and embraced him with great affection; but that he complained of her, and said, O Glaphyra! thou provest that saying to be true, which assures us, that women are not to be trusted. Didst not thou pledge thy faith to me? and wast not thou married to me when thou wast a virgin? and had we not children between us? Yet hast thou forgotten the affection I bare to thee out of a desire of a second husband. Nor hast thou been satisfied with that injury thou didst me, but thou hast been so bold as to procure thee a third husband to lie by thee, and in an indecent and impudent manner hast entered into my house, and hast been married to Archelaus, thy husband, and my brother. However, I will not forget thy former kind affection for me, but will set thee free from every such reproachful action, and cause thee to be mine again, as thou once wast." When she had related this to her female companions, in a few days time she departed this life.

5. Now I did not think these histories improper for the present discourse, both because my discourse now is concerning kings, and otherwise also on account of the advantage hence to be drawn, as well for the confirmation of the immortality of the soul, as of the providence of God over human affairs. I thought them fit to be set down; but if any one does not believe such relations, let him indeed enjoy his own opinion, but let him not hinder another. that would thereby encourage himself in virtue. So Archelaus's country was laid to the province of Syria; and Cyrenius, one that had been consul, was sent by Cæsar to take account of people's effects in Syria, and to sell the house of Archelaus.

B O O K XVIII.

Containing the interval of thirty-two years.

[From the Banishment of ARCHELAUS, to the departure of the Jews from Babylon.]

C H A P. I.

How Cyrenius was sent by Cæsar to make a Taxation of Syria and Judea; and how Coponius was sent to be Procurator of Judea; concerning Judas of Galilee, and concerning the sects that were among the Jews.

§ 1. **N**OW Cyrenius, a Roman senator, and one who had gone through other magistracies, and had passed through them till he had been consul, and one who, on other accounts, was of great dignity, came at this time into Syria, with a few others, being sent by Cæsar to be a judge of that nation, and to take an account of their substance: Coponius also, a man of the questrian order, was sent together with him, to have the supreme power over the Jews. Moreover, Cyrenius came himself into Judea, which was now added to the province of Syria, to take an account of their substance, and to dispose of Archelaus's money: But the Jews, although at the beginning they took the report of a taxation heinously, yet did they leave off any farther opposition to it, by the persuasion of Joazar, who was the son of Boethus, and high-priest; so they being overpersuaded by Joazar's words, gave an account of their estates, without any dispute about it. Yet was there one Judas,* a Gaulonite, of a city whose name was Ga-

* Since St. Luke once, Acts v. 37. and Josephus four several times, once here, § 6. and B. XX. ch. v. § 2. Vol. II. Of the War, B. II. ch. viii. § 1. and ch. xvii. § 8. Vol. III. calls this Judas, who was the pestilent author of that seditious doctrine and temper which brought the Jewish nation to utter destruction, a *Galilean*, but here, § 1. Josephus calls him a *Gaulonite*, of the city of Gamala. It is a great question where this Judas was born, whether in Galilee on the west side, or in Gaulonitis, on the east side of the river Jordan; while, in the place just now cited out of the Antiquities, B. XX. ch. v. § 2. Vol. II. he is not only called a *Galilean*, but it is added to his story, as *I have signified in the books that go before these*, as if he had still called him a *Galilean* in those Antiquities before, as well as in that particular place, as Dean Aldrich observes, On the War, B. II. ch. viii. sect. 1. Vol. III. Nor can one well imagine why he should here call him a *Gaulonite*, when in the 6th section following here, as well as twice Of the War, he still calls him a *Galilean*. As for the city of Gamala, whence this Judas was derived, it determines nothing, since there were two of that name, the one in Gaulonitis, the other in Galilee. See Reland on the city or town of that name.

mala, who taking with him Saddouk*, a Pharisee, became zealous to draw them to a revolt, who both said, that this taxation was no better than an introduction to slavery, and exhorted the nation to assert their liberty; as if they could procure them happiness and security for what they possessed, and an assured enjoyment of a still greater good, which was that of the honour and glory they would thereby acquire for magnanimity. They also said, that God would not otherwise be assisting to them, than upon their joining with one another in such counsels as might be successful, and for their own advantage; and this especially, if they would set about great exploits, and not grow weary in executing the same; so men received what they said with pleasure, and this bold attempt proceeded to a great height. All sorts of misfortunes also sprang from these men, and the nation was infected with this doctrine to an incredible degree; one violent war came upon us after another, and we lost our friends which used to alleviate our pains; there were also very great robberies and murders of our principal men. This was done in pretence indeed for the public welfare, but in reality from the hopes of gain to themselves; whence arose seditions, and from them murders of men which sometimes fell on those of their own people, (by the madness of these men towards one another, while their desire was that none of the adverse party might be left) and sometimes on their enemies; a famine also coming upon us reduced us to the last degree of despair, as did also the taking and demolishing of cities; nay, the sedition at last increased so high, that the very temple of God was burnt down by their enemies fire. Such were the consequences of this, that the customs of our fathers were altered, and such a change was made, as added a mighty weight toward bringing all to destruction, which these men occasioned by their thus conspiring together, for Judas and Sadducust, who excited a fourth Philosophic sect among us, and had a great many followers therein, filled our civil government with tumults at present, and laid the foundations of our future miseries by this system of philosophy, which we were before unacquainted withal; concerning which, I will discourse a little, and this the rather, because the infection which spread thence among the younger sort, who were zealous for it brought the public to destruction.

2. The Jews had for a great while had three sects of philo-

* It seems not very improbable to me, that this Sadduc, the Pharisee, was the very same man of whom the Rabbins speak, as the unhappy but undesigning occasion of the impiety or infidelity of the Sadducees; nor perhaps had the men this name of Sadducees till this very time, though they were a distinct sect long before. See the note on B. XIII. ch. x. sect 5. Vol. II. and Dean Prideaux, as there quoted; nor do we, that I know of, find the least footsteps of such impiety or infidelity of these Sadducees before this time, the Recognitions assuring us, that they began about the days of John the Baptist, B. I. ch. liv. Vol. I.

† See Note above

sophy peculiar to themselves, the sect of the Essens, and the sect of the Sadducees, and the third sort of opinions, was that of those called Pharisees ; of which sects, although I have already spoken in the second book of the Jewith war, yet will I a little touch upon them now.

3. Now for the Pharisees they live meanly, and despise delicacies in diet ; and they follow the contrait of reason ; and what that prescribes to them as good for them they do ; and they think they ought earnestly to strive to observe reason's dictates for practice. They also pay a respect to such as are in years ; nor are they so bold as to contradict them in any thing which they have introduced ; and, when they determine that all things are done by fate, they do not take away the freedom from men of acting as they think fit ; since their notion is, that it hath pleased God to make a temperament, whereby what he wills is done, but so that the will of man can act virtuously or viciously. They also believe, that souls have an immortal vigour in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life ; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have power to revive and live again, on account of which doctrines they are able greatly to persuade the body of the people : And whatsoever they do about divine worship prayers, and sacrifices, they perform them according to their direction ; inasmuch that the cities gave great attestations to them on account of their entire virtuous conduct, both in the actions of their lives, and their discourses also.

4. But the doctrine of the Sadducees is this, That souls die with the bodies ; nor do they regard the observation of any thing besides what the law enjoins them ; for they think it an instance of virtue to dispute with those teachers of philosophy whom they frequent ; but this doctrine is received but by a few, yet by those still of the greatest dignity. But they are able to do almost nothing of themselves ; for when they become magistrates, as they are unwillingly and by force sometimes obliged to be, they addict themselves to the notions of the Pharisees, because the multitude would not otherwise bear them.

5. The doctrine of the Essens is this, That all things are best ascribed to God. They teach the immortality of souls, and esteem that the rewards of righteousness are to be earnestly striven for ; and when they send * what they have dedicated

* It seems by what Josephus says here, and Philo himself elsewhere, Op. p. 676, that these Essens did not use to go to the Jewish festivals at Jerusalem, or to offer sacrifices there, which may be one great occasion why they are never mentioned in the ordinary books of the New Testament ; though in the Apostolical Constitutions they are mentioned, as those that *observed the customs of their forefathers*, and that without any such ill character laid upon them, as is there laid upon the other sects among that people.

to God into the temple, they do not offer sacrifices, because they have more pure lustrations of their own; on which account they are excluded from the common court of the temple, but offer their sacrifices themselves; yet is their course of life better than that of other men; and they entirely addict themselves to husbandry. It also deserves our admiration how much they exceed all other men that addict themselves to virtue, and this in righteousness; and indeed to such a degree, that as it hath never appeared among any other men, neither Greeks nor Barbarians, not for a little time, so hath it endured a long while among them. This is demonstrated by that institution of theirs, which will not suffer any thing to hinder them from having all things in common; so that a rich man enjoys no more of his own wealth than he who hath nothing at all. There are about four thousand men that live in this way; and neither marry wives, nor are desirous to keep servants; as thinking the latter tempts men to be unjust, and the former gives the handle to domestic quarrels; but as they live by themselves, they minister one to another. They also appoint certain stewards to receive the incomes of their revenues, and of the fruits of the ground; such as are good men and priests, who are to get their corn and their food ready for them. They none of them differ from others of the Essens in their way of living, but do the most resemble those Dacæ, who are called *Polistæ**, [dwellers in cities].

6. But of the fourth sect of Jewish philosophy, Judas the Galilean was the author. These men agree in all other things with the Pharisaic notions; but they have an inviolable attachment to liberty, and say, that God is to be their only Ruler and Lord. They also do not value dying any kinds of death, nor indeed do they heed the deaths of their relations and friends, nor can any such fear make them call any man lord. And since this immoveable resolution of theirs is well known to a great many, I shall speak no farther about that matter; nor am I afraid that any thing I have said of them should be disbelieved, but rather fear, that what I have said is beneath the resolution they shew when they undergo pain. And it was in Gessius Florus's time that the nation began to go mad with this distemper, who was our procurator, and who occasioned the Jews to go wild with it by the abuse of his authority, and to make them revolt from the Romans. And these are the sects of Jewish philosophy.

* Who these Πολισταί in Josephus, or Κτίσται in Strabo, among the Pythagorick Dacæ were, it is not easy to determine. Scaliger offers no improbable conjecture, that some of these Dacæ lived alone, like monks, in tents or caves, but that others of them lived together in *built cities*, and thence were called by such names as implied the same.

C H A P. II.

How Herod and Philip built several Cities in honour of Cæsar. Concerning the succession of Priests and Procurators ; as also what beſel Phraates and the Parthians.

§ 1. **W**HEN Cyrenius had now diſpoſed of Archelaus's money, and when the taxings were come to a concluſion, which were made in the thirty-ſeventh of Cæſar's victory over Antony at Actium, he deprived Joazar of the highpriest-hood, which dignity had been conferred on him by the multitude, and he appointed Ananus, the ſon of Seth, to be high prieſt ; while Herod and Philip had each of them received their own tetrarchy, and ſettled the affairs thereof. Herod alſo built a wall about Sepphoris (which is the ſecurity of all Galilee), and made it the metropolis of the country. He alſo built a wall round Betharamphtha, which was itſelf a city alſo, and called it *Julias*, from the name of the emperor's wife. When Philip alſo had built Paneas, a city at the fountains of Jordan, he named it *Ceſarea*. He alſo advanced the village Bethſaida, ſituate at the lake of Gennefareth, unto the dignity of a city, both by the number of inhabitants it contained, and its other grandeur, and called it by the name of *Julias*, the ſame name with Cæſar's daughter.

2. As Coponius, who we told you was ſent along with Cyrenius, was exerciſing his office of procurator, and governing Judea, the following accidents happened. As the Jews were celebrating the feaſt of unleavened bread, which we call the *Paſſover*. it was cuſtomary for the prieſts to open the temple gates juſt after midnight. When therefore thoſe gates were firſt opened, ſome of the Samaritans came privately into Jeruſalem, and threw about dead mens bodies in the cloiſters ; on which account the Jews afterward excluded them out of the temple, which they had not uſed to do at ſuch feſtivals ; and on other accounts alſo they watched the temple more carefully than they had formerly done. A little after which accident Coponius returned to Rome, and Marcus Ambivius came to be his ſucceſſor in that government ; under whom Salome, the ſiſter of king Herod, died, and left to Julia [Cæſar's wife], Jamnia, all its toparchy, and Phœſaelis in the plain, and Archelais, where is a great plantation of palm trees, and their fruit is excellent in its kind. After him came Annius Rufus, under whom died Cæſar, the ſecond emperor of the Romans, the duration of whoſe reign was fifty-ſeven years, beſides ſix months and two days, (of which time Antonius ruled together with him fourteen years ; but the duration of his life was ſeventy-ſeven years) ; upon whoſe death Tiberius Nero, his wife Julia's ſon, ſucceeded. He was now the third emperor ; and he ſent Valerius Gratus to be procu-

rator of Judea, and to succeed Annus Rufus. This man deprived Annus of the high-priesthood, and appointed Ismael, the son of Phabi, to be high-priest. He also deprived him in a little time, and ordained Eleazar, the son of Ananus who had been high priest before, to be high priest; which office, when he had held for a year, Gratus deprived him of it, and gave the high-priesthood to Simon, the son of Camithus; and, when he had possessed that dignity no longer than a year, Joseph Caiaphas was made his successor. When Gratus had done those things, he went back to Rome, after he had tarried in Judea eleven years, when Pontius Pilate came as his successor.

3. And now Herod the tetrarch, who was in great favour with Tiberius, built a city of the same name with him, and called it *Tiberias*. He built it in the best part of Galilee, at the lake of Gennefareth. There are warm baths, at a little distance from it, in a village named *Emmaus*. Strangers came and inhabited this city; a great number of the inhabitants were Galileans also; and many were necessitated by Herod to come thither out of the country belonging to him, and were by force compelled to be its inhabitants; some of them were persons of condition. He also admitted poor people, that those such as were collected from all parts, to dwell in it. Nay, some of them were not quite freemen; and these he was a benefactor to, and made them free in great numbers; but obliged them not to forsake the city, by building them very good houses at his own expences, and by giving them land also; for he was sensible, that to make this place an habitation was to transgress the Jewish ancient laws, because many sepulchres were to be here taken away, in order to make room for the city *Tiberias* *; whereas our laws pronounce, that such inhabitants are unclean for seven days †.

4. About this time died Phraates, king of the Parthians, by the treachery of Phraataces his son, upon the occasion following. When Phraates had had legitimate sons of his own, he had also an Italian maid servant, whose name was *Thermusa*, who had been formerly sent to him by Julius Cæsar, among other presents. He first made her his concubine; but he being a great admirer of her beauty, in process of time having a son by her, whose name was *Phraataces*, he made her his legitimate wife, and had a great respect for her. Now, she was able to persuade him to do any thing she said, and was earnest in procuring the government of Parthia for her son;

* We may here take notice, as well as in the parallel parts of the books Of the War, B. II. ch. ix. sect. 1. Vol. III. that after the death of Herod the Great, and the succession of Archelaus, Josephus is very brief in his accounts of Judea, till near his own time. I suppose the reason is, that after the large history of Nicolaus of Damascus, including the life of Herod, and probably the succession and first actions of his sons, he had but few good histories of those times before him.

† Numb. xix. 11—14.

but still she saw that her endeavours would not succeed, unless she could contrive how to remove Phraates's legitimate sons [out of the kingdom]; so she persuaded him to send those his sons as pledges of his fidelity, to Rome; and they were sent to Rome accordingly, because it was not easy for him to contradict her commands. Now, while Phraataces was alone brought up in order to succeed in the government, he thought it very tedious to expect that government by his father's donation [as his successor]; he therefore formed a treacherous design against his father by his mother's assistance, with whom, as the report went, he had criminal conversation also. So he was hated for both these vices, while his subjects esteemed this [wicked] love of his mother to be no way inferior to his parricide; and he was by them in a sedition expelled out of the country, before he grew too great and died. But as the best sort of Parthians agreed together that it was impossible they should be governed without a king, while also it was their constant practice to choose one of the family of Arsaces, [nor did their law allow of any others; and they thought this kingdom had been sufficiently injured already by the marriage with an Italian concubine, and by her issue], they sent ambassadors and called Orodes [to take the crown]; for the multitude would not otherwise have borne them; and though he were accused of very great cruelty, and was of an intractable temper, and prone to wrath, yet still he was one of the family of Arsaces. However, they made a conspiracy against him, and slew him and that, as some say, at a festival, and among their sacrifices; (for it is the universal custom there to carry their swords with them); but as the more general report is, they slew him when they had drawn him out a-hunting. So they sent ambassadors to Rome, and desired they would send one of those that were there as pledges, to be their king. Accordingly Vonones was preferred before the rest, and sent to them; (for he seemed capable of such great fortune, which two of the greatest kingdoms under the sun now offered him, his own, and a foreign one). However the barbarians soon changed their minds, they being naturally of a mutable disposition, upon the supposal, that this man was not worthy to be their governor; for they could not think of obeying the commands of one that had been a slave, (for so they called those that had been hostages), nor could they bear the ignominy of that name; and this was the more intolerable, because then the Parthians must have such a king set over them, not by right of war, but in time of peace. So they presently invited Artabanus, king of Media, to be their king, he being also of the race of Arsaces. Artabanus complied with the offer that was made him, and came to them with an army. So Vonones met him; and at first the multitude of the Parthians stood on his side, and he put his army in array, but Artabanus was beaten, and fled to the mountains of Media. Yet did he a little

after gather a great army together, and fought with Vonones, and beat him ; whereupon Vonones fled away on horseback, with a few of his attendants about him, to Seleucia [upon Tigris]. So when Artabanus had slain a great number, and this after he had gotten the victory by reason of the very great dismay the barbarians were in, he retired to Ctesiphon with a great number of his people ; and so he now reigned over the Parthians. But Vonones fled away to Armenia ; and as soon as he came thither, he had an inclination to have the government of the country given him, and sent ambassadors to Rome [for that purpose]. But because Tiberius refused it him, and because he wanted courage, and because the Parthian king threatened him, and sent ambassadors to him to denounce war against him if he proceeded, and because he had no way to take to regain any other kingdom, (for the people of authority among the Armenians about Niphates joined themselves to Artabanus), he delivered up himself to Silanus, the president of Syria, who, out of regard to his education at Rome, kept him in Syria, while Artabanus gave Armenia to Orodes, one of his own sons.

5. At this time died Antiochus, the king of Commagene ; whereupon the multitude contended with the nobility, and both sent ambassadors to [Rome] ; for the men of power were desirous that their form of government might be changed into that of a [Roman] province ; as were the multitude desirous to be under king's, as their fathers had been. So the senate made a decree, that Germanicus should be sent to settle the affairs of the east, fortune hereby taking a proper opportunity for depriving him of his life ; for when he had been in the east, and settled all affairs there, his life was taken away by the poison which Piso gave him, as hath been related elsewhere*.

C H A P. III.

A Sedition of the Jews against Pontius Pilate. Concerning Christ, and what befel Paulina and the Jews at Rome.

§ 1. **B**UT now Pilate the procurator of Judea, removed the army from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, to take their winter-quarters there, in order to abolish the Jewish laws. So he introduced Cæsar's effigies, which were upon the ensigns, and brought them into the city ; whereas our law forbids us the very making of images ; on which account the former procurators were wont to make their entry into the city with such ensigns as had not those ornaments. Pilate was the first who brought those images to Jerusalem, and set them up there ;

* This citation is now wanting.

which was done without the knowledge of the people, because it was done in the night time ; but as soon as they knew it, they came in multitudes to Cefarea, and interceded with Pilate many days, that he would remove the images ; and when he would not grant their requests, because this would tend to the injury of Cæſar, while yet they persevered in their request, on the sixth day he ordered his ſoldiers to have their weapons privately, while he came and ſat upon his judgment ſeat ; which ſeat was ſo prepared in the open place of the city, that it concealed the army that lay ready to oppreſs them ; and when the Jews petitioned him again, he gave a ſignal to the ſoldiers to encompaſs them round, and threatened that their puniſhment ſhould be no leſs than immediate death, unleſs they would leave off diſturbſing him, and go their ways home. But they threw themſelves upon the ground, and laid their necks bare, and ſaid they would take their death very willingly, rather than the wiſdom of their laws ſhould be tranſgreſſed ; upon which Pilate was deeply affected with their firm reſolution to keep their laws inviolable, and preſently commanded the images to be carried back from Jeruſalem to Cefarea.

2. But Pilate undertook to bring a current of water to Jeruſalem, and did it with the ſacred money, and derived the origin of the ſtream from the diſtance of two hundred furlongs. However the Jews * were not pleaſed with what had been done about this water ; and many ten thouſands of the people got together, and made a clamour againſt him, and inſiſted that he ſhould leave off that deſign. Some of them alſo uſed reproaches, and abuſed the man, as crowds of ſuch people uſually do. So he habited a great number of his ſoldiers in their habit, who carried daggers under their garments, and ſent them to a place where they might ſurround them. So he bid the Jews himſelf go away ; but they boldly caſting reproaches upon him, he gave the ſoldiers that ſignal which had

* Theſe Jews, as they are here called, whoſe blood Pilate ſhed on this occaſion may very well be thoſe very Galilean Jews *whoſe blood Pilate had mingled with their ſacrifices* ; Luke xiii. 1, 2. ; theſe tumults being uſually excited at ſome of the Jews great feſtivals, when they ſlew abundance of ſacrifices, and the Galileans being commonly much more buſy in ſuch tumults than thoſe of Judea and Jeruſalem, as we learn from the hiſtory of Archelaus, Antiq. B. XVII. ch. ix. ſect. 2, and ch. x. ſect. 2, 9 Vol. II. ; though indeed Joſephus's preſent copies ſay not one word of *theſe eighteen upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, and ſlew them*, which the 4th verſe of the ſame xiii. chapter of St Luke informs us of. But ſince our goſpel teaches us, Luke xxiii. 6, 7. that, *when Pilate heard of Galilee, he asked whether Jeſus were a Galilean ? And as ſoon as he knew that he belonged to Herod's juriſdiction, he ſent him to Herod.* And, ver. 12. *The ſame day Pilate and Herod were made friends together ; for, before they had been at enmity between themſelves.* Take the very probable key of this matter in the words of the learned Noldius de Herod, No. 249. "The cauſe of the enmity between Herod and Pilate (ſays he), ſeems to have been this, that Pilate had intermeddled with the tetrarch's juriſdiction, and had ſlain ſome of his Galilean ſubjects ; Luke xiii. 1. ; and, as he was willing to correct that error, he ſent Chriſt to Herod at this time."

been beforehand agreed on ; who laid upon them much greater blows than Pilate had commanded them, and equally punished those that were tumultuous, and those that were not ; nor did they spare them in the least ; and since the people were unarmed, and were caught by men prepared for what they were about, there were a great number of them slain by this means, and others of them ran away wounded. And thus an end was put to this sedition.

3. Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man ; for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was [the] Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, * those that loved him at the first did not forsake him ; for he appeared to them alive again the third day ; † as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

4. About the same time also another sad calamity put the Jews into disorder, and certain shameful practices happened about the temple of Isis that was at Rome. I will now first take notice of the wicked attempt about the temple of Isis, and will then give an account of the Jewish affairs. There was at Rome a woman whose name was Paulina ; one who, on account of the dignity of her ancestors, and by the regular conduct of a virtuous life, had a great reputation : She was also very rich ; and although she were of a beautiful countenance, and in that flower of her age wherein women are the most gay, yet did she lead a life of great modesty. She was married to Saturninus, one that was every way answerable to her in an excellent character. Decius Mundus fell in love with this woman, who was a man very high in the equestrian order ; and as she was of too great dignity to be caught by presents, and had already rejected them, though they had been sent in great abundance, he was still more inflamed with love to her, insomuch that he promised to give her two hundred thousand Attic drachmæ for one night's lodging ; and when this would not prevail upon her, and he was not able to bear this misfortune in his amours, he thought it the best way to furnish himself to death for want of food, on account of Paulina's sad refusal ; and he determined with himself to die after such a manner, and he went on with his purpose accordingly. Now Mundus had a freed woman, who had been made free by his father, whose name was Ide, one skilful in all sorts of mischief. This woman was very much grieved at the young man's resolution to kill himself, (for he did not conceal his intentions to destroy himself from others,) and came to him,

* A. D. 33. April 3.

† April 5.

and encouraged him by her discourse, and made him to hope by some promises she gave him, that he might obtain a night's lodging with Paulina; and when he joyfully hearkened to her entreaty, she said she wanted no more than fifty thousand drachmæ for the entrapping of the woman. So when she had encouraged the young man, and gotten as much money as she required, she did not take the same methods as had been taken before, because she perceived that the woman was by no means to be tempted by money, but as she knew that she was much given to the worship of the goddess Isis, she devised the following stratagem: She went to some of Isis's priests, and upon the strongest assurances [of concealment], she persuaded them by words, but chiefly by the offer of money, of 25,000 drachmæ in hand, and as much more when the thing had taken effect; and told them the passion of the young man, and persuaded them to use all means possible to beguile the woman. So they were drawn into promise to do, by that large sum of gold they were to have. Accordingly the oldest of them went immediately to Paulina, and upon his admittance, he desired to speak with her by herself. When that was granted him, he told her, that "he was sent by the god Anubis who was fallen in love with her, and enjoined her to come to him." Upon this she took the message very kindly, and valued herself greatly upon this condescension of Anubis, and told her husband that she had a message sent her, and was to sup and to lie with Anubis; so he agreed to her acceptance of the offer, as fully satisfied with the chastity of his wife. Accordingly she went to the temple, and after she had supped there, and it was the hour to go to sleep, the priest shut the doors of the temple, when in the holy part of it, the lights were also put out. Then did Mundus leap out, (for he was hidden therein), and did not fail of enjoying her, who was at his service all the night long, as supposing he was the god; and when he was gone away, which was before those priests who knew nothing of this stratagem were stirring, Paulina came early to her husband, and told him how the god Anubis had appeared to her. Among her friends also she declared how great a value she put upon this favour, who partly disbelieved the thing, when they reflected on its nature, and partly were amazed at it, as having no pretence for not believing it, when they considered the modesty and the dignity of the person. But now on the third day after what had been done, Mundus met Paulina, and said, "Nay, Paulina, thou hast saved me two hundred thousand drachmæ, which sum thou mightest have added to thy own family; yet hast thou not failed to be at my service in the manner I invited thee. As for the reproaches thou hast laid upon Mundus, I value not the business of names; but I rejoice in the pleasure I reaped by what I did, while I took to myself the name of Anubis." When he had said this, he went his way. But now she began

to come to the sense of the grossness of what she had done, and rent her garments, and told her husband of the horrid nature of this wicked contrivance, and prayed him not to neglect to assist her in this case. So he discovered the fact to the emperor; whereupon Tiberius enquired into the matter thoroughly, by examining the priests about it, and ordered them to be crucified, as well as Ide, who was the occasion of their perdition, and who had contrived the whole matter, which was so injurious to the woman. He also demolished the temple of Isis, and gave order that her statue should be thrown into the river Tiber; while he only banished Mundus, but did no more to him, because he supposed that what crime he had committed was done out of the passion of love. And these were the circumstances which concerned the temple of Isis, and the injuries occasioned by her priests. I now return to the relation of what happened about this time to the Jews at Rome, as I formerly told you I would.

5. There was a man who was a Jew, but had been driven away from his own country by an accusation laid against him for transgressing their laws, and by the fear he was under of punishment for the same; but in all respects a wicked man. He then living at Rome, professed to instruct men in the wisdom of the laws of Moses. He procured also three other men, entirely of the same character with himself to be his partners. These men persuaded Fulvia a woman of great dignity, and one that had embraced the Jewish religion, to send purple and gold to the temple at Jerusalem, and, when they had gotten them, they employed them for their own uses, and spent the money themselves; on which account it was that they at first required it of her. Whereupon Tiberius, who had been informed of the thing by Saturninus, the husband of Fulvia, who desired inquiry might be made about it, ordered all the Jews to be banished out of Rome; at which time the consuls lifted 4000 men out of them, and sent them to the island Sardinia; but punished a greater number of them, who were unwilling to become soldiers on account of keeping the laws of their forefathers*. Thus were these Jews banished out of the city by the wickedness of four men.

* Of the banishment of these 4000 Jews into Sardinia by Tiberius, see Suetonius in Tiber. sect. 36. But as for Mr Reland's note here, which supposes, that Jews could not, consistently with their laws, be soldiers, it is contradicted by one branch of the history before us, and contrary to innumerable instances of their fighting, and proving excellent soldiers in war; and indeed many of the best of them, and even under heathen kings themselves, did so, those I mean who allowed them their rest on the sabbath day, and other solemn festivals, and let them live according to their own laws, as Alexander the Great and the Ptolemies of Egypt did. It is true, they could not always obtain those privileges, and then they got excused as well as they could, or sometimes absolutely refused to fight, which seems to have been the case here, as to the major part of the Jews now banished, but nothing more. See several of the Roman decrees in their favour as to such matters, B. XIV. ch. x. vol. II.

C H A P. IV.

How the Samaritans made a Tumult, and Pilate destroyed many of them : How Pilate was accused, and what things were done by Vitellius relating to the Jews and the Parthians.

§ 1. **B**UT the nation of the Samaritans did not escape without tumults. The man who excited them to it, was one who thought lying a thing of little consequence, and who contrived every thing so that the multitude might be pleased ; so he bid them to get together upon mount Gerizzim, which is by them looked upon as the most holy of all mountains, and assured them, that when they were come thither, he would shew them those sacred vessels which were laid under that place, because Moses * put them there. So they came thither armed, and thought the discourse of the man probable ; and as they abode at a certain village, which was called Tirathaba, they got the rest together to them, and desired to go up the mountain in a great multitude together ; but Pilate prevented their going up by seizing upon the roads with a great band of horsemen and footmen, who fell upon those that were gotten together in the village ; and when it came to an action, some of them they slew, and others of them they put to flight, and took a great many alive, the principal of which, and also the most potent of those that fled away, Pilate ordered to be slain.

2. But when this tumult was appeased, the Samaritan senate sent an embassy to Vitellius, a man that had been consul, and who was now president of Syria, and accused Pilate of the murder of those that were killed ; for that they did not go to Tirabatha in order to revolt from the Romans, but to escape the violence of Pilate. So Vitellius sent Marcellus, a friend of his, to take care of the affairs of Judea, and ordered Pilate to go to Rome, to answer before the emperor to the accusations of the Jews. So Pilate, when he had tarried ten years in Judea, made haste to Rome, and this in obedience to the orders of Vitellius, which he durst not contradict ; but before he could get to Rome, Tiberius was dead.

3. But Vitellius came into Judea, and went up to Jerusalem ; it was at the time of that festival which is called the

* Since Moses never came himself beyond Jordan, nor particularly to mount Girizzim, and since these Samaritans have a tradition among them, related here by Dr. Hudson, from Reland, who was very skilful in Jewish and Samaritan learning, that in the days of Uzzi or Ozzi the high-priest, 1 Chron. vi. 6. the ark and other sacred vessels were, by God's command, laid up or hidden in mount Gerizzim, it is highly probable that this was the foolish foundation the present Samaritans went upon, in the sedition here described, and that we should read here, "Ωσεως instead of Μωυσεως, in the text of Josephus.

Passover. Vitellius was there magnificently received, and released the inhabitants of Jerusalem from all the taxes upon the fruits that were brought and sold, and gave them leave to have the care of the high-priest's vestments, with all their ornaments, and to have them under the custody of the priests in the temple, which power they used to have formerly, although at this time they were laid up in the tower of Antonia, the citadel so called, and that on the occasion following : There was one of the [high] priests, named Hyrcanus, and as there were many of that name, he was the first of them ; this man built a tower near the temple, and when he had so done, he generally dwelt in it, and had these vestments with him ; because it was lawful for him alone to put them on, and he had them there repositied when he went down into the city, and took his ordinary garments ; the same things were continued to be done by his sons, and by their sons after them. But when Herod came to be king he rebuilt this tower, which was very conveniently situated, in a magnificent manner ; and because he was a friend to Antonius, he called it by the name of *Antonia*. And as he found these vestments lying there, he retained them in the same place, as believing, that while he had them in his custody, the people would make no innovations against him. The like to what Herod did was done by his son Archelaus, who was made king after him ; after whom the Romans, when they entered on the government, took possession of these vestments of the high-priest, and had them repositied in a stone-chamber, under the seal of the priests, and of the keepers of the temple, the captain of the guard lighting a lamp there every day ; and * seven days before a festival they were delivered to them by the captain of the guard, when the high-priest, having purified them, and made use of them, laid them up again in the same chamber where they had been laid up before, and this the very next day after the feast was over. This was the practice at the three yearly festivals, and on the fast day ; but Vitellius put these garments into our own power, as in the days of our forefathers, and ordered the captain of the guard not to trouble himself to inquire where they were laid, or when they were to be used ; and this he did as an act of kindness, to oblige the nation to him. Besides which, he also deprived Joseph, who was also called *Caiaphas*, of the high-priesthood, and appointed Jonathan, the son of Ananus, the former high-priest, to succeed him. After which, he took his journey back to Antioch.

* This mention of the high-priest's sacred garments received seven days before a festival, and purified in those days against a festival, as having been polluted, by being in the custody of heathens, in Josephus, agrees well with the traditions of the Talmudists, as Reland here observes. Nor is there any question but the three feasts here mentioned, were the Passover, Pentecost, and feast of Tabernacles ; and the Fast, so called by way of distinction, as Acts xxvii. 9. was the great day of expiation.

4. Moreover, Tiberius sent a letter to Vitellius, and commanded him to make a league of friendship with Artabanus, the king of Parthia; for while he was his enemy he terrified him, because he had taken Armenia away from him, lest he should proceed farther, and told him he should no otherwise trust him than upon his giving him hostages, and especially his son Artabanus. Upon Tiberius's writing thus to Vitellius, by the offer of great presents of money, he persuaded both the king of Iberia, and the king of Albania, to make no delay, but to fight against Artabanus; and although they would not do it themselves, yet did they give the Scythians a passage through their country, and opened the Caspian gates to them, and brought them upon Artabanus. So Armenia was again taken from the Parthians, and the country of Parthia was filled with war, and the principal of their men were slain and all these things were in disorder among them: The king's son, also himself fell in these wars, together with many ten thousands of his army. Vitellius had also sent such great sums of money to Artabanus's father's kinsmen and friends, that he had almost procured him to be slain by the means of those bribes which they had taken. And when Artabanus perceived that the plot laid against him was not to be avoided, because it was laid by the principal men, and those a great many in number, and that it would certainly take effect; when he had estimated the number of those that were truly faithful to him, as also of those who were already corrupted, but were deceitful in the kindness they professed to him, and were likely upon trial to go over to his enemies, he made his escape to the upper provinces, where he afterward raised a great army out of the Dabæ and Sacæ, and fought with his enemies, and retained his principality.

5. When Tiberius had heard of these things, he desired to have a league of friendship made between him and Artabanus; and when, upon this invitation, he received the proposal kindly, Artabanus and Vitellius went to Euphrates, and as a bridge was laid over the river, they each of them came with their guards about them, and met one another on the midst of the bridge. And when they had agreed upon the terms of peace, Herod the tetrarch erected a rich tent on the midst of the passage, and made them a feast there. Artabanus also, not long afterward, sent his son Darius, as an hostage, with many presents, among which there was a man seven cubits tall, a Jew he was by birth, and his name was *Eleazar*, who for his tallness was called a giant. After which Vitellius went to Antioch, and Artabanus to Babylon; but Herod [the tetrarch] being desirous to give Cæsar the first information that they had obtained hostages, sent posts with letters, wherein he had accurately described all the particulars, and had left nothing for the consular Vitellius to inform him of. But when Vitellius's letters were sent, and Cæsar

had let him know that he was acquainted with the affairs already, because Herod had given him an account of them before, Vitellius was very much troubled at it; and supposing that he had been thereby a greater sufferer than he really was, he kept up a secret anger upon this occasion, till he could be revenged on him, which he was after Caius had taken the government.

6. About this time it was that Philip, Herod's brother, departed this life, in the twentieth year * of the reign of Tiberius, after he had been tetrarch of Trachonitis and Gaulanitis, and of the nation of the Bataneans also; thirty-seven years. He had shewed himself a person of moderation and quietness in the conduct of his life and government; he constantly lived in that country which was subject to him †; he used to make his progress with a few chosen friends; his tribunal also, on which he sat in judgment, followed him in his progress; and when any one met him who wanted his assistance, he made no delay, but had his tribunal set down immediately, where-soever he happened to be, and sat down upon it, and heard his complaint: He there ordered the guilty that were convicted to be punished, and absolved those that had been accused unjustly. He died at Julias; and when he was carried to that monument which he had already erected for himself beforehand, he was buried with great pomp. His principality Tiberius took, for he left no sons behind him, and added it to the province of Syria, but gave order that the tributes which arose from it should be collected, and laid up in his tetrarchy.

C H A P. V.

Herod the Tetrarch makes War with Aretas, the King of Arabia, and is beaten by him; as also concerning the Death of John the Baptist: How Vitellius went up to Jerusalem; together with some account of Agrippa, and of the posterity of Herod the Great.

§ I. ABOUT this time Aretas, the king of Arabia Petrea, and Herod, had a quarrel on the account following: Herod the tetrarch had married the daughter of Aretas, and had lived with her a great while, but when he was once at

* This calculation from all Josephus's Greek copies, is exactly right; for since Herod died about September, in the 4th year before the Christian æra, and Tiberius began, as is well known, Aug. 19. A. D. 14. it is evident that the 37th year of Philip, reckoned from his father's death, was the 20th of Tiberius, or near the end of A. D. 33. (the very year of our Saviour's death also,) or however in the beginning of the next year A. D. 34. This Philip the tetrarch seems to have been the best of all the posterity of Herod, for his love of peace, and his love of justice.

† An excellent example this.

Rome, he lodged with Herod*, who was his brother indeed, but not by the same mother; for this Herod was the son of the high-priest Simon's daughter. However, he fell in love with Herodias, this last Herod's wife, who was the daughter of Aristobulus their brother, and the sister of Agrippa the Great; this man ventured to talk to her about a marriage between them, which address when she admitted, an agreement was made for her to change her habitation and come to him as soon as he should return from Rome: One article of this marriage also was this, that he should divorce Aretas's daughter. So Antipas, when he had made this agreement, sailed to Rome; but when he had done there the business he went about, and was returned again, his wife having discovered the agreement he had made with Herodias, and having learned it before he had notice of her knowledge of the whole design, she desired him to send her to Macherus, which is a place in the borders of the dominions of Aretas and Herod, without informing him of any of her intentions. Accordingly Herod sent her thither, as thinking his wife had not perceived any thing; now she had sent a good while before to Macherus, which was subject to her father, and so all things necessary for her journey, were made ready for her by the general of Aretas's army; and by that mean she soon came into Arabia, under the conduct of the several generals, who carried her from one to another successively, and she soon came to her father, and told him of Herod's intentions. So Aretas made this the first occasion of his enmity between him and Herod, who had also some quarrel with him about their limits at the country of Gemalitis. So they raised armies on both sides, and prepared for war, and sent their generals to fight instead of themselves; and when they had joined battle, all Herod's army was destroyed by the treachery of some fugitives, who, though they were of the tetrarchy of Philip, joined with Herod's army. So Herod wrote about these affairs to Tiberius, who being very angry at the attempt made by Aretas, wrote to Vitellius, to make war upon him, and either to take him alive, and bring him to him in bonds, or to kill him, and send him his head. This was the charge that Tiberius gave to the president of Syria.

2. Now some of the Jews thought that the destruction of

* This Herod seems to have had the additional name of *Philip*, as Antipas was named *Herod-Antipas*, and as Antipas and Antipater seem to be in a manner the very same name, yet were the names of two sons of Herod the Great; so might Philip the tetrarch and this Herod-Philip be two different sons of the same father, all which Grotius observes on Matt. xiv. 3. Nor was it, as I agree with Grotius and others of the learned, Philip the tetrarch, but this Herod-Philip, whose wife Herod the tetrarch had married, and that in her first husband's lifetime, and when her first husband had issue by her; for which adulterous and incestuous marriage, John the Baptist justly reprov'd Herod the tetrarch, and for which reproof Salome, the daughter of Herodias, by her first husband Herod-Philip, who was still alive, or caus'd him to be unjustly beheaded.

Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment of what he did against John, that was called the Baptist. for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism ; for that the washing [with water] would be acceptable to him, if they made use of it, not in order to the putting [or the remission] of some sins [only,] but for the purification of the body ; supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now when [many] others came in crowds about him, for they were greatly moved [or pleased] by hearing his words, Herod, who feared lest the great influence John had over the people, might put it into his power and inclination to raise rebellion (for they seemed to do any thing he should advise,) thought it best, by putting him to death, to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not bring himself into difficulties, by sparing a man who might make him repent of it when it should be too late. Accordingly he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Macherus, the castle I before mentioned, and was there put to death. Now the Jews had an opinion that the destruction of this army was sent as a punishment by Herod, and a mark of God's displeasure to him.

3. So Vitellius prepared to make war with Aretas, having with him two legions of armed men ; he also took with him all those of light armature, and of the horsemen which belonged to them, and were drawn out of those kingdoms which were under the Romans, and made haste for Petra, and came to Ptolemais. But as he was marching very busily, and leading his army through Judea, the principal men met him, and desired that he would not thus march through their land ; for that the laws of their country would not permit them to overlook those images which were brought into it, of which there were a great many in their ensigns ; so he was persuaded by what they said, and changed that resolution of his, which he had before taken in this matter. Whereupon he ordered the army to march along the great plain, while he himself, with Herod the tetrarch, and his friends went up to Jerusalem to offer sacrifice to God, an ancient festival of the Jews being then just approaching ; and when he had been there, and been honourably entertained by the multitude of the Jews, he made a stay there for three days, within which time he deprived Jonathan of the high priesthood, and gave it to his brother Theophilus. But when on the fourth day letters came to him, which informed him of the death of Tiberius, he obliged the multitude to take an oath of fidelity to Caius ; he also recalled his army, and made them every one go home, and take their winter quarters there, since, upon the devolution of the empire upon Caius, he had not the like authority of making this war which he had before. It was also reported, that when

Aretas heard of the coming of Vitellius to fight him, he said upon his consulting the diviners, that it was impossible that this army of Vitellius's could enter Petra; for that one of the rulers would die, either he that gave orders for the war, or he that was marching at the other's desire, in order to be subservient to his will, or else he against whom this army is prepared. So Vitellius truly retired to Antioch; but Agrippa the son of Aristobulus, went up to Rome a year before the death of Tiberius, in order to treat of some affairs with the emperor, if he might be permitted so to do. I have now a mind to describe Herod and his family, how it fared with them, partly because it is suitable to this history, to speak of that matter, and partly because this thing is a demonstration of the interposition of providence, how a multitude of children is of no advantage, no more than any other strength that mankind set their hearts upon, besides those acts of piety which are done towards God: For it happened, that, within the revolution of an hundred years, the posterity of Herod, which were a great many in number, were, excepting a few, utterly destroyed*. One may well apply this for the instruction of mankind, and learn thence how unhappy they were; it will also shew us the history of Agrippa, who, as he was a person most worthy of admiration, so was he from a private man, beyond all the expectation of those that knew him, advanced to great power and authority. I have said something of them formerly, but I shall now also speak accurately about them.

4. Herod the Great had two daughters by Mariamne the [grand] daughter of Hyrcanus; the one was Salampfio, who was married to Phasaelus her first cousin, who was himself the son of Phasaelus, Herod's brother, her father making the match; the other was Cypros who was herself married also to her first cousin Antipater, the son of Salome, Herod's sister. Phasaelus had five children by Salampfio, Antipater, Herod, and Alexander, and two daughters, Alexandra, and Cypros, which last Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, married, and Timius of Cyprus married Alexandra; he was a man of note, but had by her no children. Agrippa had by Cypros two sons, and three daughters, which daughters was named Bernice, Mariamne, and Drusilla; but the names of the sons were Agrippa, and Drusus, of which Drusus died before he came to the years of puberty; but their father Agrippa was brought up with his other brethren, Herod and Aristobulus, for these were also the sons of the son of Herod the Great, by Bernice; but Bernice was the daughter of Costobarus and of Salome, who was Herod's sister. Aristobulus left these infants, when he was slain by his father, togeth-

* Whether this sudden extinction of almost the entire lineage of Herod the Great, which was very numerous, as we are both here and in the next section, informed, was not in part as a punishment for the gross incests they were frequently guilty of, in marrying their own nephews and nieces, well deserves to be considered. See Levit. xviii. 6, 7. xxi. 10. And Noldius, De Herod, No. 269, 270.

er with his brother Alexander, as we have already related. But when they were arrived at years of puberty, this Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married Mariamne, the daughter of Olympias, who was the daughter of Herod the king, and of Joseph, the son of Joseph who was brother to Herod the king, and had by her a son, Aristobulus; but Aristobulus, the third brother of Agrippa, married Jotape, the daughter of Sampsigeramus, king of Emesa*; they had a daughter who was deaf, whose name also was Jotape; and these hitherto were the children of the male-line. But Herodias, their sister, was married to Herod [Philip,] the son of Herod the Great, who was born of Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the high-priest, who had a daughter Salome; after whose birth Herodias took upon her to confound the laws of our country, and divorced herself from her husband while he was alive, and was married to Herod [Antipater,] her husband's brother by the father's side; he was tetrarch of Galilee; but her daughter Salome was married to Philip, the son of Herod, and tetrarch of Trachonitis, and as he died childless, Aristobulus, the son of Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married her; they had three sons, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus, and this was the posterity of Phasaëlus, and Salampsis. But the daughter of Antipater by Cypros, was Cypros, whom Alexis Selcias, the son of Alexas, married; they had a daughter, Cypros; but Herod and Alexander, who, as we told you, were the brothers of Antipater, died childless. As to Alexander, the son of Herod the king, who was slain by his father, he had two sons, Alexander and Tigranes, by the daughter of Archelaus king of Cappadocia; Tigranes, who was king of Armenia, was accused at Rome, & died childless; Alexander had a son of the same name with his brother Tigranes, and was sent to take possession of the kingdom of Armenia by Nero: He had a son, Alexander, who married Jotape, † the daughter of Antiochus, the king of Commagena; Vespasian made him king of an island in Sicily. But these descendants of Alexander, soon after their birth, deserted the Jewish religion, and went over to that of the Greeks; but for the rest of the daughters of Herod the king, it happened that they died childless. And as these descendants of Herod, whom we have enumerated, were in being at the same time that Agrippa the Great took the kingdom, and I have now given an account of them, it remains that I relate the several hard fortunes which betel Agrippa, and how he got clear of them, and was advanced to the greatest height of dignity and power.

* There are coins still extant of this Emesa, as Spanheim informs us.

† Spanheim also informs us of a coin still extant of this Jotape, daughter of the king of Commagena.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Navigation of King Agrippa to Rome, to Tiberius Cæsar; and how, upon his being accused by his own freed-man, he was bound: How also he was set at liberty by Caius, after Tiberius's death, and was made king of the tetrarchy of Philip.

§ 1. **A** LITTLE before the death of Herod the king, Agrippa lived at Rome, and was generally brought up and conversed with Drusus, the emperor Tiberius's son, and contracted a friendship with Antonia, the wife of Drusus the Great, who had his mother Bernice in great esteem, and was very desirous of advancing her son. Now as Agrippa was by nature magnanimous and generous in the presents he made, while his mother was alive, this inclination of his mind did not appear, that he might be able to avoid her anger for such his extravagance; but when Bernice was dead, and he was left to his own conduct, he spent a great deal extravagantly in his daily way of living, and a great deal in the immoderate presents he made, and those chiefly among Cæsar's freed-men, in order to gain their assistance, insomuch that he was in a little time reduced to poverty, and could not live at Rome any longer. Tiberius also forbade the friends of his deceased son to come into his sight because on seeing them he should be put in mind of his son, and his grief would thereby be revived.

2. For these reasons he went away from Rome, and sailed to Judea, but in evil circumstances, being dejected with the loss of that money, which he once had, and because he had not wherewithal to pay his creditors, who were many in number, and such as gave him no room for escaping them. Whereupon he knew not what to do; so, for shame of his present condition, he retired to a certain tower, at Malatha, in Idumea, and had thoughts of killing himself; but his wife Cypros perceived his intentions, and tried all sorts of methods to divert him from his taking such a course: So she sent a letter to his sister Herodias, who was now the wife of Herod the tetrarch, and let her know Agrippa's present design, and what necessity it was which drove him thereto, and desired her as a kinswoman of his, to give him her help, and to engage her husband to do the same, since she saw how she alleviated these her husband's troubles all she could, although she had not the like wealth to do it withal. So they sent him, and allotted him Tiberias for his habitation, and appointed him some income of money for his maintenance, and made him a magistrate of that city, by way of honour to him. Yet did not Herod long continue in that resolution of supporting him, though even that support was not sufficient for him; for

as once they were at a feast at Tyre, and in their cups, and reproaches were cast upon one another, Agrippa thought that was not to be borne, while Herod bit him in the teeth with his poverty, and with his owing his necessary food to him. So he went to Flaccus, one that had been consul, and had been a very great friend to him at Rome formerly, and was now president of Syria.

3. Hereupon Flaccus received him kindly, and he lived with him. Flaccus had also with him there Aristobulus, who was indeed Agrippa's brother, but was at variance with him; yet did not their enmity to one another hinder the friendship of Flaccus to them both, but still they were honourably treated by him. However, Aristobulus did not abate of his ill-will to Agrippa, till at length he brought him into ill terms with Flaccus: The occasion of bringing on which estrangement was this: The Damascens were at difference with the Sidonians about their limits, and when Flaccus was about to hear the cause between them, they understood that Agrippa had a mighty influence upon him; so they desired that he would be of their side, and for that favour promised him a great deal of money; so he was zealous in assisting the Damascens as far as he was able. Now Aristobulus had gotten intelligence of this promise of money to him, and accused him to Flaccus of the same; and when upon a thorough examination of the matter, it appeared plainly so to be, he rejected Agrippa out of the number of his friends. So he was reduced to the utmost necessity, and came to Ptolemais; and because he knew not where else to get a livelihood, he thought to sail to Italy; but as he was restrained from so doiny by want of money, he desired Marfyas, who was his freed man, to find some method for procuring him so much as he wanted for that purpose, by borrowing such a sum of some person or other. So Marfyas desired of Peter, who was the freed man of Bernice, Agrippa's mother, and by the right of her testament was bequeathed to Antonia, to lend so much upon Agrippa's own bond and security; but he accused Agrippa of having defrauded him of certain sums of money, and so obliged Marfyas when he made the bond of 20,000 Attic drachmæ, to accept of 2500 drachmæ * less than what he desired, which the other allowed of, because he could not help it. Upon the receipt of this money, Agrippa came to Anthedon, and took shipping, and was going to set sail; but Herennius Capito, who was the procurator of Jamnia, sent a band of soldiers to demand of him 300,000 drachmæ of silver, which were by him owing to Cæsar's treasury while he was at Rome, and so forced him to stay. He then pretended that he would do as he bid him; but

* Spanheim observes, that we have here an instance of the Attic quantity of use money, which was the eighth part of the original sum, or 12 and an half per cent. for such is the proportion of 2500 to 20,000.

when night came on, he cut his cables, and went off, and sailed to Alexandria, where he desired Alexander the Alabarch * to lend him 200,000 drachmæ; but he said he would not lend it to him, but would not refuse it to Cypros, as greatly astonished at her affection to her husband, and at the other instances of her virtue, so she undertook to repay it. Accordingly Alexander paid them five talents at Alexandria, and promised to pay him the rest of that sum at Dicearchia [Puteoli]; and this he did out of the fear he was in that Agrippa would soon spend it. So this Cypros set her husband free, and dismissed him to go on with his navigation to Italy while she and her children departed for Judea.

4. And now Agrippa was come to Puteoli, whence he wrote a letter to Tiberius Cæsar, who then lived at Capræ, and told him, that he was come so far in order to wait on him, and to pay him a visit; and desired that he would give him leave to come over to Capræ; so Tiberius made no difficulty, but wrote to him in an obliging way in other respects, and withal told him, he was glad of his safe return, and desired him to come to Capræ; and when he was come, he did not fail to treat him as kindly as he had promised him in his letter to do. But the next day came a letter to Cæsar from Herennius Capito to inform him, that Agrippa had borrowed 300,000 drachmæ, and not paid it at the time appointed; but, when it was demanded of him, he ran away like a fugitive, out of the places under his government, and put it out of his power to get the money of him. When Cæsar had read this letter, he was much troubled at it, and gave order that Agrippa should be excluded from his presence, until he had paid that debt: Upon which he was no way daunted at Cæsar's anger, but entreated Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, and of Claudius, who was afterward Cæsar himself, to lend him those 300 000 drachmæ, that he might not be deprived of Tiberius's friendship; so, out of regard to the memory of Bernice his mother, (for those two women were very familiar with one another), and out of regard to his and Claudius's education together, she lent him the money; and, upon the payment of this debt, there was nothing to hinder Tiberius's friendship to him. After this, Tiberius Cæsar recommended to him his grandson †, and ordered that he should always accompany him when he went abroad. But upon Agrippa's kind reception by Antonia, he betook himself to pay his respects to Caius, who was her grandson, and in very high reputation by reason of the good will they bare his father ‡. Now there was one Thallus, a freed man of Cæsar, of whom he borrowed a million of drachmæ, and thence repaid Antonia the debt he owed her; and by sending the overplus in paying his court to Caius, became a person of great authority with him.

* The Governor of the Jews there.

† Tiberius junior.

‡ Germanicus.

5. Now, as the friendship which Agrippa had for Caius was come to a great height, there happened some words to pass between them, as they once were in a chariot together, concerning Tiberius; Agrippa praying [to God], (for they two sat by themselves), that "Tiberius might soon go off the stage, and leave the government to Caius, who was in every respect more worthy of it." Now Eutychus, who was Agrippa's freed man, and drove his chariot, heard these words, and at that time said nothing of them; but when Agrippa accused him of stealing some garments of his, (which was certainly true), he ran away from him; but when he was caught, and brought before Piso, who was governor of the city, and the man was asked, why he ran away? he replied, that he had somewhat to say to Cæsar, that tended to his security and preservation: So Piso bound him, and sent him to Capreæ. But Tiberius, according to his usual custom, kept him still in bonds, being a delayer of affairs, if there ever was any other king or tyrant that was so; for he did not admit ambassadors quickly, and no successors were dispatched away to governors or procurators of the provinces, that had been formerly sent, unless they were dead; whence it was, that he was so negligent in hearing the causes of prisoners; insomuch, that when he was asked by his friends, what was the reason of his delay in such cases? He said, That "he delayed to hear ambassadors, lest, upon their quick dismissal, other ambassadors should be appointed, and return upon him; and so he should bring trouble upon himself in their public reception and dismissal: That he permitted those governors, who had been sent once to their governments [to stay there a great while], out of regard to the subjects that were under them; for that all governors are naturally disposed to get as much as they can, and that those who are not to fix there, but to stay a short time, and that at an uncertainty, when they shall be turned out, do the more severely hurry themselves on to fleece the people; but that, if their government be long continued to them, they are at last satiated with the spoils, as having gotten a vast deal, and so become at length less sharp in their pillaging; but that, if successors are sent quickly, the poor subjects, who are exposed to them as a prey, will not be able to bear the new ones, while they shall not have the same time allowed them, wherein their predecessors had filled themselves, and so grew more unconcerned about getting more; and this because they are removed before they have had time [for their oppressions]. He gave them an example to shew his meaning: A great number of flies came about the sore places of a man that had been wounded; upon which one of the standers-by pitied the man's misfortune, and, thinking he was not able to drive those flies away himself, was going to drive them away for him; but he prayed him to let them alone: The other, by way of reply, asked him the reason of such a preposterous proceed-

ing, in preventing relief from his present misery ; to which he answered, If thou drivest these flies away, thou wilt hurt me worse ; for, as these are already full of my blood, they do not crowd about me, nor pain me so much as before, but are sometimes more remiss, while the fresh ones that come almost famished, and find me quite tired down already, will be my destruction. For this cause, therefore, it is, that I am myself careful not to send such new governors perpetually to those my subjects, who are already sufficiently harrassed by many oppressions, as may, like these flies, farther distress them ; and so, besides their natural desire of gain, may have this additional incitement to it, that they expect to be suddenly deprived of that pleasure which they take in it." And as a farther attestation to what I say of the dilatory nature of Tiberius, I appeal to this his practice itself ; for, although he were emperor twenty-two years, he sent in all but two procurators to govern the nation of the Jews, Gratus, and his successor in the government, Pilate. Nor was he in one way of acting with respect to the Jews, and in another with respect to the rest of his subjects. He farther informed them that even in the hearing of the causes of prisoners, he made such delays, " because immediate death to those that must be condemned to die, would be an alleviation of their present miseries, while those wicked wretches have not deserved any such favour ; but I do it, that, by being harrassed with the present calamity, they may undergo greater misery."

6. On this account it was, that Eutychus could not obtain an hearing, but was kept still in prison. However, some time afterward, Tiberius came from Capræ to Tivulanum, which, is about an hundred furlongs from Rome. Agrippa then desired of Antonia, that she would procure an hearing for Eutychus, let the matter whereof he accused him prove what it would. Now Antonia was greatly esteemed by Tiberius on all accounts, from the dignity of her relation to him, who had been his brother Darius's wife, and for her eminent chastity * ; for though she were still a young woman, she contin-

* This high commendation of Antonia for marrying but once, given here, and supposed elsewhere, Antiq. B. XVII. ch. xiii. sect. 4. Vol. II. and this notwithstanding the strongest temptations, shews how honourable single marriages were both among the Jews and Romans, in the days of Josephus and of the apostles, and takes away much of that surprise which the modern Protestants have at those laws of the apostles, where no widows, but those who had been the wives of *one husband* only, are taken into the church list, and no bishops, priests, or deacons, are allowed to marry more than once, without leaving off to officiate as clergymen any longer. See Luke ii. 36. 1 Tim. v. 11, 12. iii. 2. 12. Tit. i. 10. Constitut. Apost. B. II. sect. 1, 2. B. VI. sect. 17. Can. B. XVII. Grot. in Luc. ii. 36. and Respons. ad Consult. Cassand. p. 44. and Cotelet. in Constitut. B. VI. sect. 17. And note, that Tertullian owns this law, against second marriages of the clergy, had been once at least executed in his time ; and heavily complains elsewhere, that the breach thereof had not been always punished by the Catholics, as it ought to have been; Jerom, speaking of the ill reputation of marrying twice, says, That no such person could be chosen into the clergy in his days ; which Augustine testifies also ;

ued her widowhood, and refused all other matches, although Augustus had enjoined her to be married to some body else : Yet did she all along preserve her reputation free from reproach. She had also been the greatest benefactress to Tiberius, when there was a very dangerous plot laid against him by Sejanus, a man who had been her husband's friend, and who had the greatest authority, because he was general of the army and when many members of the senate, and many of the freed-men joined with him, and the soldiery was corrupted, and the plot was come to a great height. Now Sejanus had certainly gained his point, had not Antonia's boldness been more wisely conducted than Sejanus's malice ; for, when she had discovered his designs against Tiberius, she wrote him an exact account of the whole, and gave the letter to Pallas, the most faithful of her servants, and sent him to Capreæ to Tiberius, who, when he understood it, slew Sejanus and his confederates ; so that Tiberius, who had her in great esteem before, now looked upon her with still greater respect, and depended upon her in all things. So, when Tiberius was desired by this Antonia to examine Eutychus, he answered, " If indeed Eutychus hath falsely accused Agrippa in what he hath said of him he hath had sufficient punishment by what I have done to him already ; but if, upon examination, the accusation appears to be true, let Agrippa have a care, lest, out of desire of punishing his freed-man, he do not rather bring a punishment upon himself." Now when Antonia told Agrippa of this, he was still much more pressing that the matter might be examined into ; so Antonia, upon Agrippa's lying hard at her continually to beg this favour, took the following opportunity : As Tiberius once lay at his ease upon his sedan, and was carried about and Caius her grandson and Agrippa were before him after dinner, she walked by the sedan, and desired him to call Eutychus, and have him examined ; to which he replied, " O Antonia, the gods are my witnesses, that I am induced to do what I am going to do, not by my own inclination, but because I am forced to it by thy prayers." When he had said this, he ordered Marco, who succeeded Sejanus, to bring Eutychus to him ; accordingly, without any delay, he was brought. Then Tiberius asked him, what he had to say against a man who had given him his liberty ? Upon which he said, " O my lord, this Caius, and Agrippa with him, were once riding in a chariot, when I sat at their feet, and among other discourses that passed, Agrippa said to Caius, O that the day would once come, when this old fellow will die, and name thee for the governor of the habitable earth ! for then this Tiberius, his grand-son, would be no hindrance,

and for Epiphanius, rather earlier, he is clear and full to the same purpose, and says, that law obtained over the whole Catholic Church in his days ; as the places in the forecited authors inform us.

but would be taken off by thee, and that earth would be happy, and I happy also." Now Tiberius took these to be truly Agrippa's words, and bearing a grudge withal at Agrippa, because when he had commanded him to pay his respects to Tiberius, his grandson, and the son of Darius, Agrippa had not paid him that respect, but had disobeyed his commands, and transferred all their regard to Caius; he said to Macro, "Bind this man." But Macro not distinctly knowing which of them it was whom he bid him bind, and not expecting that he would have any such thing done to Agrippa, he forbore, and came to ask more distinctly what it was that he said? But when Cæsar had gone round the hippodrome, he found Agrippa standing: "For certain," said he, "Macro, this is the man I meant to have bound:" And when he still asked, "Which of these is to be bound?" he said, "Agrippa." Upon which Agrippa betook himself to make supplication for himself, putting him in mind of his son, with whom he was brought up, and of Tiberius [his grandson] whom he had educated: But all to no purpose; for they led him about bound even in his purple garments. It was also very hot weather, and they had but little wine to their meal; so that he was very thirsty: He was also in a sort of agony, and took this treatment of him heinously, as he therefore saw one of Caius's slaves, whose name was *Thaumasus*, carrying some water in a vessel, he desired that he would let him drink; so the servant gave him some water to drink, and he drank heartily, and said, "O thou boy, this service of thine to me will be for thy advantage; for, if I once get clear of these my bonds, I will soon procure thee thy freedom of Caius, who has not been wanting to minister to me now I am in bonds, in the same manner as when I was in my former state and dignity." Nor did he deceive him in what he promised him, but made him amends for what he had now done; for, when afterward Agrippa was come to the kingdom, he took particular care of *Thaumasus* and got him his liberty from Caius, and made him the steward over his own estate; and, when he died, he left him to Agrippa his son and to Bernice his daughter, to minister to them in the same capacity. The man also grew old in that honourable post, and therein died. But all this happened a good while later.

7. Now Agrippa stood in his bonds before the royal palace, and leaned on a certain tree for grief, with many others who were in bonds also; and as a certain bird sat upon the tree on which Agrippa leaned (the Romans call this bird *bubo*), [an owl], one of those that were bound, a German by nation, saw him, and asked a foldier what that man in purple was? And when he was informed that his name was Agrippa, and that he was by nation a Jew, and one of the principal men of that nation, he

asked leave of the foldier to whom he was bound *, to let him come nearer to him, to fpeak with him ; for that he had a mind to enquire of him about fome things relating to his country ; which liberty when he had obtained, and as he flood near him, he faid thus to him by an interpreter, That “ this fudden change of thy condition, O young man, is grievous to thee, as bringing on thee a manifold and very great adverfity ; nor wilt thou believe me, when I foretel how thou wilt get clear of this mifery which thou art now under, and how divine Providence will provide for thee. Know therefore (and I appeal to my own country-gods, as well as to the gods of this place, who have awarded thefe bonds to us), that all I am going to fay about thy concerns, fhall neither be faid for favour nor bribery, nor out of an endeavour to make the cheerful without caufe ; for fuch predictions, when they come to fail, make the grief at laft, and in earneft, more bitter than if the party had never heard of any fuch thing. However, though I run the hazard of my own felt, I think it fit to declare to thee the prediction of the gods. It cannot be that thou fhouldeft long continue in thefe bonds ; but thou wilt foon be delivered from them, and wilt be promoted to the higheft dignity and power, and thou wilt be envied by all thofe who now pity thy hard fortune ; and thou wilt be happy till thy death, and wilt leave that thine happinefs to the children whom thou fhalt have. But do thou remember, when thou feeft this bird again, that thou wilt then live but five days longer. This event will be brought to pafs by that God who hath fent this bird hither to be a fign unto thee. And I cannot but think it unjuft to conceal from thee what I foreknew concerning thee, that, by thy knowing beforehand what happinefs is coming upon thee, thou mayeft not regard thy prefent miffortunes. But, when this happinefs fhall actually befall thee, do not forget what mifery I am in myfelf, but endeavour to deliver me.” So, when the German had faid this, he made Agrippa laugh at him as much as he afterwards appeared worthy admiration. But now Antonia took Agrippa’s miffortunes to heart ; however, to fpeak to Tiberius on his behalf, fhe took to be a very difficult thing, and indeed quite impracticable, as to any hope of fuccefs : Yet did fhe procure of Macro, that the foldiers that kept him fhould be of a gentle nature, and that the centurion who was over them, and was to diet with him, fhould be of the fame difpofition, and that he might have leave to bathe himfelf every day, and that his freed-men and friends might come to him, and that other things that tended to eafe him, might be indulged him. So his friend Silas came in to him, and two of his freed-men,

* Dr. Hudfon here takes notice, out of Sebeca, Epiftle V. that this was the cuftom of Tiberius, to couple the prifoner and the foldier that guarded him together in the fame chain.

Marfyras and Stechus, brought him fuch forts of food as he was fond of, and indeed took great care of him; they alfo brought him garments, under pretence of felling them, and, when night came on, they laid them under him; and the foldiers affifted them, as Macro had given them order to do beforehand. And this was Agrippa's condition for fix months time, and in this cafe were his affairs.

8. But for Tiberius, upon his return to Capreæ, he fell fick. At firft his diftemper was but gentle; but, as that diftemper increafed upon him, he had fmall or no hopes of recovery. Hereupon he bid Euodus, who was that freed-man whom he moft of all refpected, to bring the children* to him; for that he wanted to talk to them before he died. Now he had at prefent no fons of his own alive; for Drufus, who was his only fon, was dead; but Drufus's fon Tiberius was ftill living, whole additional name was *Gemellus*: There was alfo living Caius, the fon of Germanicus, who was the fon † of his brother [Drufus]. He was now grown up, and had had a liberal education, and was well improved by it, and was in efteem and favour with the people on account of the excellent character of his father Germanicus, who had attained the higheft honour among the multitude, by the firmnefs of his virtuous behaviour, by the eafinefs and agreeablenefs of his converfing with the multitude, and becaufe the dignity he was in, did not hinder his familiarity with them all, as if they were his equals; by which behaviour he was not only greatly efteemed by the people and fenate, but by every one of thofe nations that were fubjeft to the Romans, fome of which were affected, when they came to him, with the gracefultnefs of their reception by him, and others were affected in the fame manner by the report of the others that had been with him: And upon his death there was a lamentation made by all men; not fuch an one as was to be made in way of flattery to their rulers, while they did but counterfeit forrow, but fuch as was real; while every body grieved at his death, as if they had loft one that was near to them. And truly fuch had been his eafy converfation with men, that it turned greatly to the advantage of his fon among all, and, among others, the foldiers were fo peculiarly affected to him, that they reckoned it an eligible thing, if need were, to die themfelves, if he might but attain to the government.

9. But when Tiberius had given order to Euodus to bring the children to him the next day in the morning, he prayed to his country gods to fhew him a manifefl fignal, which of thofe children fhould come to the government; being very defirous to leave it to his fon's fon, but ftill depending upon what God

* Tiberius his own grandfon, and Caius his brother Drufus's grandfon.

† So I correct Jofephus's copy, which calls Germanicus his brother, who was his brother's fon.

should foreflew concerning them, more than upon his own opinion and inclination ; so he made this to be the omen, that the government should be left to him who should come to him first the next day. When he had thus resolved within himself, he sent to his grandson's tutor, and ordered him to bring the child to him early in the morning, as supposing that God would permit him to be made emperor. But God proved opposite to his designation ; for while Tiberius was thus contriving matters, and as soon as it was at all day, he bid Euodus to call in that child which should be there ready. So he went out, and found Caius before the door, for Tiberius was not yet come, but staid waiting for his breakfast ; for Euodus knew nothing of what his lord intended ; so he said to Caius, " Thy father calls thee," and then brought him in. As soon as Tiberius saw Caius, and not before, he reflected on the power of God, and how the ability of bestowing the government on whom he would was entirely taken from him ; and thence he was not able to establish what he had intended. So he greatly lamented that his power of establishing what he had before contrived was taken from him, and that his grandson Tiberius was not only to lose the Roman empire by his fatality, but his own safety also, because his preservation would now depend upon such as would be more potent than himself, who would think it a thing not to be borne, that a kinsman should live with them, and so his relation would not be able to protect him : But he would be feared and hated by him who had the supreme authority, partly on account of his being next to the empire, and partly on account of his perpetually contriving to get the government, both in order to preserve himself, and to be at the head of affairs also. Now Tiberius had been very much given to astrology *, and the calculation of nativities, and had spent his life in the esteem of what predictions had proved true, more than those whose profession it was. Accordingly, when he once saw Galba coming in to him, he said to his most intimate friends, that " there came in a man that would one day have the dignity of the Roman empire." So that this Tiberius was more addicted to all such sorts of diviners than any other of the Roman emperors, because he had found them to have told him truth in his own affairs. And indeed he was now in great distress upon this accident that had befallen him, and was very much grieved at the destruction of his son's son which he foretaw and complained of himself, that he should have made use of such a method of divination before hand, while it was in his power to have died without grief by this knowledge of futurity ; whereas he was now tormented by his foreknowledge of the misfortune of such as were dearest to him, and must

* This is a known thing among the Roman historians and poets, that Tiberius was greatly given to astrology and divination.

die under that torment. Now although he were disordered at this unexpected revolution of the government to those for whom he did not intend it, he spake thus to Caius, though unwillingly and against his own inclination: "O child! although Tiberius be nearer related to me than thou art, I, by my own determination, and the conspiring suffrage of the gods, do give, and put into thy hand, the Roman empire, and I desire thee never to be unmindful when thou comest to it, either of my kindness to thee, who set thee in so high a dignity, or of thy relation to Tiberius. But as thou knowest that I am, together with, and after the gods, the the procurer of so great happiness to thee, so I desire that thou wilt make me a return for my readiness to assist thee, and will take care of Tiberius because of his near relation to thee. Besides which thou art to know, that, while Tiberius is alive, he will be a security to thee, both as to empire and as to thy own preservation; but, if he die, that will be but a prelude to thy own misfortunes; for, to be alone, under the weight of such vast affairs is very dangerous; nor will the gods suffer those actions which are unjustly done contrary to that law which directs men to act otherwise to go off unpunished." This was the speech which Tiberius made, which did not persuade Caius to act accordingly, although he promised so to do; but, when he was settled in the government, he took off this Tiberius, as was predicted by the other Tiberius; as he was also himself in no long time afterward slain by a secret plot laid against him.

10. So when Tiberius had at this time appointed Caius to be his successor, he outlived but a few days, and then died, after he had held the government twenty-two years five months and three days: Now Caius was the fourth emperor. But when the Romans understood that Tiberius was dead, they rejoiced at the good news, but had not courage to believe it; not because they were unwilling it should be true, for they would have given large sums of money that it might be so, but because they were afraid, that if they had shewed their joy when the news proved false, their joy should be openly known, and they should be accused for it, and be thereby undone. For this Tiberius had brought a vast number of miseries on the best families of the Romans, since he was easily enflamed with passion in all cases, and was of such a temper as rendered his anger irrevocable, till he had executed the same, although he had taken an hatred against men without reason; for he was by nature fierce in all the sentences he gave, and made death the penalty for the lightest offences; insomuch that when the Romans heard the rumour about his death gladly, they were restrained from the enjoyment of that pleasure by the dread of such miseries as they foresaw would follow, if their hopes proved ill-grounded. Now Marfyas, Agrippa's freed-man, as soon as he heard of Tiberius's death came running to tell

Agrippa the news ; and finding him going out to the bath, he gave him a nod, and said in the Hebrew tongue, " The lion * is dead : " who understanding his meaning, and being overjoyed at the news, " Nay, said he, but all sorts of thanks and happiness attend thee for this news of thine ; only I wish that what thou sayest may prove true." Now the centurion, who was set to keep Agrippa, when he saw with what haste Marfyas came, and what joy Agrippa had from what he said, he had a suspicion that his words implied some great innovation of affairs, and he asked them about what was said. They at first diverted the discourse ; but upon his farther pressing, Agrippa, without more ado, told him, for he was already become his friend ; so he joined with him in that pleasure which this news occasioned, because it would be fortunate to Agrippa, and made him a supper. But as they were feasting, and the cups went about, there came one who said, That " Tiberius was still alive, and would return to the city in a few days." At which news the centurion was exceedingly troubled, because he had done what might have cost him his life, to have treated so joyfully a prisoner, and this upon the news of the death of Cæsar ; so he thrust Agrippa from the couch whereon he lay, and said, " Dost thou think to cheat me by a lie about the emperor without punishment ? and shalt not thou pay for this thy malicious report at the price of thine head ! " When he had so said, he ordered Agrippa to be bound again, (for he had loosed him before,) and kept a severer guard over him than formerly, and in that evil condition was Agrippa that night ; but the next day the rumour increased in the city, and confirmed the news that Tiberius was certainly dead ; inso-much that men durst now openly and freely talk about it ; nay, some offered sacrifices on that account. Several letters also came from Caius. one of them to the senate, which informed them of the death of Tiberius, and of his own entrance on the government ; another to Piso, the governor of the city, which told him the same thing. He also gave order that Agrippa should be removed out of the camp, and go to that house where he lived before he was put in prison ; so that he was now out of fear as to his own affairs ; for although he were still in custody, yet it was now with ease to his own affairs. Now as soon as Caius was come to Rome, and had brought Tiberius's dead body with him, and had made a sumptuous funeral for him, according to the laws of his country, he was much disposed to set Agrippa at liberty that very day, but Antonia hindered him ; not out of any ill-will to the prisoner, but out of regard to decency in Caius, lest that should

* This name of a *Lion* is often given to tyrants, especially by the Jews, such as Agrippa, and probably his freed man Marfyas, in effect were, *Ezek. xix. 1—9. Ellh. xiv. 13. 2. Tim. iv. 17.* They are also sometimes compared to, or represented by wild beasts, of which the lion is the principal. *Dan. vii. 3—8. Apoc. xiii. 1, 2.*

make men believe that he received the death of Tiberius with pleasure, when he loosed one whom he had bound immediately. However, there did not many days pass ere he sent for him to his house, and had him shaved, and made him change his raiment, after which he put a diadem upon his head, and appointed him to be king of the tetrarchy of Philip. He also gave him the tetrarchy of Lyfania*, and changed his iron chain for a golden one of equal weight. He also sent Marullus to be procurator of Judea.

II. Now in the second year of the reign of Caius Cæsar Agrippa desired leave to be given him to sail home, and settle the affairs of his government, and he promised to return again, when he had put the rest in order, as it ought to be put. So upon the emperor's permission, he came into his own country, and appeared to them all unexpectedly as a king, and thereby demonstrated to the men that saw him, the power of fortune, when they compared his former poverty with his present happy affluence; so some called him an happy man, and others could not well believe that things were so much changed with him for the better.

C H A P. VII.

How Herod the Tetrarch was Banished.

§ 1. **B**UT Herodias, Agrippa's sister, who now lived as wife to that Herod who was tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, took this authority of her brother in an envious manner, particularly when she saw that he had a greater dignity bestowed on him than her husband had; since when he ran away, it was because he was in a way of dignity, and of great good fortune. She was therefore grieved, and much displeased at so great a mutation of his affairs, and chiefly when she saw him marching among the multitude with the usual ensigns of royal authority, she was not able to conceal how miserable she was, by reason of the envy she had towards him; but she excited her husband, and desired him that he would sail to Rome, to court honours equal to his: For she said, That "she could not bear to live any longer, while Agrippa, the son of that Aristobulus who was condemned to die by his father, one that came to her husband in such extreme poverty, that the necessaries of life were forced to be entirely supplied him day by day; and when he fled away from his creditors by sea, he now returned a king; while he was himself the son of a king; and while the near relation he bare to royal authority, called

* Although Caius now promised to give Agrippa the tetrarchy of Lyfania, yet was it not actually conferred upon him till the reign of Claudius, as we learn Antiq. B. XIX, chap. v. sect. 1. Vol. II.

upon him to gain the like dignity, he sat still, and was contented with a privater life. But then, Herod, although thou wast formerly not concerned to be in a lower condition than thy father, from whom thou wast derived, had been ; yet do thou now seek after the dignity which thy kinsman hath attained to ; and do not thou bear this contempt, that a man who admired thy riches, should be in greater honour than thyself, nor suffer his poverty to shew itself able to purchase greater things than our abundance, nor do thou esteem it other than a shameful thing to be inferior to one who, the other day, lived upon thy charity. But let us go to Rome, and let us spare no pains nor expences, either of silver or gold, since they cannot be kept for any better use, than for the obtaining of a kingdom."

2. But for Herod, he opposed her request at this time, out of the love of ease, and having a suspicion of the trouble he should have at Rome ; so he tried to instruct her better. But the more she saw him draw back, the more she pressed him to it, and desired him to leave no stone unturned in order to be king : And at last she left not off till she engaged him, whether he would or not, to be of her sentiments, because he could no otherwise avoid her importunity. So he got all things ready, after as sumptuous a manner as he was able, and spared for nothing, and went up to Rome, and took Herodias along with him. But Agrippa when he was made sensible of their intentions and preparations, he also prepared to go thither ; and as soon as he heard they set sail, he sent Fortunatus, one of his freed men to Rome, to carry presents to the emperor and letters against Herod, and to give Caius a particular account of those matters, if he should have any opportunity. This man followed Herod so quick, and had so prosperous a voyage, and came so little after Herod, that while Herod was with Caius, he came himself, and delivered his letters ; for they both sailed to Dicearchia, and found Caius at Baiæ, which is itself a little city of Campania, at the distance of about five furlongs from Dicearchia. There are in that place royal palaces with sumptuous apartments, every emperor still endeavouring to out-do his predecessor's magnificence : The place also affords warm baths, that spring out of the ground of their own accord, which are of advantage for the recovery of the health of those that make use of them, and besides, they minister to men's luxury also. Now Caius saluted Herod, for he first met with him, and then looked upon the letters which Agrippa had sent him, and which were written in order to accuse Herod ; wherein he accused him, that he had been in confederacy with Sejanus, against Tiberius's government, and that he was now confederate with Artabanus, the king of Parthia, in opposition to the government of Caius ; as a demonstration of which he alledged, that he had armour sufficient for seventy thousand men ready in his armoury. Cai-

us was moved at this information, and asked Herod whether what was said about the armour was true ; and when he confessed there was such armour there, for he could not deny the same, the truth of it being notorious, Caius took that to be a sufficient proof of the accusation, that he intended to revolt. So he took away from him his tetrarchy, and gave it by way of addition to Agrippa's kingdom ; he also gave Herod's money to Agrippa, and, by way of punishment, awarded him a perpetual banishment and appointed Lyons, a city of Gaul, to be his place of habitation. But when he was informed that Herodias was Agrippa's sister, he made her a present of what money was her own, and told her, that " it was her brother who prevented her being put under the same calamity with her husband." But she made this reply ; " Thou, indeed, O emperor, attest after a magnificent manner, and as becomes thyself in what thou offerest me ; but the kindness which I have for my husband hinders me from partaking of the favour of thy gift ; for it is not just, that I, who have been made a partner in his prosperity, should forsake him in his misfortunes " Hereupon Caius was angry at her, and sent her with Herod into banishment, and gave her estate to Agrippa. And thus did God punish Herodias for her envy at her brother, and Herod also for giving ear to the vain discourses of a woman. Now Caius managed public affairs with very great magnanimity, during the first and second year of his reign, and behaved himself with such moderation, that he gained the good will both of the Romans themselves, and of his other subjects. But in process of time he went beyond the bounds of human nature, in his conceit of himself, and, by reason of the vastness of his dominions, made himself a god, and took upon himself to act in all things to the reproach of the Deity himself.

C H A P. VIII.

*Concerning * the ambassage of the Jews to Caius ; and how Caius sent Petronius into Syria to make War against the Jews, unless they would receive his statue.*

§ I. **T**HERE was now a tumult arisen at Alexandria, between the Jewish inhabitants and the Greeks ; and three † ambassadors were chosen out of each party, that were

* This is a most remarkable chapter, as containing such instances of the interposition of Providence, as have been always very rare among the other idolatrous nations, but of old very many among the posterity of Abraham, the worshippers of the true God ; nor do these seem much inferior to those in the Old Testament, which are the more remarkable, because, among all their other follies and vices, the Jews were not at this time idolaters ; and the deliverances here mentioned were done in order to prevent their relapse into that idolatry.

† Josephus here assures us, that the ambassadors from Alexandria to Caius were

at variance, who came to Caius. Now one of these ambassadors from the people of Alexandria was Apion, who uttered many blasphemies against the Jews; and among other things that he said, he charged them with neglecting the honours that belonged to Cæsar; for that while all who were subject to the Roman empire built altars and temples to Caius, and in other regards universally received him as they received the gods, these Jews alone thought it a dishonourable thing for them to erect statues in honour of him, as well as to swear by his name. Many of these severe things were said by Apion, by which he hoped to provoke Caius to anger at the Jews, as he was likely to be; but Philo, the principal of the Jewish embassy, a man eminent on all accounts, brother to Alexander * the alabarch, and one not unskilful in philosophy, was ready to betake himself to make his defence against those accusations; but Caius prohibited him, and bid him be gone: He was also in such a rage, that it openly appeared he was about to do them some very great mischief. So Philo being thus affronted went out, and said to those Jews who were about him, that "they should be of good courage, since Caius's words indeed shewed anger at them, but in reality had already set God against himself.

2. Hereupon Caius, taking it very heinously that he should be thus despised by the Jews alone, sent Petronius to the president of Syria, and successor in the government to Vitellius, and gave him order to make an invasion into Judea, with a great body of troops, and if they would admit of his statue willingly, to erect it in the temple of God; but if they were obstinate, to conquer them by war, and then to do it. Accordingly Petronius took the government of Syria, and made haste to obey Cæsar's epistle. He got together as great a number of auxiliaries as he possibly could, and took with him two legions of the Roman army, and came to Ptolemais, and there wintered, as intending to set about the war in the spring. He also wrote word to Caius what he had resolved to do, who commended him for his alacrity, and ordered him to go on, and to make war with them, in case they would not obey his commands. But there came many ten thousands of the Jews to Petronius to Ptolemais, to offer their petitions to him, that "he would not compel them to transgress and violate the law

on each part no more than three in number, for the Jews, and for the Gentiles, which are but six in all: Whereas Philo, who was the principal ambassador from the Jews, as Josephus here confesses (as was Apion for the Gentiles), says, the Jews ambassadors were themselves no fewer than five. towards the end of his legation to Caius; which, if there be no mistake in the copies, must be supposed the truth; nor, in that case, would Josephus have contradicted so authentic a witness, had he seen that account of Philo's, which that he ever did, does not appear.

* This Alexander, the alabarch, or governor of the Jews at Alexandria, and brother to Philo, is supposed by bishop Pearson, in Act. Apost. p. 41, 42. to be the same with that Alexander who is mentioned by St. Luke, as of the kindred of the high-priests, Acts, iv. 6.

of their forefathers ; but if, said they, thou art entirely resolved to bring this statue, and erect it, do thou first kill us, and then do what thou hast resolved on ; for while we are alive, we cannot permit such things as are forbidden us to be done by the authority of our legislator, and by our forefathers determination, that such prohibitions are instances of virtue." But Petronius was angry at them, and said, " If indeed I were myself emperor, and were at liberty to follow my own inclination, and then had designed to act thus, these your words would be justly spoken to me ; but now Cæsar hath sent to me, I am under the necessity of being subservient to his decrees, because a disobedience to them will bring upon me inevitable destruction." Then the Jews replied, " Since therefore thou art so disposed, O Petronius, that thou wilt not disobey Caius's epistles, neither will we transgress the commands of our law ; and as we depend upon the excellency of our laws, and by the labours of our ancestors, have continued hitherto without suffering them to be transgressed, we dare not by any means suffer ourselves to be so timorous as to transgress those laws out of the fear of death, which God hath determined are for our advantage ; and if we fall into misfortunes, we will bear them in order to preserve our laws, as knowing, that those who expose themselves to dangers, have good hope of escaping them ; because God will stand on our side, when out of regard to him we undergo afflictions, and sustain the uncertain turns of fortune. But if we should submit to thee, we should be greatly reproached for our cowardice, as thereby shewing ourselves ready to transgress our law ; and we should incur the great anger of God also, who, even thyself being judge, is superior to Caius."

3. When Petronius saw by their words that their determination was hard to be removed, and that without a war, he should not be able to be subservient to Caius in the dedication of his statue, and that there must be a great deal of blood shed, he took his friends, and the servants that were about him, and hastened to Tiberias as wanting to know in what posture the affairs of the Jews were ; and many ten thousands of the Jews met Petronius again, when he was come to Tiberias. These thought they must run a mighty hazard if they should have a war with the Romans, but judged that the transgression of the law was of much greater consequence, and made supplication to him, that he would by no means reduce them to such distresses, nor defile their city with the dedication of the statue. Then Petronius said to them, " Will you then make war with Cæsar, without considering his great preparations for war, and your own weakness ?" They replied, " We will not by any means make war with him, but still we will die before we see our laws transgressed." So they threw themselves down upon their faces, and stretched out their throats, and said they were ready to be slain ; and this they did for forty days to-

gether, and in the mean time left off the tilling of their ground, and that while the season * of the year required them to sow it. Thus they continued firm in their resolution, and proposed to themselves to die willingly, rather than to see the dedication of the statue.

4. When matters were in this state, Aristobulus, king Agrippa's brother, and Helcias the Great, and the other principal men of that family with them, went in unto Petronius, and besought him, That "since he saw the resolution of the multitude, he would not make any alteration, and thereby drive them to despair; but would write to Caius, that the Jews had an insuperable averseness to the reception of the statue, and how they continued with him, and left off the tillage of their ground: That they were not willing to go to war with him, because they were not able to do it, but were ready to die with pleasure, rather than suffer their laws to be transgressed: And how, upon the lands continuing unsown, robberies would grow up, on the inability they would be under of paying their tributes; and that perhaps Caius might be thereby moved to pity, and not order any barbarous action to be done to them, nor think of destroying the nation: That if he continues inflexible in his former opinion to bring a war upon them, he may then set about it himself." And thus did Aristobulus, and the rest with him, supplicate Petronius. So Petronius †, partly on account of the pressing instances which Aristobulus and the rest with him made, and because of the great consequence of what they desired, and the earnestness wherewith they made their supplication; partly on account of the firmness of the opposition made by the Jews, which he saw, while he thought it an horrible thing for him to be such a slave to the madness of Caius, as to slay so many ten thousand men, only because of their religious disposition towards God, and after that to pass his life in expectation of punishment; Petronius, I say, thought it much better to send to Caius and to let him know how intolerable it was to him to bear the anger he might have against him for not serving him sooner, in obedience to his epistle, for that perhaps he might persuade him; and that if his mad resolution continued, he might

* What Josephus here, and sect. 6. relates as done by the Jews *before seed-time*, is, in Philo, not far off the time *when the corn was ripe*, who, as Le Clerc notes, differ here one from the other. This is another indication that Josephus, when he wrote this account, had not seen Philo's Legat. ad Caium, otherwise he would hardly have herein differed from him.

† This Publius Petronius was after this still president of Syria, under Claudius, and, at the desire of Agrippa, published a severe decree against the inhabitants of Dora, who, in a sort of imitation of Caius, had set up a statue of Claudius in a Jewish synagogue there. This decree is extant, B. XIX. ch. vi. sect. 3. Vol. II. and greatly confirms the present accounts of Josephus, as do the other decrees of Claudius, relating to the like Jewish affairs, B. XIX. ch. v. sect. 2, 3. Vol. II. to which I refer the inquisitive reader.

then begin the war against them; nay, that in case he should turn his hatred against himself, it was fit for virtuous persons even to die for the sake of such vast multitudes of men. Accordingly he determined to hearken to the petitioners in this matter.

5. He then called the Jews together to Tiberias, who came, many ten thousands in number; he also placed that army he now had with him opposite to them; but did not discover his own meaning, but the commands of the emperor, and told them, That his wrath would without delay be executed on such as had the courage to disobey what he had commanded, and this immediately: and that it was fit for him, who had received so great a dignity by his grant, not to contradict him in any thing: Yet," said he, "I do not think it just to have such a regard to my own safety and honour, as to refuse to sacrifice them for your preservation, who are so many in number, and endeavour to preserve the regard that is due to your law, which, as it hath come down to you from your forefathers, so do you esteem it worthy of your utmost contention to preserve it: nor, with the supreme assistance and power of God, will I be so hardy as to suffer your temple to fall into contempt by the means of the imperial authority. I will therefore send to Caius, and let him know what your resolutions are, and will assist your suit as far as I am able, that you may not be exposed to suffer on account of the honest designs you have proposed to yourselves; and may God be our assistant, for his authority is beyond all the contrivance and power of men; and may he procure you the preservation of your ancient laws, and may not he be deprived, though without your consent, of his accustomed honours. But if Caius be irritated and turn the violence of his rage upon me I will rather undergo all that danger and that affliction that may come either on my body or my soul, than see so many of you to perish, while you are acting in so excellent a manner. Do you, therefore, every one of you, go your way about your own occupations, and fall to the cultivation of your ground; I will myself send to Rome, and will not refuse to serve you in all things, both by myself and by my friends."

6. When Petronius had said this, and had dismissed the assembly of the Jews, he desired the principal of them to take care of their husbandry, and to speak kindly to the people, and encourage them to have good hope of their affairs. Thus did he readily bring the multitude to be cheerful again. And now did God shew his presence* to Petronius, and signify to him, that he

* Josephus here uses the solemn New Testament words, *παρουσία*, and *ἐπιφάνεια*, the presence and appearance of God, for the extraordinary manifestation of his power and providence to Petronius, by sending rain in a time of distress, immediately upon the resolution he had taken to preserve the temple unpolluted, at the hazard of his own life, without any other miraculous appearance at all in that case; which well deserves to be taken notice of here, and greatly illustrates several texts both in the Old and New Testament.

would afford him his assistance in his whole design; for he had no sooner finished the speech that he made to the Jews, but God sent down great showers of rain, contrary to human expectation; for that day was a clear day, and gave no sign, by the appearance of the sky, of any rain; nay the whole year had been subject to a great drought, and made men despair of any water from above, even when at any time they saw the heavens over-cast with clouds; insomuch that when such a great quantity of rain came, and that in an unusual manner, and without any other expectation of it, the Jews hoped that Petronius would by no means fail in his petition for them. But as to Petronius, he was mightily surprised when he perceived that God evidently took care of the Jews, and gave very plain signs of his appearance*, and this to such a degree, that those that were in earnest much inclined to the contrary, had no power left to contradict it. This was also among those other particulars which he wrote to Caius, which all tended to dissuade him, and by all means to intreat him not to make so many ten thousands of these men go distracted; whom if he should slay, (for without war they would by no means suffer the laws of their worship to be set aside,) he would lose the revenue they paid him, and would be publicly cursed by them for all future ages. Moreover, that God, who was their governor, had shewed his power most evidently on their account, and that such a power of his as left no room for doubt about it. And this was the business that Petronius was now engaged in.

7. But King Agrippa, who now lived at Rome, was more and more in the favour of Caius, and when he had once made him a supper, and was careful to exceed all other both in expences, and in such preparations as might contribute most to his pleasure; nay, it was so far from the ability of others, that Caius himself could never equal, much less exceed it, (such care had he taken beforehand to exceed all men, and particularly to make all agreeable to Cæsar): Hereupon Caius admired his understanding and magnificence, that he should force himself to do all to please him, even beyond such expences as he could bear, and was desirous not to be behind Agrippa in that generosity, which he exerted in order to please him. So Caius, when he had drank wine plentifully, and was merrier than ordinary, said thus during the feast, when Agrippa had drunk to him: "I knew before now † how great a respect thou hast had for me, and how great kindness thou hast shewed me, though with those hazards to thyself, which thou underwentst under Tiberius on that account; nor hast thou omitted any thing to shew thy good-will towards us, even

* See the preceding note.

† This behaviour of Caius to Agrippa, is very like that of Herod Antipas, his uncle, and Herodias, Agrippa's sister, about John the Baptist, Matt. xiv. 6—11.

beyond thy ability ; whence it would be a base thing for me to be conquered by thy affection. I am therefore desirous to make thee amends for every thing, in which I have been formerly deficient, for all that I have bestowed on thee, that may be called my gifts, is but little. Every thing that may contribute to thy happiness shall be at thy service, and that cheerfully, and so far as my ability will reach." And this was what Caius said to Agrippa, thinking he would ask for some large country, or the revenues of certain cities. But although he had prepared before-hand what he would ask yet had he not discovered his intentions, but made this answer to Caius immediately : That " it was not out of any expectation of gain that he formerly paid his respects to him, contrary to the commands of Tiberius nor did he now do any thing relating to him out of regard to his own advantage, and in order to receive any thing from him : That the gifts he had already bestowed upon him were great, and beyond the hopes of even a craving man ; for although they may be beneath thy power, [who art the donor], yet are they greater than my inclination and dignity, who am the receiver." And as Caius was astonished at Agrippa's inclinations, and still the more pressed him to make his request for somewhat which he might gratify him with, Agrippa replied, " Since thou, O my lord, declarest such is thy readiness to grant, that I am worthy of thy gifts, I will ask nothing relating to my own felicity ; for what thou hast already bestowed on me has made me excel therein ; but I desire somewhat which may make thee glorious for piety, and render the divinity assistant to thy designs, and may be for an honour to me among those that enquire about it, as shewing that I never once fail of obtaining what I desire of thee ; for my petition is this ; That thou wilt no longer think of the dedication of that statue which thou hast ordered to be set up in the Jewish temple by Petronius."

8. And thus did Agrippa venture to cast the die upon this occasion, so great was the affair in his opinion, and in reality, though he knew how dangerous a thing it was so to speak ; for, had not Caius approved of it, it had tended to no less than the loss of his life. So Caius, who was mightily taken with Agrippa's obliging behaviour, and on other accounts thinking it a dishonourable thing to be guilty of falsehood before so many witnesses, in points wherein he had with such alacrity forced Agrippa to become a petitioner, and that it would look as if he had already repented of what he had said, and because he greatly admired Agrippa's virtue, in not desiring him at all to augment his own dominions either with larger revenues, or other authority, but took care of the public tranquillity, of the laws, and of the Divinity itself, he granted him what he had requested. He also wrote thus to Petronius, " commending him for his assembling his army, and then consulting him about these affairs. If therefore, said he, thou,

hast already erected my statue, let it stand ; but, if thou hast not yet dedicated it, do not trouble thyself farther about it, but dismiss thy army, go back, and take care of those affairs which I sent thee about at first, for I have now no occasion for the erection of that statue. Thus I have granted as a favour to Agrippa, a man whom I honour so very greatly, that I am not able to contradict what he would have, or what he desired me to do for him." And this was what Caius wrote to Petronius, which was before he received his letter, informing him that the Jews were very ready to revolt about the statue, and that they seemed resolved to threaten war against the Romans, and nothing else. When therefore Caius was much displeased that any attempt should be made against his government, as he was a slave to base and vicious actions on all occasions, and had no regard to what was virtuous and honourable, and against whomsoever he resolved to shew his anger, and that for any cause whatsoever, he suffered not himself to be restrained by any admonition, but thought the indulging his anger to be a real pleasure, he wrote thus to Petronius : " Seeing thou esteemeest the presents made thee by the Jews to be of greater value than my commands, and art grown insolent enough to be subservient to their pleasure, I charge thee to become thy own judge, and to consider what thou art to do, now thou art under my displeasure ; for I will make thee an example to the present and to all future ages, that they may not dare to contradict the commands of their emperor."

9. This was the epistle which Caius wrote to Petronius, but Petronius did not receive it while Caius was alive, that ship which carried it sailing so slow, that other letters came to Petronius before this, by which he understood that Caius was dead ; for God would not forget the dangers Petronius had undertaken on account of the Jews, and of his own honour. But when he had taken Caius away, out of his indignation of what he had so insolently attempted in assuming to himself divine worship, both Rome and all that dominion conspired with Petronius, especially those that were of the senatorian order, to give Caius his due reward, because he had been unmercifully severe to them ; for he died not long after he had written to Petronius that epistle which threatened him with death. But as for the occasion of his death, and the nature of the plot against him, I shall relate them in the progress of this narration. Now that epistle which informed Petronius of Caius's death came first, and a little afterward came that which commanded him to kill himself with his own hands. Whereupon he rejoiced at this coincidence as to the death of Caius, and admired God's providence, who without the least delay, and immediately, gave him a reward for the regard he had to the temple, and the assistance he afforded the Jews for avoiding the dangers they were in. And by this means Petronius escaped that danger of death, which he could not foresee.

C H A P. IX.

What befel the Jews that were in Babylon, on occasion of Asineus and Anileus, two brethren.

§ 1. A VERY sad calamity now befel the Jews that were in Mesopotamia, and especially those that dwelt in Babylonia. Inferiour it was to none of the calamities which had gone before, and came together with a great slaughter of them, and that greater than any upon record before; concerning all which I shall speak accurately, and shall explain the occasions whence these miseries came upon them. There was a city in Babylonia called Neerda; not only a very populous one, but one that had a good and a large territory about it, and, besides its other advantages, full of men also. It was, besides, not easily to be assaulted by enemies, from the river Euphrates encompassing it all round, and from the walls that were built about it. There was also the city Nisibis, situate on the same current of the river. For which reason, the Jews, depending on the natural strength of these places, deposited in them that half shekel which every one, by the custom of our country, offers unto God as well as they did other things devoted to him, for they made use of these cities as a treasury, whence, at a proper time, they were transmitted to Jerusalem; and many ten thousand men undertook the carriage of those donations, out of fear of the ravages of the Parthians, to whom the Babylonians were then subject. Now there were two men, Asineus and Anileus, of the city Neerda by birth, and brethren to one another. They were destitute of a father, and their mother put them to learn the art of weaving curtains, it not being esteemed a disgrace among them for men to be weavers of cloth. Now he that taught them that art, and was set over them, complained that they came too late to their work, and punished them with stripes; but they took this just punishment as an affront, and carried off all the weapons which were kept in that house, which were not a few, and went into a certain place where was a partition of rivers, and was a place naturally very fit for the feeding of cattle, and for preserving such fruits as were usually laid up against winter. The poorest sort of the young men also resorted to them, whom they armed with the weapons they had gotten, and became their captains; and nothing hindered them from being their leaders into mischief; for as soon as they were become invincible, and had built them a citadel they sent to such as fed cattle, and ordered them to pay them so much tribute out of them as might be sufficient for their maintenance, proposing also that they would be their friends, if they would submit to them, and that they would defend them from all their

other enemies on every side, but that they would kill the cattle of those that refused to obey them. So they hearkened to their proposals (for they could do nothing else), and sent them as many sheep as were required of them; whereby their forces grew greater, and they became lords over all they pleased, because they marched suddenly, and did them a mischief, in so much that every body who had to do with them, chose to pay them respect, and they became formidable to such as came to assault them, till the report about them came to the ears of the king of Parthia himself.

2. But when the governor of Babylonia understood this, and had a mind to put a stop to them, before they grew greater, and before greater mischiefs should arise from them, he got together as great an army as he could, both of Parthians and Babylonians, and marched against them, thinking to attack them, and destroy them before any one should carry them the news, that he had got an army together. He then encamped at a lake, and lay still; but on the next day (it was the Sabbath, which is among the Jews a day of rest from all sorts of work), he supposed that the enemy would not dare to fight him thereon, but that he would take them and carry them away prisoners, without fighting. He therefore proceeded gradually, and thought to fall upon them on the sudden. Now Asineus was sitting with the rest, and their weapons lay by them; upon which he said, "Sirs, I hear a neighing of horses; not of such as are feeding, but such as have men on their backs; I also hear such a noise of their bridles, that I am afraid that some enemies are coming upon us to encompass us round. However, let somebody go to look about, and make report of what reality there is in the present [&] state of things; and may what I have said prove a false alarm." And, when he had said this, some of them went out to spy out what was the matter, and they came again immediately and said to him, that "neither hast thou been mistaken in telling us what our enemies were doing, nor will those enemies be injurious to people any longer. We are caught by their intrigues like brute beasts, and there is a large body of cavalry marching upon us, while we are destitute of hands to defend ourselves withal, because we are restrained from doing it by the prohibition of our law, which obliges us to rest [on this day]. But Asineus did not by any means agree with the opinion of his spy as to what was to be done, but thought it more agreeable to the law to pluck up their spirits in this necessity they were fallen into, and break their law by avenging themselves, although they should die in the action, than by doing nothing

* *Ἐνεστηκὼτων* is here, and in very many other places of Josephus, *immediately at hand*, and is to be so expounded, 2 Thess. ii. 2. when some falsely pretended that St Paul had said either by word of mouth, or by an epistle, or by both, that *the day of Christ was immediately at hand*; for still St Paul did then plainly think that day not very many years future.

to please their enemies in submitting to be slain by them. Accordingly he took up his weapons, and infused courage into those that were with him to act as courageously as himself. So they fell upon their enemies, and slew a great many of them, because they despised them, and came as to a certain victory, and put the rest to flight.

3. But when the news of this fight came to the king of Parthia, he was surprised at the boldness of these brethren, and was desirous to see them, and speak with them. He therefore, sent the most trusty of all his guards to say thus to them, "That king Artabanus, although he hath been unjustly treated by you, who have made an attempt against his government, yet hath he more regard to your courageous behaviour, than to the anger he bears to you, and hath sent me to give you his right-hand *, and security, and he permits you to come to him safely, and without any violence upon the road, and he wants to have you address yourselves to him as his friends, without meaning any guile or deceit to you. He also, promises to make you presents, and to pay you those respects which will make an addition of his power to your courage, and thereby be of advantage to you." Yet did Asineus himself put off his journey thither, but sent his brother Anileus with all such presents as he could procure. So he went, and was admitted to the king's presence; and when Artabanus saw Anileus coming alone, he inquired into the reason why Asineus avoided to come along with him; and when he understood that he was afraid, and staid by the lake, he took an oath by the gods of his country, that he would do them no harm, if they came to him upon the assurances he gave them, and gave him his right hand †. This is of the greatest force there with all these barbarians, and affords a firm security to those who converse with them; for none of them will deceive you, when once they have given you their right hands, nor will any one doubt of their fidelity, when that is once given, even though they were before suspected of injustice. When Artabanus had done this, he sent away Anileus to persuade his brother to come to him. Now this the king did, because he wanted to curb his own governors of provinces by the courage of these Jewish brethren, lest they should make a league with them; for they were ready for a revolt, and were disposed to rebel, had they been sent on an expedition against them. He was also afraid, lest when he was engaged in a war in order to subdue those governors of provinces that had revolted, the party of Asineus, and those in Babylonia, should be augmented, and either make war upon him, when they should hear

* The joining of the right hands was esteemed among the Persians [and Parthians] in particular, a most inviolable obligation to fidelity, as Dr Hudson here observes, and refers to the commentary on Justin, B. XI. ch. xv. for its confirmation. We often meet with the like use of it in Josephus.

† See the above note.

of that revolt, or, if they should be disappointed in that case, they would not fail of doing farther mischief to him.

4. When the king had these intentions, he sent away Anileus, and Anileus prevailed on his brother [to come to the king], when he had related to him the king's good-will, and the oath that he had taken. Accordingly they made haste to go to Artabanus, who received them, when they were come with pleasure, and admired Asineus's courage in the actions he had done, and this because he was a little man to see to, and at first sight appeared contemptible also, and such as one might deem a person of no value at all. He also said to his friends, how; upon the comparison, he shewed his soul to be, in all respects, superior to his body; and when, as they were drinking together he once shewed Asineus to Abdagases, one of the generals of his army, and told him his name, and described the great courage he was of in war, and Abdagases, had desired leave to kill him, and thereby to inflict on him a punishment for those injuries he had done to the Parthian government, the king replied, "I will never give thee leave to kill a man who hath depended on my faith, especially not after I have sent him my right hand, and endeavoured to gain his belief by oaths made by the gods. But, if thou beest a truly warlike man, thou standest not in need of my perjury. Go thou then, and avenge the Parthian government; attack this man, when he is returned back, and conquer him by the forces that are under thy command, without my privity." Hereupon the king called for Asineus, and said to him, "It is time for thee, O thou young man, to return home, and not provoke the indignation of my generals in this place any farther, least they attempt to murder thee, and that without my approbation. I commit to thee the country of Babylonia in trust, that it may, by thy care be preserved free from robbers, and from other mischiefs. I have kept my faith inviolable to thee, and that not in trifling affairs, but in those that concerned thy safety, and do therefore deserve thou shouldst be kind to me." When he had said this, and given Asineus some presents, he sent him away immediately; who, when he was come home, built fortresses, and became great in a little time, and managed things with such courage and success, as no other person, that had no higher a beginning, ever did before him. Those Parthian governors also, who were sent that way, paid him great respect; and the honour that was paid him by the Babylonians seemed to them too small, and beneath his deserts, although he were in no small dignity and power there: Nay, indeed, all the affairs of Mesopotamia depended upon him, and he more and more flourished in this happy condition of his for fifteen years.

5. But as their affairs were in so flourishing a state, there sprang up a calamity among them on the following occasion. When once they had deviated from that course of virtue

whereby they had gained so great power, they affronted and transgressed the laws of their forefathers, and fell under the dominion of their lusts and pleasures. A certain Parthian, who came as general of an army into those parts, had a wife following him, who had a vast reputation for other accomplishments, and particularly was admired above all other women for her beauty; Anileus, the brother of Asineus, either heard of that her beauty from others, or perhaps saw her himself also, and so became at once her lover and her enemy; partly because he could not hope to enjoy this woman but by obtaining power over her as a captive, and partly because he thought he could not conquer his inclinations for her; as soon therefore as her husband had been declared an enemy to them, and was fallen in the battle, the widow of the deceased was married to this her lover. However, this woman did not come into their house without producing great misfortunes both to Anileus himself, and to Asineus also; but brought great mischiefs upon them on the occasion following. Since she was led away captive, upon the death of her husband, she concealed the images of those gods which were their country gods, common to her husband and to herself: Now it is the custom * of that country for all to have the idols they worship in their own houses, and to carry them along with them when they go into a foreign land; agreeably to which custom of theirs she carried her idols with her. Now at first she performed her worship to them privately, but when she was become Anileus's married wife, she worshipped them in her accustomed manner, and with the same appointed ceremonies which she used in her former husband's days; upon which their most esteemed friends blamed him at first, that he did not act after the manner of the Hebrews, nor perform what was agreeable to their laws, in marrying a foreign wife, and one that transgressed the accurate appointments of their sacrifices and religious ceremonies; that he ought to consider, lest by allowing himself in many pleasures of the body, he might lose his principality, on account of the beauty of a wife, and that high authority which, by God's blessing, he had arrived at. But when they prevailed not at all upon him, he slew one of them for whom he had the greatest respect, because of the liberty he took with him; who, when he was dying, out of regard to the laws, imprecated a punishment upon his murderer Anileus, and upon Asineus also, and that all their companions might come to a like end from their enemies; upon the two first as the principal actors of this wickedness, and

* This custom of the Mesopotamians to carry their household gods along with them wherever they travelled, is as old as the days of Jacob, when Rachel his wife did the same, Gen. xxxi. 19, 30—35. nor is it to pals here unobserved, what great miseries came on these Jews, because they suffered one of their leaders to marry an idolatrous wife, contrary to the law of Moses. Of which matter see he note on B. XIX. ch. v. § 3. Vol. II.

upon the rest as those that would not assist him when he suffered in the defence of their laws. Now these latter were sorely grieved, yet did they tolerate these doings, because they remembered that they had arrived at their present happy state by no other means than their fortitude. But when they also heard of the worship of those gods whom the Parthians adore, they thought the injury that Anileus offered to their laws was to be borne no longer ; and a greater number of them came to Asineus, and loudly complained of Anileus, and told him, that " it had been well that he had of himself seen what was advantageous to them, but that however it was now high time to correct what had been done amiss, before the crime that had been committed proved the ruin of himself, and all the rest of them. They added, that the marriage of this woman was made without their consent, and without a regard to their old laws; and that the worship which this woman paid [to her gods] was a reproach to the God whom they worshipped." Now Asineus was sensible of his brother's offence, that it had been already the cause of great mischiefs, and would be so for the time to come ; yet did he tolerate the same from the good will he had to so near a relation, and forgiving it to him, on account that his brother was quite over-borne by his wicked inclinations. But as more and more still came about him every day, and the clamours about it became greater, he at length spake to Anileus about these clamours, reproving him for his former actions, and desiring him for the future to leave them off, and send the woman back to her relations. But nothing was gained by these reproofs ; for as the woman perceived what a tumult was made among the people on her account, and was afraid for Anileus, lest he should come to any harm for his love to her, she infused poison into Asineus's food, and thereby took him off, and was now secure of prevailing, when her lover was to be judge of what should be done about her.

6. So Anileus took the government upon himself alone, and led his army against the villages of Mithridates, who was a man of principal authority in Parthia, and had married king Artabanus's daughter ; he also plundered them, and among that prey was found much money, and many slaves, as also a great number of sheep, and many other things, which, when gained, make mens condition happy. Now when Mithridates, who was there at this time, heard that his villages were taken, he was very much displeased to find that Anileus had first begun to injure him, and to affront him in his present dignity, when he had not offered any injury to him before-hand ; and he got together the greatest body of horsemen he was able, and those out of that number which were of an age fit for war, and came to fight Anileus ; and when he was arrived at a certain village of his own, he lay still there, as intending to fight him on the day following, because it was the Sabbath, the day

on which the Jews rest. And when Anileus was informed of this by a Syrian stranger of another village, who not only gave him an exact account of other circumstances, but told him where Mithridates would have a feast, he took his supper at a proper time, and marched by night, with an intent of falling upon the Parthians while they were unapprised what they should do ; so he fell upon them about the fourth watch of the night, and some of them he slew while they were asleep, and others he put to flight, and took Mithridates alive, and set him naked upon an ass*, which among the Parthians is esteemed the greatest reproach possible. And when he had brought him into a wood with such a resolution, and his friends desired him to kill Mithridates, he soon told them his own mind to the contrary, and said that " it was not right to kill a man who was one of the principal families among the Parthians, and greatly honoured with matching into the royal family ; that so far as they had hitherto gone was tolerable ; for although they had injured Mithridates, yet if they preserved his life, this benefit would be remembered by him to the advantage of those that gave it him ; but that if he were once put to death, the king would not be at rest till he had made a great slaughter of the Jews that dwelt at Babylon ; to whose safety we ought to have a regard, both on account of our relation to them, and because, if any misfortune betal us, we have no other place to retire to, since he hath gotten the flower of their youth under him." By this thought, and this speech of his made in council, he persuaded them to act accordingly ; so Mithridates was let go. But when he was got away, his wife reproached him, that although he was son-in-law to the king, he neglected to avenge himself on those that had injured him, while he took no care about it, but was contented to have been made a captive by the Jews, and to have escaped them ; and she bid him either to go back like a man of courage, or else she swore by the gods of their royal family, that she would certainly dissolve her marriage with him." Upon which, partly because he could not bear the daily trouble of her taunts, and partly because he was afraid of her insolence, lest she should in earnest dissolve her marriage, he unwillingly, and against his inclinations, got together again as large an army as he could, and marched along with them, as himself thinking it a thing not to be borne any longer, that he, a Parthian, should owe his preservation to the Jews, when they had been too hard for him in the war.

7. But as soon as Anileus understood that Mithridates was

* This custom in Syria and Mesopotamia, of setting men upon an ass, by way of disgrace, is still kept up at Damascus in Syria ; where, in order to show their despite against the Christians, the Turks will not suffer them to hire horses, but asses only, when they go abroad to see the country, as Mr. Maundrell assures us, page 128.

marching with a great army against him, he thought it to ignominious a thing to tarry about the lakes, and not to take the first opportunity of meeting his enemies and he hoped to have the same success, and to beat their enemies as they did before; as also he ventured boldly upon the like attempts. Accordingly he led out his army, and a great many more joined themselves, to that army, in order to betake themselves to plunder the people, and in order to terrify the enemy again by their numbers. But when they had marched ninety furlongs, while the road had been through dry [and sandy] places, and about the midst of the day, they were become very thirsty; and Mithridates appeared, and fell upon them, as they were in distress for want of water, on which account, and on account of the time of day, they were not able to bear their weapons. So Anileus and his men were put to an ignominious rout, while men in despair were to attack those that were fresh, and in good plight; so a great slaughter was made, and many ten thousand men fell. Now Anileus, and all that stood firm about him, ran away, as fast as they were able, into a wood, and afforded Mithridates the pleasure of having a great victory over them. But there now came in to Anileus a conflux of bad men, who regarded their own lives very little, if they might but gain some present ease, insomuch that they, by thus coming to him, compensated the multitude of those that perished in the fight. Yet were not these men like to those that fell, because they were rash, and unexercised in war; however, with these he came upon the villages of the Babylonians, and a mighty devastation of all things was made there by the injuries that Anileus did them. So the Babylonians, and those that had already been in the war, sent to Neerda to the Jews there, and demanded Anileus. But although they did not agree to their demands, (for if they had been willing to deliver him up, it was not in their power so to do; yet did they desire to make peace with them. To which the other replied, that they also wanted to settle conditions of peace with them, and sent men together with the Babylonians, who discoursed with Anileus about them. But the Babylonians, upon taking a view of his situation, and having learned where Anileus and his men lay, fell secretly upon them as they were drunk, and fallen asleep, and slew all that they caught of them, without any fear, and killed Anileus himself also.

8. The Babylonians were now freed from Anileus's heavy incursions, which had been a great restraint to the effects of that hatred they bore to the Jews; for they were almost always at variance, by reason of the contrariety of their laws; and which party soever grew boldest before the other, they assaulted the other: And at this time in particular it was, that, upon the ruin of Anileus's party, the Babylonians attacked the Jews, which made those Jews so vehemently to resent the injuries they received from the Babylonians, that being nei-

ther able to fight them, nor bearing to live with them, they went to Seleucia, the principal city of those parts, which was built by Seleucus Nicator. It was inhabited by many of the Macedonians, but by more of the Grecians; not a few of the Syrians also dwelt there; and thither did the Jews fly, and lived there five years without any misfortunes. But on the sixth year, a pestilence came upon those at Babylon, which occasioned new removals of mens habitations out of that city; and because they came to Seleucia, it happened that a still heavier calamity came upon them on that account, which I am going to relate immediately.

9. Now the way of living of the people of Seleucia, which were Greeks and Syrians, was commonly quarrelsome, and full of discord, though the Greeks were too hard for the Syrians. When therefore the Jews were come thither, and dwelt among them, there arose a sedition, and the Syrians were too hard for the other, by the assistance of the Jews, who are men that despise dangers, and very ready to fight upon any occasion. Now when the Greeks had the worst in this sedition, and saw that they had but one way of recovering their former authority, and that was if they could prevent the agreement between the Jews and the Syrians, they every one discoursed with such of the Syrians as were formerly their acquaintance, and promised they would be at peace and friendship with them. Accordingly they gladly agreed so to do; and when this was done by the principal men of both nations, they soon agreed to a reconciliation, and when they were so agreed, they both knew that the great design of such their union would be their common hatred to the Jews. Accordingly they fell upon them, and slew about fifty thousand of them; nay the Jews were all destroyed, excepting a few who escaped either by the compassion which their friends or neighbours afforded them, in order to let them fly away. These retired to Ctesiphon, a Grecian city, and situated near to Seleucia, where the king [of Parthia] lives in winter every year, and where the greatest part of his riches are reposed; but the Jews had here no certain settlement, those of Seleucia having little concern for the king's honour. Now the whole nation of the Jews were in fear both of the Babylonians, and of the Seleucians, because all the Syrians that live in those places agreed with the Seleucians in the war against the Jews; so the most of them gathered themselves together, and went to Neerda, and Nisibis, and obtained security there by the strength of those cities; besides which their inhabitants, who were a great many, were all warlike men. And this was the state of the Jews at this time in Babylonia.

B O O K XIX.

Containing the interval of three years and an half.

[From the departure of the Jews out of Babylon, to FADUS the Roman Procurator.]

C H A P. I.

*How Caius * was slain by Chereas.*

§ 1. **N**OW this Caius † did not demonstrate his madness in offering injuries only to the Jews at Jerusalem, or to those that dwelt in the neighbourhood, but suffered it to extend itself through all the earth and sea, so far as was in subjection to the Romans, and filled it with ten thousand mischiefs; so many indeed in number as no former history relates. But Rome itself felt the most dismal effects of what he did, while he deemed that not to be any way more honourable than the rest of the cities but he pulled and hauled its other citizens, but especially the senate, and particularly the nobility, and such as had been dignified by illustrious ancestors; he also had ten thousand devices against such of the equestrian order, as it was styled, who were esteemed by the citizens equal in dignity and wealth with the senators, because out of them the senators were themselves chosen; these he treated after an ignominious manner, and removed them out of his way, while they were at once slain and their wealth plundered; because he slew men generally in order to seize on their riches. He also asserted his own divinity, and insisted on greater honours to be paid him by his subjects, than are due to mankind. He also frequented that temple of Jupiter which they stile the capitol, which is with them the most holy of all their temples, and had boldness enough to call himself the brother of Jupiter. And other pranks he did like a madman; as when he laid a

* In this and the three next chapters, we have, I think a larger and more distinct account of the slaughter of Caius, and the succession of Claudius, than we have of any such ancient facts whatsoever elsewhere. Some of the occasions of which probably were, Josephus's bitter hatred against tyranny, and the pleasure he took in giving the history of the slaughter of such a barbarous tyrant as was this Caius Caligula, as also the deliverance his own nation had by that slaughter, of which he speaks sect. 2. together with that great intimacy he had with Agrippa junior, whose father was deeply concerned in the advancement of Claudius, upon the death of Caius; from which Agrippa junior, Josephus might be fully informed of this history.

† Called Caligula by the Romans.

bridge from the city Dicerchia, which belongs to Campania, to Misenum, another city upon the sea side, from one promontory to another, of the length of thirty furlongs, as measured over the sea. And this was done, because he esteemed it to be a most tedious thing to row over it in a small ship, and thought withal, that it became him to make that bridge, since he was lord of the sea, and might oblige it to give marks of obedience as well as the earth; so he enclosed the whole bay within his bridge and drove his chariot over it, and thought that, as he was a god, it was fit for him to travel over such roads as this was. Nor did he obtain from the plunder of any of the Grecian temples, and gave order that all the engravings and sculpters, and the rest of the ornaments of the statues and donations therein dedicated, should be brought to him, saying, that "the best things ought to be set no where but in the best place, and that the city of Rome was that best place." He also adorned his own house and his gardens with the curiosities brought from those temples, together with the houses he lay at when he travelled all over Italy; whence he did not scruple to give a command, that the statue of Jupiter Olympius, so called, because he was honoured at the Olympian games by the Greeks, which was the work of Phidias the Athenian, should be brought to Rome. Yet did not he compass his end, because the architects told Memmius Reglus, who was commanded to remove that statue of Jupiter, that the workmanship was such as would be spoiled, and would not bear the removal. It was also reported that Memmius, both on that account, and on account of some such mighty prodigies as are of an incredible nature, put off the taking it down, and wrote to Caius those accounts, as his apology for not having done what his epistle required of him; and that when he was thence in danger of perishing, he was saved by Caius's being dead himself, before he had put him to death.

2. Nay, Caius's madness came to this height, that when he had a daughter born he carried her into the Capitol, and put her upon the knees of the statue, and said, that the child was common to him and to Jupiter, and determined that she had two fathers, but which of these fathers were the greatest, he left undetermined; and yet mankind bore him in such his pranks. He also gave leave to slaves to accuse their masters of any crimes whatsoever they pleased; for all such accusations were terrible, because they were in great part made to please him, and at his suggestion, insomuch that Pallux, Claudius's slave, had the boldness to lay an accusation against Claudius himself, and Caius was not ashamed to be present at his trial of life and death, to hear that trial of his own uncle, in hopes of being able to take him off, although he did not succeed to his mind. But when he had filled the whole habitable world, which he governed, with false accusations and miseries, and had occasioned the great

est insult of slaves against their masters, who indeed in great measure ruled them, there were many secret plots now laid against him; some in anger, and in order for men to revenge themselves, on account of the miseries they had already undergone from him; and others made attempts upon him, in order to take him off before they should fall into such great miseries, while his death came very fortunately for the preservation of the laws of all men, and had a great influence upon the public welfare; and this happened most happily for our nation in particular, which had almost utterly perished if he had not been suddenly slain. And I confess I have a mind to give a full account of this matter, particularly because it will afford great assurance of the power of God, and great comfort to those that are under afflictions, and wise caution to those who think their happiness will never end, nor bring them at length to the most lasting miseries, if they do not conduct their lives by the principles of virtue.

2. Now there were three several conspiracies made in order to take off Caius, and each of these three were conducted by excellent persons. Emilius Regulus, born at Corduba in Spain, got some men together, and was desirous to take Caius off, either by them, or by himself. Another conspiracy there was laid by them, under the conduct of Cherea Cassius, the tribune [of the Pretorian band]; Minucianus Annius was also one of great consequence among those that were prepared to oppose his tyranny. Now the several occasions of these mens several hatred and conspiracy against Caius were these: Regulus had indignation and hatred against all injustice, for he had a mind naturally angry, and bold, and free, which made him not conceal his counsels; so he communicated them to many of his friends, and to others, who seemed to him persons of activity and vigour: Minucianus entered into this conspiracy, because of the injustice done to Lepidus his particular friend, and one of the best character of all the citizens, whom Caius had slain, as also because he was afraid of himself, since Caius's wrath tended to the slaughter of all alike: And for Cherea, he came in, because he thought it a deed worthy of a free ingenuous man to kill Caius, and was ashamed of the reproaches he lay under from Caius, as though he were a coward; as also because he was himself in danger every day from his friendship with him, and the observance he paid him. These men proposed this attempt to all the rest that were concerned, who saw the injuries that were offered them, and were desirous that Caius's slaughter might succeed by their mutual assistance of one another, and they might themselves escape being killed by the taking off Caius; that perhaps they should gain their point, and that it would be an happy thing if they should gain it, to approve themselves to so many excellent persons as earnestly wished to be partakers with them in their design, for the delivery of the city and of the government, even at the

hazard of their own lives. But still Cherea was the most zealous of them all, both out of a desire of getting himself the greatest name, and also by reason of his access to Caius's presence, with less danger, because he was tribune, and could therefore the more easily kill him.

4. Now at this time came on the horse races [Circensian games]; the view of which games was eagerly desired by the people of Rome; for they came with great alacrity into the hippodrome [circuit] at such times, and petition their emperors, in great multitudes, for what they stand in need of; who usually did not think fit to deny them their requests, but readily and gratefully granted them. Accordingly they most importunately desired, that Caius would now ease them in their tributes, and abate somewhat of the rigour of the taxes imposed upon them; but he would not hear their petition; and, when their clamours increased, he sent soldiers, some one way, and some another, and gave order, that they should lay hold on those that made the clamours. and without any more ado, bring them out, and put them to death. These were Caius's commands. and those who were commanded executed the same; and the number of those who were slain on this occasion was very great. Now the people saw this and bore it so far, that they left off clamouring, because they saw with their own eyes, that this petition to be relieved, as to the payment of their money. brought immediate death upon them. These things made Cherea more resolute to go on with his plot, in order to put an end to this barbarity of Caius against men. He then at several times, thought to fall upon Caius even as he was feasting; yet did he restrain himself by some considerations; not that he had any doubt on him about killing him, but as watching for a proper season, that the attempt might not be frustrated, but that he might give the blow so as might certainly gain his purpose.

5. Cherea had been in the army a long time, yet was he not pleased with conversing so much with Caius. But Caius had set him to require the tributes, and other dues, which, when not paid in due time, were forfeited to Cæsar's treasury; and he had made some delays in requiring them, because those burdens had been doubled, and had rather indulged his own mild disposition, than performed Caius's command; nay, indeed, he provoked Caius to anger by his sparing men, and pitying the hard fortunes, of those from whom he demanded the taxes, and Caius upbraided him with his sloth and effeminacy in being so long about collecting the taxes. And indeed he did not only affront him in other respects. but when he gave him the watch word of the day, to whom it was to be given by his place, he gave him feminine words, and those of a nature very reproachful; and these watch-words he gave out, as having been initiated in the secrets of certain mysteries, which he had been himself the author of. Now, although he had sometimes put on womens

clothes, and had been wrapt in some embroidered garments to them belonging, and done a great many other things, in order to make the company mistake him for a woman; yet did he, by way of reproach, object the like womanish behaviour to Cherea. But when Cherea received the watch word from him, he had indignation at it, but had greater indignation at the delivery of it to others, as being laughed at by those that received it; insomuch that his fellow-tribunes made him the subject of their drollery; for they would foretel that he would bring them some of his usual watch-words, when he was about to take the watch-word from Cæsar, and would thereby make him ridiculous; on which accounts he took the courage of assuming certain partners to him, as having just reasons for his indignation against Caius. Now there was one Pompedius a senator, and one who had gone through almost all posts in the government, but otherwise an Epicurean, and for that reason loved to lead an unactive life. Now Timidius, an enemy of his had informed Caius, that he had used indecent reproaches against him, and he made use of Quintilia for a witness to them; a woman she was much beloved by many that frequented the theatre, and particularly by Pompedius, on account of her great beauty. Now this woman thought it an horrible thing to attest to an accusation that touched the life of her lover, which was also a lie. Timidius, however, wanted to have her brought to the torture. Caius was irritated at this reproach upon him, and commanded Cherea, without any delay, to torture Quintilia, as he used to employ Cherea in such bloody matters, and those that required the torture, because he thought he would do it the more barbarously, in order to avoid that imputation of effeminacy which he had laid upon him. But Quintilia, when she was brought to the rack, trod upon the foot of one of her associates, and let him know, that he might be of good courage, and not be afraid of the consequences of her tortures; for that she would bear them with magnanimity. Cherea tortured this woman after a cruel manner; unwillingly indeed, but because he could not help it. He then brought her, without being in the least moved at what she had suffered, into the presence of Caius, and that in such a state as was sad to behold; and Caius, being somewhat affected with the sight of Quintilia, who had her body miserably disordered by the pains she had undergone, freed both her and Pompedius of the crime laid to their charge. He also gave her money to make her an honourable amends, and comfort her for that maiming of her body which she had suffered, and for her glorious patience under such unsufferable torments.

6. This matter sorely grieved Cherea, as having been the cause as far as he could, or the instrument of those miseries to men, which seemed worthy of consolation to Caius himself; on which account he said to Clement and to Papinius (of whom Clement was general of the army, and Papinius was a

tribune). "To be sure, Clement, we have no way failed in our guarding the emperor; for as to those that have made conspiracies against his government, some have been slain by our care and pains, and some have been by us tortured, and this to such a degree that he hath himself pitied them. How great then is our virtue in submitting to conduct his armies?" Clement held his peace, but shewed the shame he was under in obeying Caius's orders, both by his eyes and his blushing countenance, while he thought it by no means right to accuse the emperor in express words, lest their own safety should be endangered thereby. Upon which Cherea took courage, and spake to him without fear of the dangers that were before him, and discoursed largely of the sore calamities under which the city and the government then laboured, and said. "We may indeed pretend in words, that Caius is the person unto whom the cause of such miseries ought to be imputed; but, in the opinion of such as are able to judge uprightly, it is I, O Clement, and this Papinius, and before us thou thyself who bring these tortures upon the Romans; and upon all mankind. It is not done by our being subservient to the commands of Caius, but it is done by our own consent; for whereas it is in our power to put an end to the life of this man, who hath so terribly injured the citizens and his subjects, we are his guard in mischief and his executioners, instead of his soldiers, and are the instruments of his cruelty. We bear these weapons, not for our liberty, not for the Roman government, but only for his preservation, who hath enslaved both their bodies and their minds; and we are every day polluted with the blood that we shed, and the torments we inflict upon others; and this we do, till somebody becomes Caius's instrument in bringing the like miseries upon ourselves. Nor does he thus employ us, because he hath a kindness for us; but rather because he hath a suspicion of us; as also because when abundance more have been killed (for Caius will set no bounds to his wrath, since he aims to do all, not out of regard to justice, but to his own pleasure), we shall also ourselves be exposed to his cruelty; whereas we ought to be the means of confirming the security and liberty of all, and at the same time to resolve to free ourselves from dangers."

7. Hereupon Clement openly commended Cherea's intentions; but bid him "hold his tongue; for that in case his words should get out among many, and such things should be spread abroad as were fit to be concealed, the plot would come to be discovered before it was executed, and they should be brought to punishment; but that they should leave all to futurity, and the hope which thence arose, that some fortunate event would come to their assistance: That, as for himself, his age would not permit him to make any attempt in that case. However, although perhaps I could suggest what may be safer than what thou, Cherea, hast contrived, and said, yet."

how is it possible for any one to suggest what is more for thy reputation?" So Clement went his way home, with deep reflections on what he had heard, and what he had himself said. Cherea also was under a concern, and went quickly to Cornelius Sabinus, who was himself one of the tribunes, and whom he otherwise knew to be a worthy man, and a lover of liberty, and on that account very uneasy at the present management of public affairs, he being desirous to come immediately to the execution of what had been determined, and thinking it right for him to propose it to the other, and afraid lest Clement should discover them, and besides looking upon delays and puttings off to be the next to desisting from the enterprise.

8. But as all was agreeable to Sabinus, who had himself, equally with Cherea, the same design, but had been silent for want of a person to whom he could safely communicate that design, so having now met with one, who not only promised to conceal what he heard, but who had already opened his mind to him he was much more encouraged, and desired of Cherea, that no delay might be made therein. Accordingly they went to Minucianus, who was as virtuous a man and as zealous to do glorious actions as themselves, and suspected by Caius on occasion of the slaughter of Lepidus; for Minucianus and Lepidus were intimate friends, and both in fear of the dangers that they were under; for Caius was terrible to all the great men, as appearing ready to act a mad part towards each of them in particular, and towards all of them in general; and these men were afraid of one another, while they were yet uneasy at the posture of affairs, but avoided to declare their mind and their hatred against Caius to one another, out of fear of the dangers they might be in thereby, although they perceived by other means their mutual hatred against Caius, and on that account were not averse to a mutual kindness one towards another.

9. When Minucianus and Cherea had met together, and saluted one another (as they had been used in former conversations to give the upper hand to Minucianus both on account of his eminent dignity for he was the noblest of all the citizens, and highly commended by all men, especially when he made speeches to them). Minucianus began first, and asked Cherea, What was the watch-word he had received that day from Caius? for the affront, which was offered Cherea in giving the watch-words, was famous over the city. But Cherea made no delay, so long as to reply to that question, out of the joy he had that Minucianus would have such confidence in him as to discourse with him. "But do thou," said he, "give me the watch-word of liberty. And I return thee my thanks, that thou hast so greatly encouraged me to exert myself after an extraordinary manner; nor do I stand in need of many words to encourage me, since both thou and I are of the

same mind, and partakers of the same resolutions, and this before we have conferred together. I have indeed but one sword girt on, but this, one will serve us both. Come on, therefore, let us set about the work. Do thou go first, if thou hast a mind, and bid me follow thee, or else I will go first, and thou shalt assist me, and we will assist one another, and trust one another. Nor is there a necessity for even one sword to such as have a mind disposed to such works, by which mind the sword uses to be successful. I am zealous about this action, nor am I solicitous what I may myself undergo; for I am not at leisure to consider the dangers that may come upon myself, so deeply am I troubled at the slavery our once free country is now under, and at the contempt cast upon our excellent laws, and at the destruction which hangs over all men by the means of Caius. I wish that I may be judged by thee, and that thou mayst esteem me worthy of credit in these matters, seeing we are both of the same opinion, and there is herein no difference between us."

10. When Minucianus saw the vehemency with which Cherea delivered himself, he gladly embraced him, and encouraged him in his bold attempt, commending him, and embracing him; so he let him go with his good wishes; and some affirm, that he thereby confirmed Minucianus in the prosecution of what had been agreed among them; for, as Cherea entered into the court, the report runs, that a voice came from among the multitude to encourage him, which bid him finish what he was about, and take the opportunity that providence afforded; and that Cherea at first suspected that some one of the conspirators had betrayed him, and he was caught, but at length perceived that it was by way of exhortation. Whether somebody *, that was conscious of what he was about, gave a signal for his encouragement, or whether it were God himself, who looks upon the actions of men, that encouraged him to go on boldly in his design, is uncertain. The plot was now communicated to a great many, and they were all in their armour; some of the conspirators being senators, and some of the equestrian order, and as many of the soldiery as were made acquainted with it; for there was not one of them who would not reckon it a part of his happiness to kill Caius, and on that account they were all very zealous in the affair, by what means soever any one could come at it, that he might not be behind-hand in these virtuous designs, but might be ready with all his alacrity or power, both by words and actions, to complete this slaughter of a tyrant. And besides these Callistus also, who was a freed-man of Caius, and

* Just such a voice as this is related to be, came, and that from an unknown original also, to the famous Polycarp, as he was going to martyrdom, bidding him "play the man;" as the church of Smyrna assures us in their account of that his martyrdom, sect 9.

was the only man that had arrived at the greatest degree of power under him ; such a power, indeed, as was in a manner equal to the power of the tyrant himself, by the dread that all men had of him, and by the great riches he had acquired ; for he took bribes most plenteously, and committed injuries without bounds, and was more extravagant in the use of his power in unjust proceedings than any other. He also knew the disposition of Caius to be implacable, and never to be turned from what he had resolved on. He had withal many other reasons why he thought himself in danger, and the vastness of his wealth was not one of the least of them : On which account he privately ingratiated himself with Claudius, and transferred his courtship to him, out of this hope, that in case upon the removal of Caius, the government should come to him his interest in such changes should lay a foundation for his preserving his dignity under him, since he laid in before-hand a stock of merit, and did Claudius good offices in his promotion. He had also the boldness to pretend, that he had been persuaded to make away Claudius, by poisoning him, but had still invented ten thousand excuses for delaying to do it. But it seems probable to me, that Callistus only counterfeited this, in order to ingratiate himself with Claudius ; for, if Caius had been in earnest resolved to take off Claudius, he would not have admitted of Callistus's excuses, nor would Callistus, if he had been enjoined to do such an act as was desired by Caius have put it off, nor if he had disobeyed those injunctions of his master, had he escaped immediate punishment ; while Claudius was preserved from the madness of Caius by a certain divine providence and Callistus pretended to such a piece of merit as he no way deserved.

II. However, the execution of Cherea's designs was put off from day to day by the sloth of many therein concerned ; for as to Cherea himself, he would not willingly make any delay in that execution, thinking every time a fit time for it ; for frequent opportunities offered themselves ; as when Caius went up to the Capitol to sacrifice for his daughter, or when he stood upon his royal palace, and threw gold and silver pieces of money among the people, he might be pushed down headlong, because the top of the palace, that looks toward the market-place was very high ; and also when he celebrated the mysteries, which he had appointed at that time ; for he was then no way secluded from the people, but solicitous to do every thing carefully and decently, and was free from all suspicion, that he should be then assaulted by any body ; and although the gods should afford him no divine assistance to enable him to take away his life, yet had he strength himself sufficient to dispatch Caius, even without a sword. Thus was Cherea angry at his fellow-conspirators, for fear they should suffer a proper opportunity to pass by ; and they were themselves sensible that he had just cause to be angry at them,

and that his eagerness was for his advantage ; yet did they desire he would have a little longer patience, lest, upon any disappointment they might meet with, they should put the city into disorder, and an inquisition should be made after the conspiracy and should render the courage of those that were to attack Caius without success, while he would then secure himself more carefully than ever against them ; that it would therefore be the best to let about the work when the shews were exhibited in the palace. These shews were acted in honour of that Cæsar, * who first of all changed the popular government, and transferred it to himself ; galleries being fixed before the palace, where the Romans that were Patricians became spectators, together with their children and their wives, and Cæsar himself was to be also a spectator ; and they reckoned among those many ten thousands, who would there be crowded into a narrow compass, they should have a favourable opportunity to make their attempt upon him as he came in ; because his guards that should protect him, if any of them should have a mind to do it, would not here be able to give him any assistance.

12. Cherea consented to this delay, and when the shews were exhibited, it was resolved to do the work the first day. But fortune, which allowed a farther delay to his slaughter, was too hard for their foregoing resolution ; and, as three days of the regular time for these shews were now over, they had much ado to get the business done on the last day. Then Cherea called the conspirators together, and spake thus to them : " So much time passed away without effect is a reproach to us, as delaying to go through such a virtuous design as we are engaged in, but more fatal will this delay prove, if we be discovered, and the design be frustrated ; for Caius will then become more cruel in his unjust proceedings. Do not we see how long we deprive all our friends of their liberty, and give Caius leave still to tyrannize over them ? While we ought to have procured them security for the future, and, by laying a foundation for the happiness of others, gain to ourselves great admiration and honour for all time to come." Now, while the conspirators had nothing tolerable to say by way of contradiction, and yet did not quite relish what they were doing, but stood silent and astonished, he said farther, " O, my brave comrades, why do we make such delays ? Do not you see that this is the last day of these shews, and that Caius is about to go to sea ? For he is preparing to sail to Alexandria, in order to see Egypt. Is it therefore for your honour to let a man go out of your hands who is a reproach to mankind, and to permit him to go after

* Here Josephus supposes that it was Augustus, and not Julius Cæsar, who first changed the Roman common-wealth into a monarchy ; for these shews were in honour of Augustus, as we shall learn in the next section but one.

a pompous manner, triumphing both at land and sea? Shall not we be justly ashamed of ourselves, if we give leave to some Egyptian or other, who shall think his injuries insufferable to free men, to kill him? As for myself, I will no longer bear your slow proceedings, but will expose myself to the dangers of the enterprise this very day, and bear cheerfully whatsoever shall be the consequence of the attempt; nor, let them be ever so great, will I put them off any longer; for to a wise and courageous man what can be more miserable than that, while I am alive, any one else should kill Caius, and deprive me of the honour of so virtuous an action."

13. When Cherea had spoken thus, he zealously set about the work, and inspired courage into the rest to go on with it, and they were all eager to fall to it without farther delay. So he was at the palace in the morning, with his equestrian sword girt on him; for it was the custom that the tribunes should ask for the watch-word with their swords on, and this was the day on which Cherea was by custom, to receive the watch-word; and the multitude were already come to the palace, to be soon enough for seeing the shews, and that in great crowds, and one tumultuously crushing another, while Caius was delighted with this eagerness of the multitude; for which reason there was no order observed in the seating men, nor was any peculiar place appointed for the senators, or for the equestrian order; but they sat at random, men and women together, and free men were mixed with the slaves. So Caius came out in a solemn manner, and offered sacrifice to Augustus Cæsar, in whose honour indeed these shews were celebrated. Now it happened, upon the fall of a certain priest, that the garment of Asprenas, a senator, was filled with blood, which made Caius laugh, although this was an evident omen to Asprenas, for he was slain at the same time with Caius. It is also related, that Caius was that day, contrary to his usual custom, so very affable and good-natured in his conversation, that every one of those that were present were astonished at it. After the sacrifice was over, Caius betook himself to see the shews, and sat down for that purpose, as did also the principal of his friends sit near him. Now the parts of the theatre were so fastened together, as it used to be every year, in the manner following: It had two doors, the one door led to the open air, the other was for going into, or going out of the cloisters, that those within the theatre might not be thereby disturbed; but out of one gallery there went an inward passage, partly into partitions also, which led into another gallery, to give room to the combatants, and to the musicians to go out as occasion served. When the multitude were set down, and Cherea, with the other tribunes also, were set down also, and the right corner of the theatre was allotted to Cæsar, one Vatinius, a senator, commander of the pretorian band, asked of Cluvius, one that sat by him, and was of consular dignity also, "Whether he

had heard any thing of news or not ?” But took care that no body should hear what he said ; and when Cluvius replied, That “ he had heard no news.” “ Know then,” said Vatinius, “ That the game of the slaughter of tyrants is to be played this day.” But Cluvius replied, O brave comrade hold thy peace, lest some other of the Achaians hear thy tale.” And as there was abundance of autumnal fruit thrown among the spectators, and a great number of birds, that were of great value to such as possessed them, on account of their rareness, Caius was pleased with the birds fighting for the fruits, and with the violence wherewith the spectators seized upon them ; and here he perceived two prodigies that happened there ; for an actor was introduced, by whom a leader of robbers was crucified, and the pantomime brought in a play called Cinyras, wherein he himself was to be slain, as well as his daughter Myrrah, and wherein a great deal of fictitious blood was shed, both about him that was crucified, and also about Cinyras. It is also confessed, that this was the same day wherein Pausanias, a friend of Philip, the son of Amyntas who was king of Macedonia, slew him, as he was entering into the theatre. And now Caius was in a doubt whether he should tarry to the end of the shews, because it was the last day or whether he should not go first to the bath, and to dinner, and then return and sit down as before. Hereupon Minucianus, who sat over Caius, and was afraid that the opportunity should fail them, got up, because he saw Cherea was already gone out, and made haste out to confirm him in his resolution ; but Caius took hold of his garment, in an obliging way, and said to him, “ O brave man whether art thou going ?” Whereupon, out of reverence to Cæsar, as it seemed, he sat down again ; but his fear prevailed over him, and in a little time he got up again, and then Caius did no way oppose his going out, as thinking that he went out to perform some necessities of nature. And Asprenas, who was one of the confederates, persuaded Caius to go out to the bath, and to dinner, and then to come in again, as desirous that what had been resolved on might be brought to a conclusion immediately.

14. So Cherea's associates placed themselves in order, as the time would permit them, and they were obliged to labour hard, that the place which was appointed them should not be left by them ; but they had an indignation at the tediousness of the delays, and that what they were about should be put off any longer, for it was already about the ninth * hour of the day ; and Cherea, upon Caius's tarrying so long, had a great mind to go in and fall upon him in his seat, although he foresaw that this could not be done without much bloodshed, both of the senators, and of those of the equestrian order that were present ;

* Suetonius says Caius was slain about the seventh hour of the day, Josephus about the ninth. The series of the narration favours Josephus.

and although he knew this must happen, yet had he a great mind to do so, as thinking it a right thing to procure security and freedom to all, at the expence of such as might perish at the same time. And as they were just going back into the entrance to the theatre, word was brought them that Caius was arisen, whereby a tumult was made; hereupon the conspirators thrust away the crowd, under pretence as if Caius was angry at them, but in reality as desirous to have a quiet place, that should have none in it to defend him while they set about Caius's slaughter. Now Claudius his uncle, was gone out before, and Marcus Vinitius, his sister's husband, as also Valerius of Asia; whom tho' they had had such a mind to put out of their places, the reverence to their dignity hindered them so to do; then followed Caius, with Paulus Arruntius: And because Caius was now gotten within the palace, he left the direct road, along which those his servants stood that were in waiting, and by which road Claudius had gone out before, Caius turned aside into a private narrow passage, in order to go to the place for bathing as also in order to take a view of the boys that came out of Asia, who were sent thence, partly to sing hymns in these mysteries which were now celebrated, and partly to dance in the pyrric way of dancing upon the theatres. So Cherea met him, and asked him for the watch-word; upon Caius's giving him one of his ridiculous words, he immediately reproached him, and drew his sword, and gave him a terrible stroke with it, yet was not this stroke mortal. And although there be those that say, it was so contrived on purpose by Cherea, that Caius should not be killed at one blow, but should be punished more severely by a multitude of wounds, yet does this story appear to me incredible; because the fear men are under in such actions does not allow them to use their reason. And if Cherea was of that mind, I esteem him the greatest of all fools, in pleasing himself in his spite against Caius, rather than immediately procuring safety to himself and to his confederates from the dangers they were in; because there might many things still happen for helping Caius's escape if he had not already given up the ghost; for certainly Cherea would have regard, not so much to the punishment of Caius, as to the affliction himself, and his friends were in, while it was in his power, after such success, to keep silent, and to escape the wrath of Caius's defenders, and not leave it to uncertainty whether he should gain the end he aimed at or not, and after an unreasonable manner to act as if he had a mind to ruin himself, and lose the opportunity that lay before him; but every body may guess as he pleases about this matter. However, Caius was staggered with the pain that blow gave him; for the stroke of the sword falling in the middle between the shoulder and the neck, was hindered by the first bone of the breast from proceeding any farther. Nor did he either cry out, in such astonishment

was he nor did he call out for any of his friends ; whether it were that he had no confidence in them, or that his mind was otherwise disordered, but he groaned under the pain he endured, and presently went forward and fled ; when Cornelius Sabinus, who was already prepared in mind so to do, thrust him down upon his knee, where many of them stood round about him, and struck him with their swords, and they cried out, and encouraged one another all at once to strike him again ; but all agree that Aquila gave him the finishing stroke, which directly killed him. But one may justly ascribe this act to Cherea ; for although many concurred in the act itself, yet was he the first contriver of it, and began long before all the rest to prepare for it, and was the first man that boldly spake of it to the rest ; and upon their admission of what he said about it, he got the dispersed conspirators together ; he prepared every thing after a prudent manner, and by suggesting good advice, shewed himself far superior to the rest, and made obliging speeches to them, insomuch that he even compelled them all to go on, who otherwise had not courage enough for that purpose ; and when opportunity served to use his sword in hand, he appeared first of all ready so to do, and gave the first blow in this virtuous slaughter ; he also brought Caius easily into the power of the rest, and almost killed him himself, insomuch that it is but just to ascribe all that the rest did to the advice, and bravery, and labours of the hands of Cherea.

15. Thus did Caius come to his end, and lay dead, by the many wounds which had been given him. Now Cherea and his associates, upon Caius's slaughter, saw that it was impossible for them to save themselves, if they should all go the same way, partly on account of the astonishment they were under ; for it was no small danger they had incurred by killing an emperor, who was honoured and loved by the madness of the people, especially when the soldiers were likely to make a bloody inquiry after his murderers. The passages also were narrow wherein the work was done, which were also crowded with a great multitude of Caius's attendants, and of such of the soldiers as were of the emperor's guard that day ; whence it was that they went by other ways, and came to the house of Germanicus, the father of Caius, whom they had now killed, (which house adjoined to the palace ; for while the edifice was one, it was built in its several parts by those particular persons who had been emperors, and those parts have the names of those that built them, or the name of him who had begun to build any of its parts.) So they got away from the insults of the multitude, and then were for the present out of danger, that is so long as the misfortune which had overtaken the emperor was not known. The Germans were the first that perceived that Caius was slain. These Germans were Caius's guard, and carried the name of the country whence they were

chosen, and composed the Celtic legion. The men of that country are naturally passionate, which is commonly the temper of some other of the barbarous nations also, as being not used to consider much about what they do ; they are of robust bodies and fall upon their enemies as soon as ever they are attacked by them, and which way soever they go, they perform great exploits. When, therefore, these German guards understood that Caius was slain, they were very sorry for it, because they did not use their reason in judging about public affairs, but measured all by the advantages themselves received, Caius being beloved by them, because of the money he gave them, by which he had purchased their kindness to him : So they drew their swords, and Sabinus led them on. He was one of the tribunes, not by the means of the virtuous actions of his progenitors, for he had been a gladiator, but he had obtained that post in the army by his having a robust body. So these Germans marched along the houses in quest of Cæsar's murderers, and cut Asprenas to pieces, because he was the first man they fell upon, and whose garment it was that the blood of the sacrifices stained, as I have said already, and which foretold that this his meeting the soldiers would not be for his good. Then did Norbanus meet them, who was one of the principal nobility of the city, and could shew many generals of armies among his ancestors ; but they paid no regard to his dignity ; yet was he of such great strength, that he wrested the sword of the first of those that assaulted him out of his hands, and appeared plainly not to be willing to die without a struggle for his life, until he was surrounded by a great number of assailants, and died by the multitude of the wounds which they gave him. The third man was Anteius a senator, and a few others with him. He did not meet with these Germans by chance, as the rest did before, but came to shew his hatred to Caius, and because he loved to see Caius lie dead with his own eyes, and took a pleasure in that sight ; for Caius had banished Anteius's father, who was of the same name with himself and being not satisfied with that, he sent out his soldiers, and slew him ; so he was come to rejoice at the sight of him, now he was dead. But as the house was now all in a tumult, when he was aiming to hide himself, he could not escape that accurate search which the Germans made, while they barbarously slew those that were guilty, and those that were not guilty, and this equally also. And thus were these [three] persons slain.

16. But when the rumour that Caius was slain reached the theatre, they were astonished at it, and could not believe it : Even some that entertained his destruction with great pleasure, and were more desirous of its happening than almost any other satisfaction that could come to them, were under such a fear, that they could not believe it. There were those also who greatly distrusted it, because they were unwilling that any such

thing should come to Caius, nor could believe it, though it were ever so true, because they thought no man could possibly have so much power as to kill Caius. These were the women, and the children, and the slaves, and some of the soldiery. This last sort had taken his pay, and in a manner tyrannized with him, and had abused the best of the citizens, in being subservient to his unjust commands, in order to gain honours and advantages to themselves ; but for the women, and the youth, they had been inveigled with shews, and the fightings of the gladiators, and certain distributions of flesh-meat among them, which things in pretence were designed for the pleasing of the multitude but in reality to satiate the barbarous cruelty and madness of Caius. The slaves also were sorry, because they were by Caius allowed to accuse, and to disperse their masters, and they could have recourse to his assistance when they had unjustly affronted them ; for he was very easy in believing them against their masters, even when they accused them falsely ; and if they would discover what money their masters had, they might soon obtain both riches and liberty, as the rewards of their accusations, because the reward of these informers was the eighth * part of the criminal's substance. As to the nobles, although the report appeared credible to some of them, either because they knew of the plot beforehand, or because they wished it might be true ; however they concealed not only the joy they had at the relation of it, but that they had heard any thing at all about it. These last acted so out of the fear they had, that if the report proved false they should be punished, for having so soon let men know their minds. But those that knew Caius was dead, because they were partners with the conspirators they concealed all still more cautiously, as not knowing one another's minds ; and fearing lest they should speak of it to some of those to whom the continuance of tyranny was advantageous : And if Caius should prove to be alive, they might be informed against and punished. And another report went about, that although Caius had been wounded indeed, yet was not he dead, but alive still and under the physicians hands. Nor was any one looked upon by another as faithful enough to be trusted, and to whom any one would open his mind ; for he was either a friend to Caius, and therefore suspected to favour his tyranny, or he was one that hated him, who therefore might be suspected to deserve the less credit, because of his ill-will to him. Nay, it was said by some, (and this indeed it was that deprived the nobility of their hopes, and made them sad,) that Caius was in a condition to despise the dangers he had been in, and took no care of healing his wounds, but was gotten away into the market place, and, bloody

* The rewards proposed by the Roman laws to informers, was sometimes an eighth part of the criminals goods, as here, and sometimes a fourth part, as Spelman assures us, from Suetonius and Tacitus.

as he was, was making a harangue to the people. And these were the conjectural reports of those that were so unreasonable as to endeavour to raise tumults, which they turned different ways, according to the opinions of the hearers. Yet did they not leave their seats, for fear of being accused, if they should go out before the rest; for they should not be sentenced according to the real intention with which they went out, but according to the supposals of the accusers, and of the judges.

17. But now a multitude of Germans had surrounded the theatre with their swords drawn; all the spectators looked for nothing but death, and at every one's coming in a fear seized upon them as if they were to be cut in pieces immediately; and in great distress they were, as neither having courage enough to go out of the theatre, nor believing themselves safe from dangers if they tarried there. And when the Germans came upon them, the cry was so great, the theatre rang again with the entreaties of the spectators to the soldiers, pleading that they were entirely ignorant of every thing that related to such seditious contrivances, and that if there were any sedition raised, they knew nothing of it; they therefore begged that they would spare them, and not punish those that had not the least hand in such bold crimes as belonged to other persons, while they neglected to search after such as had really done whatsoever it be that hath been done. Thus did these people appeal to God, and deplore their infelicity with shedding of tears and beating their faces, and said every thing that the most imminent danger, and the utmost concern for their lives could dictate to them. This brake the fury of the soldiers, and made them repent of what they minded to do to the spectators, which would have been the greatest instance of cruelty. And so it appeared to even these savages, when they had once fixed the heads of those that were slain Asprenas upon the altar; at which sight the spectators were sorely afflicted, both upon the consideration of the dignity of the persons, and out of a commiseration of their sufferings; nay indeed, they were almost in as great disorder at the prospect of the danger themselves were in, seeing it was still uncertain whether they should entirely escape the like calamity. Whence it was, that such as thoroughly and justly hated Caius, could yet no way enjoy the pleasure of his death, because they were themselves in jeopardy of perishing together with him; nor had they hitherto any firm assurance of surviving.

18. There was at this time, one Euaristus Arruntius, a public crier in the market, and therefore of a strong and audible voice, who vied in wealth with the richest of the Romans, and was able to do what he pleased in the city, both then and afterward. This man put himself into the most mournful habit he could, although he had a greater hatred against Caius than any one else, his fear and his wise contrivance to gain his safety taught him so to do, and prevailed over his present pleas-

ure ; so he put on such a mournful dress as he would have done had he lost his dearest friends in the world ; this man came into the theatre, and informed them of the death of Caius, by this means put an end to that state of ignorance the men had been in. Arruntius also went round about the pillars, and called out to the Germans, as did the tribunes with him, bidding them put up their swords, and telling them that Caius was dead. And this proclamation it was plainly which saved those that were collected together in the theatre, and all the rest who any way met the Germans ; for while they had hopes that Caius had still any breath in him, they abstained from no sort of mischief ; and such an abundant kindness they still had for Caius, that they would willingly have prevented the plot against him, and procured his escape from so sad a misfortune, at the expence of their own lives. But they now left off the warm zeal they had to punish his enemies, now they were fully satisfied that Caius was dead, because it was now in vain for them to shew their zeal and kindness to him, when he that should reward them was perished. They were also afraid that they should be punished by the senate, if they should go on in doing such injuries, that is, in case the authority of the supreme governor should revert to them. And thus at length a stop was put, though not without difficulty, to that rage which possessed the Germans on account of Caius's death.

19. But Cherea was so much afraid for Minucianus, lest he should light upon the Germans, now they were in their fury, that he went and spake to every one of the soldiers, and prayed them to take care of his preservation, and made himself great inquiry about him, lest he should have been slain. And for Clement, he let Minucianus go when he was brought to him, and, with many other of the senators, affirmed the action was right, and commended the virtue of those that contrived it, and had courage enough to execute it ; and said, that “ tyrants do indeed please themselves and look big for a while, upon having the power to act unjustly ; but do not however go happily out of the world, because they are hated by the virtuous ; and that Caius, together with all his unhappiness, was become a conspirator against himself, before these other men who attacked him did so, and by becoming intolerable, in setting aside the wise provision the laws had made, taught his dearest friends to treat him as an enemy ; in-
somuch, that although in common discourse these conspirators were those that slew Caius, yet that, in reality, he lies now dead as perishing by his ownself.”

20. Now by this time the theatre were arisen from their seats, and those that were within made a very great disturbance ; the cause of which was this, that the spectators were too hasty in getting away. There was also one Alcyon, a physician, who hurried away, as if to cure those that were wounded, and under that pretence, he sent those that were with him to fetch what

things were necessary for the healing those wounded persons, but in reality to get them clear of the present dangers they were in. Now the senate, during this interval had met, and the people also assembled together in the accustomed form and were both employed in searching after the murderers of Caius. The people did it very zealously, but the senate in appearance only : For there was present Valerius of Asia, one that had been consul ; this man went to the people, as they were in disorder, and very uneasy that they could not discover who they were that murdered the emperor ; he was then earnestly asked by them all, “ Who it was that had done it ? ” He replied, “ I wish I had been the man.” The consuls * also published an edict, wherein they accused Caius, and gave order to the people then got together, and to the soldiers to go home, and gave the people hopes of the abatement of the oppressions they lay under ; and promised the soldiers, if they lay quiet as they used to do, and would not go abroad to do mischief unjustly, that they would bestow rewards upon them ; for there was reason to fear lest the city might suffer harm by their wild and ungovernable behaviour, if they should once betake themselves to spoil the citizens or plunder the temples. And now the whole multitude of the senators were assembled together, and especially those that had conspired to take away the life of Caius, who put on at this time an air of great assurance, and appeared with great magnanimity, as if the administration of the public affairs were already devolved upon them.

C H A P. II.

How the Senators determined to restore the Democracy ; but the soldiers were for preserving the Monarchy. Concerning the slaughter of Caius's wife and daughter. A character of Caius's morals.

§ I. **W**HEN the public affairs were in this posture, Claudius was on the sudden hurried away out of his house : For the soldiers had a meeting together, and when they had debated about what was to be done, they saw that a democracy was incapable of managing such a vast weight of public affairs ; and that if it should be set up, it would not be for their advantage ; and in case any one of those already in the government should obtain the supreme power, it would in all respects be to their grief, they were not assisting to him in that advancement : That it would therefore be right for them while the public affairs were unsettled, to choose Claudius emperor, who

* These consuls are named in the War of the Jews, B. II. ch. xi. sect. 1. Vol. III. Sentius Saturninus, and Pomponius Secundus, as Spanheim notes here. The speech of the former of them is set down in the next chapter, sect. 2.

was uncle to the deceased Caius, and of a superior dignity and worth to every one of those that were assembled together in the senate, both on account of the virtues of his ancestors, and of the learning he had acquired in his education, and who, if once settled in the empire, would reward them according to their deserts, and bestow largesses upon them. These were their consultations, and they executed the same immediately. Claudius was therefore seized upon suddenly by the soldiery. But Cneus Sentius Saturninus, although he understood that Claudius was seized, and that he intended to claim the government, unwillingly indeed in appearance, but in reality by his own free consent, stood up in the senate, and, without being dismayed, made an exhortatory oration to them, and such an one indeed as was fit for men of freedom and generosity, and spake thus.

2. "Although it be a thing incredible, O Romans, because of the great length of time, that so unexpected an event hath happened, yet are we now in possession of liberty. How long indeed this will last is uncertain, and lies at the disposal of the gods, whose grant it is ; yet such it is as is sufficient to make us rejoice, and be happy for the present, although we may soon be deprived of it ; for one hour is sufficient to those that are exercised in virtue, wherein we may live with a mind accountable to ourselves, in our own country, now free, and governed by such laws as this country once flourished under. As for myself, I cannot remember our former time of liberty, as being born after it was gone ; but I am beyond measure filled with joy at the thoughts of our present freedom. I also esteem those, that were born and brought up in that our former liberty, happy men, and that those men are worthy of no less esteem than the gods themselves who have given us a taste of it in this age ; and I heartily wish, that this quiet enjoyment of it, which we have at present, might continue to all ages. However, this single day may suffice for our youth, as well as for us that are in years. It will seem an age to our old men, if they might die during its happy duration : It may also be for the instruction of the younger sort, what kind of virtue those men, from whose loins, we are derived, were exercised in. As for ourselves, our business is, during the space of time, to live virtuously, than which nothing can be more to our advantage ; which course of virtue it is alone than can preserve our liberty ; for, as to our ancient state, I have heard of it by the relations of others, but as to our late state, during my life-time, I have known it by experience, and learned thereby what mischiefs tyrannies have brought upon this commonwealth, discouraging all virtue, and depriving persons of magnanimity of their liberty, and proving the teachers of flattery and slavish fear, because it leaves the public administration not to be governed by wise laws, but by the humour of those that govern. For since Julius Cæsar took it into his head to dissolve our democracy,

and, by overbearing the regular system of our laws, to bring disorders into our administration, and to get above right and justice, and to be a slave to his own inclinations, there is no kind of misery but what hath tended to the subversion of this city ; while all those that have succeeded him have striven one with another to overthrow the ancient laws of their country, and have left it destitute of such citizens as were of generous principles ; because they thought it tended to their safety to have vicious men to converse withal, and not only to break the spirits of those that were best esteemed for their virtue, but to resolve upon their utter destruction. Of all which emperors, who have been many in number, and who laid upon us insufferable hardships during the times of their government, this Caius, who hath been slain to day, hath brought more terrible calamities upon us than did all the rest, not only by exercising his ungoverned rage upon his fellow citizens, but also upon his kindred and friends, and alike upon all others, and by inflicting still greater miseries upon them, as punishments, which they never deserved, he being equally furious against men, and against the gods. For tyrants are not content to gain their sweet pleasure, and this by acting injuriously, and in the vexation they bring both upon men's estates, and their wives ; but they look upon that to be their principal advantage, when they can utterly overthrow the entire families of their enemies ; while all lovers of liberty are the enemies of tyranny. Nor can those that patiently endure what miseries they bring on them, gain their friendship ; for as they are conscious of the abundant mischiefs they have brought on these men, and how magnanimously they have borne their hard fortunes, they cannot but be sensible what evils they have done, and thence only depend on security from what they are suspicious of, if it may be in their power to take them quite out of the world. Since then we are now gotten clear of such great misfortunes, and are only accountable to one another (which form of government affords us the best assurance of our present concord, and promises us the best security from evil designs, and will be most for our own glory in settling the city in good order), you ought, every one of you in particular, to make provision for his own, and, in general, for the public utility ; or, on the contrary, they may declare their dissent to such things as have been proposed, and this without any hazard of danger to come upon them ; because they have now no lord set over them, who, without fear of punishment, could do mischief to the city, and had an uncontrollable power to take off those that freely declared their opinions. Nor has any thing so much contributed to this increase of tyranny of late as sloth, and a timorous forbearance of contradicting the emperor's will ; while men had an over-great inclination to the sweetness of peace, and had learned to live like slaves, and as many of us as either heard

of intolerable calamities that happened at a distance from us, or saw the miseries that were near us, out of the dread of dying virtuously, endured a death joined with the utmost intamy. We ought then, in the first place, to decree the greatest honours we are able to those that have taken off the tyrant, especially to Cherea Cassius; for this one man, with the assistance of the gods, hath, by his counsel, and by his actions, been the procurer of our liberty. Nor ought we to forget him now we have recovered our liberty, who, under the foregoing tyranny, took counsel beforehand, and beforehand hazarded himself for our liberties; but ought to decree him proper honours, and thereby freely declare, that he from the beginning acted with our approbation. And certainly it is a very excellent thing, and what becomes freemen, to requite their benefactors, as this man hath been a benefactor to us all though not at all like Cassius and Brutus, who slew Caius Julius [Cæsar]; for those men laid the foundations of sedition and civil wars in our city, but this man, together with his slaughter of the tyrant, hath set our city free from all those sad miseries which arose from the tyranny.*

3 And this was the purport of Sentius's oration which was received with pleasure by the senators, and by as many of the equestrian order as were present. And now one Trebellius Maximus rose up hastily, and took off Sentius's finger a ring, which had a stone, with the image of Caius engraven upon it, and which, in his zeal in speaking, and his earnestness in doing what he was about as it was supposed, he had forgotten to take off himself. This sculpture was broken immediately. But as it was now far in the night, Cherea demanded of the consuls the watch-word, who gave him the word *Liberty*. These facts were the subjects of admiration to themselves, and almost incredible; for it was an hundred years † since the democracy had been laid aside, when this giving the watch-word returned to the consuls; for, before the city was subject to tyrants, they were the commanders of the soldiers. But, when Cherea had received that watch-word, he delivered it to those who were on the senate's side, which were four regiments, who esteemed the government without emperors to be preferable to tyranny. So these went away with their tribunes. The people also now departed very joyful, full of hope and of courage, as having recovered their former de-

* In this oration of Sentius Saturninus, we may see the great value virtuous men put upon public liberty, and the sad misery they underwent, while they were tyrannized over by such emperors as Caius. See Josephus's own short but pithy reflection at the end of the chapter: "So difficult," says he, "it is for those to obtain the virtue that is necessary to a wise man, who have the absolute power to do what they please, without controul."

† Hence we learn that, in the opinion of Saturninus, the sovereign authority of the consuls and senate had been taken away just 100 years before the death of Caius, A. D. 41, or on the 60th year before the Christian æra, when the first triumvirate began under Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus.

mocracy, and were no longer under an emperor ; and Cherea was in a very great esteem with them.

4. And now Cherea was very uneasy that Caius's daughter and wife were still alive, and that all his family did not perish with him, since whosoever was left of them must be left for the ruin of the city and of the laws. Moreover in order to finish this matter with the utmost zeal, and in order to satisfy his hatred of Caius he sent Julius Lupus, one of the tribunes, to kill Caius's wife and daughter. They proposed this office to Lupus as to a kinsman of Clement, that he might be so far a partaker of this murder of the tyrant, and might rejoice in the virtue of having assisted his fellow citizens, and that he might appear to have been a partaker with those that were first in their designs against him. Yet did this action appear to some of the conspirators to be too cruel, as to this using such severity to a woman, because Caius did more indulge his own ill nature, than use her advice in all that he did ; from which ill-nature it was that the city was in so desperate a condition with the miseries that were brought on it, and the flower of the city was destroyed. But others accused her of giving her consent to these things ; nay, they ascribed all that Caius had done to her as the cause of it, and said, she had given a potion to Caius, which had made him obnoxious to her, and had tied him down to love her by such evil methods ; insomuch that she, having rendered him distracted, was become the author of all the mischiefs had befallen the Romans, and that habitable world which was subject to them. So that at length it was determined, that she must die ; nor could those of the contrary opinion at all prevail to have her saved ; and Lupus was sent accordingly. Nor was there any delay made in executing what he went about but he was subservient to those that sent him on the first opportunity, as desirous to be no way blameable in what might be done for the advantage of the people. So, when he was come into the palace, he found Cesonia, who was Caius's wife lying by her husband's dead body, which also lay down on the ground, and destitute of all such things as the law allows to the dead, and all over herself besmeared with the blood of her husband's wounds, and bewailing the great affliction she was under, her daughter lying by her also : And nothing else was heard in these her circumstances, but her complaint of Caius, as if he had not regarded what she had often told him of beforehand ; which words of hers were taken in a different sense even at that time, and are now esteemed equally ambiguous by those that hear of them, and are still interpreted according to the different inclinations of people. Nor some said that the words denoted, that she had advised him to leave off his mad behaviour and his barbarous cruelty to the citizens, and to govern the public with moderation and virtue, least he should perish by the same way, upon their using him as he had used them. But some said, that,

as certain words had passed concerning the conspirators, she desired Caius to make no delay, but immediately to put them all to death, and this whether they were guilty or not, and that thereby he would be out of the fear of any danger; and that this was what she reproached him for, when she advised him so to do, but he was too slow and tender in the matter. And this was what Cefonia said, and what the opinions of men were about it. But, when she saw Lupus approach, she shewed him Caius's dead body, and persuaded him to come nearer, with lamentation and tears, and as she perceived that Lupus was in disorder, and approached her in order to execute some design disagreeable to himself, she was well aware for what purpose he came, and stretched out her naked throat, and that very cheerfully to him, bewailing her case, like one utterly despaired of her life, and bidding him not to boggle at finishing the tragedy they had resolved upon relating to her. So she boldly received her death's wound at the hand of Lupus, as did the daughter after her. So Lupus made haste to inform Cherea of what he had done.

5. This was the end of Caius, after he had reigned four years, within four months. He was, even before he came to be emperor, ill natured, and one that had arrived at the utmost pitch of wickedness; a slave to his pleasures, and a lover of calumny; greatly affected by every terrible accident, and on that account of a very murderous disposition, where he durst shew it. He enjoyed his exorbitant power to this only purpose, to injure those who least deserved it, with unreasonable insolence, and got his wealth by murder and injustice. He laboured to appear above regarding either what was divine or agreeable to the laws, but was a slave to the commendations of the populace; and whatsoever the laws determined to be shameful, and punished, that he esteemed more honourable than what was virtuous. He was unmindful of his friends, how intimate soever, and though they were persons of the highest character; and, if he was once angry at any of them, he would inflict punishment upon them on the smallest occasions, and esteemed every man that endeavoured to lead a virtuous life his enemy. And whatsoever he commanded, he would not admit of any contradiction to his inclinations; whence it was that he had criminal conversation with his own sister *; from which occasion chiefly it was also, that a bitter hatred first sprang up against him among the citizens, that sort of incest not having been known of a long time; and so this provoked men to distrust him, and to hate him that was guilty

* Spanheim here notes from *Suetonius*, that the name of Caius's sister, with whom he was guilty of incest, was *Drusilla*; and that *Suetonius* adds, he was guilty of the same crime with all his sisters also. He notes farther, that *Suetonius* omits the mention of the haven for ships, which our author esteems the only public work for the good of the present and future ages which Caius left behind him, though in an imperfect condition.

of it. And for any great or royal work that he ever did, which might be for the present and for future ages, nobody can name any such, but only the haven that he made about Rhegium and Sicily for reception of the ships that brought corn from Egypt; which was indeed a work without dispute, very great in itself, and of very great advantage to the navigation. Yet was not this work brought to perfection by him, but was the one half of it left imperfect, by reason of his want of application to it; the cause of which was this, that he employed his studies about useless matters, and that by spending his money upon such pleasures as concerned no one's benefit but his own, he could not exert his liberality in things that were undeniably of great consequence. Otherwise he was an excellent orator, and thoroughly acquainted with the Greek tongue, as well as with his own country or Roman language. He was also able off-hand and readily to give answers to compositions made by others, of considerable length and accuracy. He was also more skilful in persuading others to very great things than any one else, and this from a natural affability of temper, which had been improved by much exercise and pains-taking: For as he was the grandson * of the brother of Tiberius, whose successor he was, this was a strong inducement to his acquiring of learning, because Tiberius aspired after the highest pitch of that sort of reputation; and Caius aspired after the like glory for eloquence, being induced thereto by the letters of his kinsman and his emperor. He was also among the first rank of his citizens. But the advantages he received from his learning did not countervail the mischief he brought upon himself in the exercise of his authority; so difficult it is for those to obtain the virtue that is necessary for a wise man, who have the absolute power to do what they please, without controul. At the first he got himself such friends as were in all respects the most worthy, and was greatly beloved by them, while he imitated their zealous application to the learning and to the glorious actions of the best men; but when he became insolent towards them, they laid aside the kindness they had for him, and began to hate him; from which hatred came that plot, which they raised against him, and wherein he perished.

C H A P. III.

How Claudius was seized upon, and brought out of his House, and brought to the Camp, and how the Senate sent an Embassy to him.

§ I. **N**OW Claudius, as I said above, went out of that way along which Caius was gone; and, as the

* This Caius was the son of that excellent person Germanicus, who was the son of Drusus, the brother of Tiberius the emperor,

family was in a mighty disorder upon the sad accident of the murder of Caius, he was in great distress how to save himself, and was found to have hidden himself in a certain narrow place *, though he had no other occasion for suspicion of any dangers, besides the dignity of his birth ; for, while he was a private man, he behaved himself with moderation, and was contented with his present fortune, applying himself to learning, and especially to that of the Greeks, and keeping himself entirely clear from every thing that might bring any disturbance. But as at this time the multitude were under a consternation, and the whole palace was full of the soldiers madness, and the very emperor's guards seemed under the like fear and disorder with private persons, the band called *pretorian*, which was the purest part of the army, was in consultation what was to be done at this juncture. Now all those that were at this consultation, had little regard to the punishment Caius had suffered, because he justly deserved such his fortune ; but they were rather considering their own circumstances, how they might take the best care of themselves, especially while the Germans were busy in punishing the murderers of Caius ; which yet was done to gratify their own savage temper, than for the good of the public : All which things disturbed Claudius, who was afraid of his own safety, and this particularly because he saw the heads of Asprenas and his partners carried about. His station had been on a certain elevated place, whither a few steps led him, and whither he had retired in the dark by himself. But when Gratus, who was one of the soldiers that belonged to the palace saw him, but did not well know by his countenance who he was, because it was dark, though he could well judge that it was a man who was privately there on some design, he came nearer to him, and when Claudius desired that he would retire, he discovered who he was, and owned him to be Claudius. So he said to his followers, “ This is a Germanicus † ; come on, let us choose him for our emperor.” But when Claudius saw they were making preparations for taking him away by force, and was afraid they would kill him, as they had killed Caius, he besought them to spare him, putting them in mind how quietly he had demeaned himself, and that he was unacquainted with what had been done. Hereupon Gratus smiled upon him, and took him by the right hand and said, “ Leave off Sir, these low thoughts of saving yourself, while you ought to have greater thoughts, even of obtaining the empire which the gods, out of their concern for the habita-

* This first place Claudius came to was inhabited, and called *Hormeum*, as Spanheim here informs us from Suetonius in *Claud.* ch. x.

† How Claudius, another son of Drusus which Drusus was the father of Germanicus, could be here himself called *Germanicus*, Suetonius informs us, when he assures us that, by a decree of the senate, the surname of *Germanicus* was bestowed on Drusus, and his posterity also. In *Claud.* ch. i.

ble world, by taking Caius out of the way, commit to thy virtuous conduct. Go to, therefore, and accept of the throne of thy ancestors." So they took him up and carried him, because he was not then able to go on foot, such was his dread and his joy at what was told him.

2. Now there was already gathered together about Gratus a great number of the guards; and when they saw Claudius carried off, they looked with a sad countenance, as supposing that he was carried to execution for the mischiefs that had been lately done; while yet they thought him a man who never meddled with public affairs all his life long, and one that had met with no contemptible dangers under the reign of Caius; and some of them thought it reasonable, that the consuls should take cognizance of these matters; and, as still more and more of the soldiery got together, the crowd about him ran away, and Claudius could hardly go on, his body was then so weak; and those who carried his sedan, upon an enquiry that was made about his being carried off, ran away and saved themselves, as despairing of their lord's preservation. But when they were come into the large court of the palace, (which, as the report goes about it, was inhabited first of all the parts of the city of Rome), and had just reached the public treasury, many more soldiers came about him as glad to see Claudius's face, and thought it exceeding right to make him emperor, on account of their kindness for Germanicus, who was his brother, and had left behind him a vast reputation among all that were acquainted with him. They reflected also on the covetous temper of the leading men of the senate, and what great errors they had been guilty of, when the senate had the government formerly; they also considered the impossibility of such an undertaking, as also what dangers they should be in, if the government should come to a single person, and that such an one should possess it as they had no hand in advancing, and not to Claudius who would take it as their grant, and as gained by their good-will to him, and would remember the favours they had done him, and would make them a sufficient recompence for the same.

3. These were the discourses the soldiers had one with another by themselves, and they communicated them to all such as came into them. Now those that inquired about this matter, willingly embraced the invitation that was made them to join with the rest: So they carried Claudius into the camp, crowding about him as his guard, and encompassing him about, one chairman still succeeding another, that their vehement endeavours might not be hindered. But as to the populace and the senators, they disagreed in their opinions. The latter were very desirous to recover their former dignity, and were zealous to get clear of the slavery that had been brought on them injurious treatments of the tyrants, which the present opportunity afforded them; but for the people who were

envious against them, and knew that the emperors were capable of curbing their covetous temper, and were a refuge from them, they were very glad that Claudius had been seized upon, and brought to them, and thought, that if Claudius were made emperor, he would prevent a civil war. such as there was in the days of Pompey. But when the senate knew that Claudius was brought into the camp by the soldiers, they sent to him those of their body which had the best character for their virtues, that they might inform him, "that he ought to do nothing by violence, in order to gain the government; that he who was a single person, one either already, or hereafter to be a member of their body, ought to yield to the senate, which consisted of so great a number: That he ought to let the law take place in the disposal of all that related to the public order, and to remember how greatly the former tyrants had afflicted their city; and what dangers both he and they had escaped under Caius; and that he ought not to hate the heavy burden of tyranny, when the injury is done by others, while he did himself wilfully treat his country after a mad and insolent manner; that if he would comply with them, and demonstrate that his firm resolution, was to live quietly and virtuously, he would have the greatest honours decreed to him, that a free people could bestow, and by subjecting himself to the law, would obtain this branch of commendation, that he acted like a man of virtue, both as a ruler and a subject; but that if he would act foolishly, and learn no wisdom by Caius's death, they would not permit him to go on; that a great part of the army was got together for them, with plenty of weapons, and a great number of slaves, which they could make use of: That good hope was a great matter in such cases, as was also good fortune, and that the gods would never assist any others but those that undertook to act with virtue and goodness, who can be no other than such as fight for the liberty of their country."

4. Now these ambassadors, Veranius and Brocchus, who were both of them tribunes of the people, made this speech to Claudius, and, falling down upon their knees, they begged of him, that he would by no means throw the city into wars and misfortunes; but when they saw what a multitude of soldiers encompassed and guarded Claudius, and that the forces that were with the consuls were, in comparison of them, perfectly inconsiderable, they added, That, "if he did desire the government, he should accept of it as given by the senate; that he would prosper better, and be happier, if he came to it, not by injustice, but by the good will of those that would bestow it upon him."

C H A P. IV.

What things King Agrippa did for Claudius ; and how Claudius, when he had taken the government, commanded the Murderers of Caius to be slain.

§ 1. **N**OW Claudius, though he was sensible after what an insolent manner the senate had sent to him, yet did he, according to their advice, behave himself for the present with moderation ; but not so far that he could not recover himself out of his fright : So he was encouraged [to claim the government] partly by the boldness of the soldiers, and partly by the persuasion of king Agrippa, who exhorted him not to let such a dominion slip out of his hands, when it came thus to him of its own accord. Now this Agrippa, with relation to Caius, did what became one that had been so much honoured by him ; for he embraced Caius's body after he was dead, and laid it upon a bed and covered it as well as he could, and went out to the guards, and told them that Caius was still alive ; but he said that they should call for physicians, since he was very ill of his wounds. But when he had learned that Claudius was carried away violently by the soldiers, he rushed through the crowd to him, and when he found that he was in disorder, and ready to resign up the government to the senate, he encouraged him, and desired him to keep the government ; but when he had said this to Claudius, he retired home. And upon the senate's sending for him, he anointed his head with ointment, as if he had lately accompanied with his wife, and had dismissed her, and then came to them : He also asked of the senators what Claudius did ; who told him the present state of affairs, and then asked his opinion about the settlement of the public. He told them in words, that he was ready to lose his life for the honour of the senate, but desired them to consider what was for their advantage, without any regard to what was most agreeable to them ; for that those who grasp at government, will stand in need of weapons, and soldiers to guard them, unless they will set up without any preparation for it, and so fall into danger. And when the senate replied, That " they would bring in weapons in abundance, and money, and that as to an army, a part of it was already collected together for them, and they would raise a larger one by giving the slaves their liberty." Agrippa made answer, " O senators ! may you be able to compass what you have a mind to ; yet will I immediately tell you my thoughts, because they tend to your preservation : Take notice then, that the army which will fight for Claudius hath been long exercised in warlike affairs ; but our army will be no better than a rude multitude of raw men, and those such as have been unexpectedly made free from slavery, and ungovernable ; we must then fight

against those that are skillful in war, with men who know not so much as how to draw their swords. So that my opinion is, that we should send some persons to Claudius; to persuade him to lay down the government, and I am ready to be one of your ambassadors."

2. Upon this speech of Agrippa the senate complied with him, and he was sent among others, and privately informed Claudius of the disorder the senate was in, and gave instructions to answer them in a somewhat commanding strain, and as one invested with dignity and authority. Accordingly Claudius said to the ambassadors, That "he did not wonder the senate had no mind to have an emperor over them, because they had been harrassed by the barbarity of those that had formerly been at the head of their affairs; but that they should taste of an equitable government under him, and moderate times, while he should only be their ruler in name, but the authority should be equally common to them all; and since he had passed through many and various scenes of life before their eyes, it would be good for them not to distrust him." So the ambassadors, upon their hearing this his answer, were dismissed. But Claudius discoursed with the army which was there gathered together, who took oaths that they would persist in their fidelity to him; upon which he gave the guards every man five thousand * drachmæ a piece, and a proportionable quantity to their captains, and promised to give the same to the rest of the armies wheresoever they were.

3. And now the consuls called the senate together into the temple of Jupiter the Conqueror while it was still night; but some of those senators concealed themselves in the city, being uncertain what to do, upon the hearing of this summons, and some of them went out of the city to their own farms, as foreseeing whither the public affairs were going, and despairing of liberty; nay, these supposed it much better for them to be slaves without danger to themselves, and to live a lazy and unactive life, than, by claiming the dignity of their forefathers, to run the hazard of their own safety. However, an hundred and no more were gotten together; and as they were in consultation about the present posture of affairs, a sudden clamour was made by the soldiers that were on their side, "Desiring that the senate would choose them an emperor, and not bring the government into ruin by setting up a multitude of rulers." So they fully declared themselves to be for the giving the government not to all, but to one; but they gave the senate leave to look out for a person worthy to be set over them, in-

* This number of drachmæ to be distributed to each private soldier, 5000 drachmæ equal to 20,000 sesterces, or L. 161 Sterling, seems much too large, and directly contradicts Suetonius, chap. x. who makes them in all but 15 sesterces, or 2s. 4d. Yet might Josephus have this number from Agrippa junior, though I doubt the thousands, or at least the hundreds have been added by the transcribers, of which we have had several examples already in Josephus,

so much, that now the affairs of the senate were much worse than before ; because they had not only failed in the recovery of their liberty, which they boasted themselves of, but were in dread of Claudius also. Yet were there those that hankered after the government, both on account of the dignity of their families, and that accruing to them by their marriages ; for Marcus Minucianus was illustrious, both by his own nobility, and by his having married Julia, the sister of Caius, who accordingly was very ready to claim the government, although the consuls discouraged him, and made one delay after another in proposing it ; That Minucianus also, who was one of Caius's murderers, restrained Valerius of Asia from thinking of such things ; and a prodigious slaughter there had been, if leave had been given to these men to set up for themselves, and oppose Claudius. There were also a considerable number of gladiators besides, and of those soldiers who kept watch by night in the city, and rowers of ships, who all ran unto the camp ; in so much that of those who put in for the government, some left off their pretensions in order to spare the city, and others out of fear for their own persons.

4. But as soon as ever it was day, Cherea, and those that were with him came into the senate, and attempted to make speeches to the soldiers. However, the multitude of those soldiers, when they saw that they were making signals for silence with their hands, and were ready to begin to speak to them grew tumultuous, and would not let them speak at all, because they were all zealous to be under a monarchy ; and they demanded of the senate one for their ruler, as not enduring any longer delays : But the senate hesitated about either their own governing or how they should themselves be governed, while the soldiers would not admit them to govern, and the murderers of Caius would not permit the soldiers to dictate to them. When they were in these circumstances, Cherea was not able to contain the anger he had, and promised, that if they desired an emperor, he would give them one, if any one would bring him the watch-word from Eutyclus. Now this Eutyclus was charioteer of the green-band faction, styled Prasine, and a great friend of Caius, who used to harass the soldiery with building stables for the horses, and spent his time in ignominious labours, which occasioned Cherea to reproach them with him, and to abuse them with much other scurrilous language ; and told them, " he would bring them the head of Claudius ; and that it was an amazing thing that after their former madness, they should commit their government to a fool." Yet were not they moved with his words, but drew their swords, and took up their ensigns, and went to Claudius, to join in taking the oath of fidelity to him. So the senate were left without any body to defend them, and the very consuls differed nothing from private persons. They were also under consternation and sorrow, men not knowing

what would become of them, because Claudius was very angry at them; so they fell a reproaching one another, and repented of what they had done. At which juncture Sabinus, one of Caius's murderers, threatened that he would sooner come into the midst of them and kill himself, than consent to make Claudius emperor, and see slavery returning upon them; he also abused Cherea for loving his life too well, while he who was the first in his contempt of Caius, could think it a good thing to live, when, even by all that they had done for the recovery of their liberty, they found it impossible to do it. But Cherea said, he had no manner of doubt upon him about killing himself; that yet he would first sound the intentions of Claudius before he did it.

5. These were the debates, [about the senate;] but in the camp every body was crowding on all sides to pay their court to Claudius; and the other consul, Quintus Pomponius, was reproached by the soldiery, as having rather exhorted the senate to recover their liberty; whereupon they drew their swords, and were going to assault him, and they had done it, if Claudius had not hindered them, who snatched the consul out of the danger he was in, and set him by him. But he did not receive that part of the senate which was with Quintus in the like honourable manner; nay some of them received blows, and were thrust away as they came to salute Claudius; nay, Aponius went away wounded, and they were all in danger. However, king Agrippa went up to Claudius, and desired he would treat the senators more gently; for if any mischief should come to the senate, he would have no others over whom to rule. Claudius complied with him, and called the senate together into the palace, and was carried thither himself through the city, while the soldiery conducted him, though this was to the great vexation of the multitude; for Cherea and Sabinus, two of Caius's murderers, went in the fore-front of them, in an open manner, while Polio, whom Claudius a little before had made captain of his guards, and sent them an epistolary edict, to forbid them to appear in public. Then did Claudius, upon his coming to the palace, get his friends together, and desired their suffrages about Cherea. They said, that the work he had done was a glorious one, but they accused him that he did it of perfidiousness, and thought it just to inflict the punishment [of death] upon him, to discountenance such actions for the time to come. So Cherea was led to his execution, and Lupus, and many other Romans with him, now it is reported, that Cherea bore this calamity courageously, and this, not only by the firmness of his own behaviour under it, but by the reproaches he laid upon Lupus, who fell into tears; for when Lupus laid his garment aside and complained of the cold*, he said, that cold was never hurtful to Lupus, [*i. e.* a wolf.] And

* This piercing cold here complained of by Lupus, agrees well to the time of

as a great many men went along with them to see the sight, when Cherea came to the place, he asked the soldier who was to be their executioner, whether this office was what he was used to ? or whether this was the first time of his using his sword in that manner, and desired him to bring him that very sword with which he himself slew Caius. So he was happily killed at one stroke. But Lupus did not meet with such good fortune in going out of the world, since he was timorous, and had many blows levelled at his neck, because he did not stretch it out boldly, [as he ought to have done.]

6. Now a few days after this, as the parental solemnities were just at hand, the Roman multitude made their usual oblations to their several ghosts, and put portions into the fire in honour of Cherea and besought him to be merciful to them, and not continue his anger against them for their ingratitude. And this was the end of the life that Cherea came to. But for Sabinus although Claudius not only set him at liberty, but gave him leave to retain his former command in the army, yet did he think it would be unjust in him to fail of performing his obligations to his fellow confederates ; so he fell upon his sword, and killed himself, the wound reaching up to the very hilt of the sword.*

C H A P. V.

How Claudius restored to Agrippa his grandfather's Kingdoms, and augmented his dominions : And how he published an edict in behalf of the Jews.

§ 1. **N**OW when Claudius had taken out of the way all those soldiers whom he suspected, which he did immediately, he published an edict, and therein confirmed that kingdom to Agrippa, which Caius had given him, and therein commended the king highly. He also made an addition to it, of all that county over which Herod, who was his grandfather, had reigned, that is Judea and Samaria ; and this he re-

the year when Claudius began his reign ; it being for certain about the months of November, December, or January, and most probably a few days after Jan. 24th, and a few days before the Roman Parentalia

* It is both here and elsewhere very remarkable, that the murderers of the vilest tyrants who yet highly deserved to die, when those murderers were under oaths, or other the like obligations of fidelity to them, were usually revenged, and the murderers were cut off themselves, and that after a remarkable manner ; and this sometimes, as in the present case, by those very persons who were not sorry for such murders, but got kingdoms by them. The examples are very numerous both in sacred and profane histories, and seem generally indications of divine vengeance on such murderers. Nor is it unworthy of remark, that such murderers of tyrants do it usually on such ill principles, in such a cruel manner, and as ready to involve the innocent with the guilty, which was the case here, chap. i. sect. 14. and chap. ii. sect. 4. as justly deserved the divine vengeance upon them. Which seems to

stored to him as due to his family. But for Abila * of Lyfarnias, and all that lay at mount Libanus, he bestowed them upon him, as out of his own territories. He also made a league with this Agrippa, confirmed by oaths, in the middle of the forum, in the city of Rome : he also took away from Antiochus that kingdom which he was possessed of, but gave him a certain part of Cilicia and Commagena : He also set Alexander Lyfimachus, the alabarch, at liberty, who had been his old friend, and steward to his mother Antonia, but had been imprisoned by Caius, whose son [Marcus] married Barnice, the daughter of Agrippa. But when Marcus, Alexander's son, was dead, who had married her when she was a virgin, Agrippa gave her in marriage to his brother Herod, and begged for him of Claudius the kingdom of Chalcis.

2. Now about this time there was a sedition between the Jews and the Greeks, at the city of Alexandria ; for when Caius was dead, the nation of the Jews, which had been very much mortified under the reign of Caius, and reduced to very great distress by the people of Alexandria, recovered itself, and immediately took up their arms to fight for themselves. So Claudius sent an order to the president of Egypt, to quiet that tumult : He also sent an edict, at the requests of king Agrippa and king Herod, both to Alexandria and to Syria, whose contents were as follows : " Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, high-priest, and tribune of the people, ordains thus. Since I am assured that the Jews of Alexandria, called *Alexandrians*, have been joint inhabitants in the earliest times with the Alexandrians, and have obtained from their kings equal privileges with them, as is evident by the public records that are in their possession, and the edicts themselves ; and that after Alexandria had been subjected to our empire by Augustus, their rights and privileges have been preserved by those presidents who have at divers times been sent thither ; and that no dispute had been raised about those rights and privileges, even when Aquila was governor of Al-

have been the case of Jehu also, when, besides the house of Ahab, for whose slaughter he had a commission from God, without any such commission, any justice or commiseration, he killed Ahab's great men, and acquaintance, and priests, and forty-two of the kindred of Ahaziah, 2 Kings x. 11—14. See Hos. i. 4. I do not mean here to condemn Ehud or Judith, or the like executioners of God's vengeance on those wicked tyrants who had unjustly oppressed God's own people under their theocracy ; who, as they appear still to have had no selfish designs nor intentions to slay the innocent, so had they still a divine commission, or a divine impulse, which was their commission for what they did, Judg. iii. 15, 19, 20. Judith ix. 2. Test. Levi sect. 5 in Authent. Rec. p. 312. See also page 432.

* Here St. Luke is in some measure confirmed, when he informs us, chap. iii. 1. that Lyfarnias was some time before tetrarch of Abilene, whose capital was Abila ; as he is farther confirmed by Ptolemy, the great geographer, which Spanheim here observes, when he calls that city *Abila of Lyfarnias*. See the note on B. XVII. ch. xi. sect. 4. Vol. II. and Prid. at the years 36. and 22. I esteem this principality to have belonged to the land of Canaan originally, to have been the burying place of Abel, and referred to as such, Matt. xxiii. 35. Luke xi. 51. See Authent. Rec. Part II. p. 883—885.

alexandria; and that when the Jewish ethnarch was dead, Augustus did not prohibit the making such ethnarchs as willing that all men should be so subject [to the Romans] as to continue in the observation of their own customs, and not be forced to transgress the ancient rules of their own country-religion; but that in the time of Caius the Alexandrians became insolent towards the Jews that were among them, which Caius out of his great madness, and want of understanding, reduced the nation of the Jews very low, because they would not transgress the religious worship of their country, and call him a god. I will, therefore, that the nation of the Jews be not deprived of their rights and privileges, on account of the madness of Caius; but that those rights and privileges, which they formerly enjoyed, be preserved to them, and that they may continue in their own customs. And I charge both parties to take very great care that no troubles may arise after the promulgation of this edict."

3. And such were the contents of this edict on behalf of the Jews that was sent to Alexandria. But the edict that was sent into the other parts of the habitable earth was this which follows: "Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, high-priest, tribune of the people, chosen consul the second time, ordains thus. Upon the petition of king Agrippa, and king Herod, who are persons very dear to me, that I would grant the same rights and privileges, should be preserved to the Jews which are in all the Roman empire, which I have granted to those of Alexandria, I very willingly comply therewith; and this grant I make not only for the sake of the petitioners, but as judging those Jews for whom I have been petitioned worthy of such a favour, on account of their fidelity and friendship to the Romans. I think it also very just that no Grecian city should be deprived of such rights and privileges, since they were preserved to them under the great Augustus. It will therefore be fit to permit the jews, who are in all the world under us, to keep their ancient customs without being hindered so to do. And I do charge them also to use this my kindness to them with moderation, and not to shew a contempt of the superstitions observances of other nations, but to keep their own laws only. And I will that this decree of mine be engraven on tables by the magistrates of the cities and colonies, and municipal places, both those within Italy, and those without it, both kings and governors, by the means of the ambassadors, and to have them exposed to the public for full thirty days, in such a place *, whence it may plainly be read from the ground."

* This form was so known and frequent among the Romans, as Dr Hudson here tells us, from the great Selden, that it used to be thus represented at the bottom of their edicts by the initial letters only, *U. D. P. R. L. P. Unde De Plano Recte Legi Possit*. "Whence it may plainly be read from the ground."

C H A P. VI.

What things were done by Agrippa at Jerusalem, when he was returned back into Judea : And what it was that Petronius wrote to the inhabitants of Doris, in behalf of the Jews.

§ 1. **N**OW Claudius Cæsar, by these decrees of his which was sent to Alexandria, and to all the habitable earth, made known what opinion he had of the Jews. So he soon sent Agrippa away, to take his kingdom, now he was advanced to a more illustrious dignity than before, and sent letters to the presidents and procurators of the provinces, that they should treat him very kindly. Accordingly he returned in haste, as was likely he would, now he returned in much greater prosperity than he had before. He also came to Jerusalem, and offered all the sacrifices that belonged to him, and omitted nothing * which the law required ; on which account he ordained that many of the Nazarites should have their heads shorn. And for the golden chain which had been given him by Caius, of equal weight with that iron chain wherewith his royal hands had been bound, he hung it up within the limits of the temple, over the treasury †, that it might be a memorial of the severe fate he had lain under, and a testimony of his change for the better ; that it might be a demonstration how the greatest prosperity may have a fall, and that God sometimes raises up what is fallen down : For this chain thus dedicated afforded a document to all men, that king Agrippa had been once bound in a chain for a small cause, but recovered his former dignity again ; and a little while afterward got out of his bonds. and was advanced to be a more illustrious king than he was before. Whence men may understand, that all that partake of human nature, how great soever they are, may fall ; and that those that fall may gain their former illustrious dignity again.

2. And when Agrippa had entirely finished all the duties of the divine worship, he removed Theophilus, the son of Ananias from the high priesthood, and bestowed that honour of his on Simon, the son of Boethus, whose name was also Cantheras, whose daughter king Herod had married, as I have related above. Simon, therefore had the [high] priesthood with his brethren, and with his father, in like manner as the sons

* Josephus shews both here and ch. vii. sect. 3. that he had a much greater opinion of King Agrippa I. than Simon the learned rabbi, than the people of Sefarcea and Sebaste, ch. vii. sect. 4. and ch. ix. sect. 1. and indeed than his double dealing between the senate and Claudius, chap. iv. sect. 2. than his slaughter of James, the brother of John, and his imprisonment of Peter, or his vain glorious behaviour before he died, both in Acts xii. 1, 2, 3. and here, ch. iv. sect. 1. will justify or allow. Josephus's character was probably taken from his son Agrippa jun.

† This treasury-chamber seems to have been the very same in which our Saviour taught, and where the people offered their charity-money for the repairs or other uses of the temple. Mark xii. 41, &c. Luke xxi. 1. John viii. 20.

of Simon, the son of Onias, who were three, had it formerly under the government of the Macedonians, as we have related in a former book.

3. When the king had settled the high-priesthood after this manner, he returned the kindness which the inhabitants of Jerusalem had shewed him ; for he released them from the tax upon houses, every one of which paid it before, thinking it a good thing to requite the tender affection of those that loved him. He also made Silus the general of his forces, as a man who had partaken with him in many of his troubles. But after a very little while the young men of Doris, preferring a rash attempt before piety, and being naturally bold and insolent, carried a statue of Cæsar into a synagogue of the Jews, and erected it there. This procedure of theirs greatly provoked Agrippa ; for it plainly tended to the dissolution of the laws of his country. So he came without delay to Publius Petronius, who was then president of Syria, and accused the people of Doris. Nor did he less resent what was done than did Agrippa ; for he judged it a piece of impiety to transgress the laws that regulate the actions of men. So he wrote the following letter to the people of Doris in an angry strain : “ Publius Petronius, the president under Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, to the magistrates of Doris, ordains as follows : Since some of you have had the boldness, or madness rather, after the edict of Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus was published, for permitting the Jews to observe the laws of their country, not to obey the same, but have acted in entire opposition thereto, as forbidding the Jews to assemble together in the synagogue, by removing Cæsar’s statue, and setting it up therein, and thereby have offended not only the Jews, but the emperor himself, whose statue is more commodiously placed in his own temple, than in a foreign one, where is the place of assembling together ; while it is but a part of natural justice, that every one should have the power over the place belonging peculiarly to themselves according to the determination of Cæsar ; to say nothing of my own determination, which it would be ridiculous to mention after the emperor’s edict, which gives the Jews leave to make use of their own customs, as also gives order, that they enjoy equally the rights of citizens with the Greeks themselves. I therefore ordain, that Proculus Vitellius the centurion bring those men to me, who, contrary to Augustus’s edict, have been so insolent as to do this thing, at which those very men, who appear to be of principal reputation among them, have an indignation also, and allege for themselves, that it was not done with their consent, but by the violence of the multitude, that they might give an account of what hath been done. I also exhort the principal magistrates among them, unless they have a mind to have this action esteemed to be one with their consent, and to inform the centurion of those that were guilty

of it, and take care that no handle be hence taken for raising a sedition or quarrel among them ; which those seem to me to hunt after, who encourage such doings ; while both I myself, and king Agrippa, for whom I have the highest honour, have nothing more under our care, than that the nation of the Jews may have no occasion given them of getting together under the pretence of avenging themselves and become tumultuous. And that it may be more publicly known what Augustus hath resolved about this whole matter, I have subjoined those edicts which he hath lately caused to be published at Alexandria, and which, although they may be well known to all, yet did king Agrippa, for whom I have the highest honour, read them at that time before my tribunal, and pleaded that the Jews ought not to be deprived of those rights which Augustus hath granted them. I therefore charge you, that you do not, for the time to come seek for any occasion of sedition or disturbance, but that every one be allowed to follow their own religious customs."

4. Thus did Petronius take care of this matter, that such a breach of the law might be corrected. and that no such thing might be attempted afterwards against the Jews. And now king Agrippa took the [high] priesthood away from Simon Cantheras, and put Jonathan, the son of Ananus, into it again, and owned that he was more worthy of that dignity than the other. But this was not a thing acceptable to him, to recover that his former dignity. So he refused it, and said, " O king I rejoice in the honour thou hast for me. and take it kindly, that thou wouldest give me such a dignity of thy own inclinations, although God hath judged that I am not at all worthy of the high priesthood. I am satisfied with having once put on the sacred garments ; for I then put them on after a more holy manner, than I should now receive them again. But if thou desirest, that a person more worthy than myself should have this honourable employment, give me leave to name thee such an one. I have a brother that is pure from all sin against God, and of all offences against thyself ; I recommend him to thee, as one that is fit for this dignity." So the king was pleased with these words of his, and passed by Jonathan, and according to his brother's desire, bestowed the high priesthood upon Matthias. Nor was it long before Marcus succeeded Petronius as president of Syria.

C H A P. VII.

Concerning Silas, and on what account it was that King Agrippa was angry at him. How Agrippa began to encompass Jerusalem with a Wall; and what benefits he bestowed on the Inhabitants of Berytus.

§ 1. **N**OW Silas, the general of the king's horse, because he had been faithful to him under all his misfortunes, and had never refused to be a partaker with him in any of his dangers, but had oftentimes undergone the most hazardous dangers for him, was full of assurance, and thought he might expect a sort of equality with the king, on account of the firmness of the friendship he had shewed to him. Accordingly, he would no where let the king sit as his superior, and took the like liberty in speaking to him upon all occasions; till he became troublesome to the king, when they were merry together, extolling himself beyond measure, and of putting the king in mind of the severity he had undergone, that he might, by way of ostentation, demonstrate what zeal he had shewed in his service; and was continually harping upon this string, what pains he had taken for him, and much enlarged still upon that subject. The repetition of this so frequently seemed to reproach the king, insomuch that he took the ungovernable liberty of talking very ill at his hands. For the commemoration of times, when men have been under ignominy, is by no means agreeable to them; and he is a very silly man, who is perpetually relating to a person what kindness he had done him. At last, therefore, Silas had so thoroughly provoked the king's indignation, that he acted rather out of passion than good consideration, and did not only turn Silas out of his place, as general of his horse, but sent him in bonds into his own country. But the edge of his anger wore off by length of time, and made room for more just reasonings as to his judgment about this man, and he considered how many labours he had undergone for his sake. So when Agrippa was solemnizing his birth-day, and he gave festival entertainments to all his subjects, he sent for Silas on the sudden to be his guest. But, as he was a very frank man, he thought he had now a just handle given him to be angry; which he could not conceal from those that came for him, but said to them, "What honour is this the king invites me to, which I conclude will soon be over? For the king hath not let me keep those original marks of the good-will I bore him, which I once had from him; but he hath plundered me, and that unjustly also. Does he think, that I leave off that liberty of speech, which, upon the consciousness of my deserts, I shall use more loudly than before, and shall relate how many misfortunes I

have delivered him from ? how many labours I have undergone for him, whereby I procured him deliverance and respect ? as a reward for which I have borne the hardships of bonds, and a dark prison. I shall never forget this usage. Nay, perhaps, my very soul when it is departed out of the body, will not forget the glorious actions I did on his account." This was the clamour he made, and he ordered the messengers to tell it to the king. So he perceived, that Silas was incurable in his folly, and still suffered him to lie in prison.

2. As for the walls of Jerusalem, that were adjoining to the new city [Bezetha,] he repaired them at the expence of the public, and built them wider in breadth, and higher in altitude ; and he had made them too strong for all human power to demolish, unless Marcus, the then president of Syria, had by letter informed Claudius Cæsar of what he was doing. And when Claudius had some suspicion of attempts for innovation, he sent to Agrippa to leave off the building of those walls presently. So he obeyed, as not thinking it proper to contradict Claudius.

3. Now this king was by nature very beneficent, and liberal in his gifts, and very ambitious to oblige people with such large donations ; and he made himself very illustrious by the many chargeable presents he made them. He took delight in giving, and rejoicing in living with good reputation. He was not at all like that Herod who reigned before him ; for that Herod was ill-natured, and severe in his punishments, and had no mercy on them that he hated ; and every one perceived, that he was more friendly to the Greeks than to the Jews ; for he adorned foreign cities with large presents in money ; with building them baths and theatres besides ; nay, in some of those places, he erected temples, and porticoes in others ; but he did not vouchsafe to raise one of the least edifices in any Jewish city, or make them any donation that was worth mentioning. But Agrippa's temper was mild and equally liberal to all men. He was humane to foreigners, and made them sensible of his liberality. He was in like manner rather of a gentle and compassionate temper. Accordingly he loved to live continually at Jerusalem, and was exactly careful in the observance of the laws of his country. He therefore kept himself entirely pure ; nor did any day pass over his head without its appointed sacrifice.

4. However, there was a certain man of the Jewish nation at Jerusalem, who appeared to be very accurate in the knowledge of the law. His name was *Simon*. This man got together an assembly, while the king was absent at Cæsarea, and had the insolence to accuse him as not living holily, and that he might justly be excluded out of the temple, since it belonged only to native Jews. But the general of Agrippa's army informed him, that Simon had made such a speech to

the people. So the king sent for him ; and, as he was sitting in the theatre, he bid him sit down by him, and said to him with a low and gentle voice, " What is there done in this place that is contrary to the law ?" But he had nothing to say for himself, but begged his pardon. So the king was more easily reconciled to him than one could have imagined, as esteeming mildness a better quality in a king than anger, and knowing that moderation is more becoming in great men than passion. So he made Simon a small present and dismissed him.

5. Now, as Agrippa was a great builder in many places, he paid a peculiar regard to the people of Berytus ; for he erected a theatre for them, superior to many other of that sort, both in sumptuousness and elegance, as also an amphitheatre, built at vast expences ; and, besides these, he built them baths and porticoes, and spared for no costs in any of his edifices, to render them both handsome and large. He also spent a great deal upon their dedication, and exhibited shows upon them, and brought thither musicians of all sorts, and such as made the most delightful music of the greatest variety. He also shewed his magnificence upon the theatre, in his great number of gladiators ; and there it was that he exhibited the several antagonists, in order to please the spectators ; no fewer indeed than seven hundred men to fight with seven hundred other men * ; and allotted all the malefactors he had for this exercise, that both the malefactors might receive their punishment, and that this operation of war might be a recreation in peace. And thus were these criminals all destroyed at once.

CHAP. VIII.

What other Acts were done by Agrippa until his Death ; and after what manner he Died.

§ 1. **W**HEN Agrippa had finished what I have above related at Berytus, he removed to Tiberius, a city of Galilee. Now he was in great esteem among other kings. Accordingly there came to him Antiochus king of Commagena, Sampsigeramus king of Emesa, and Cotys who was king of the lesser Armenia, and Polemo, who was king of Pontus, as also Herod his brother, who was king of Chalcis. All these he treated with agreeable entertainments, and after an obliging manner, and so to exhibit the greatness of his mind, and so as to appear worthy of those respects which the kings paid to him, by coming thus to see him. However, while these kings staid with him, Marcus the president of

* A strange number of condemned criminals to be under the sentence of death at once ; no fewer, it seems, than 1400.

Syria came thither. So the king in order to preserve that respect that was due to the Romans, went out of the city to meet him, as far as seven furlongs. But this proved to be the beginning of a difference between him and Marcus; for he took with him in his chariot, those other kings as his assessors. But Marcus had a suspicion what the meaning could be of so great a friendship of these kings one with another, and did not think so close an agreement of so many potentates to be for the interest of the Romans. He therefore sent some of his domestics to every one of them, and enjoined them to go their ways home without farther delay. This was very ill taken by Agrippa, who after that became his enemy. And now he took the high priesthood away from Matthias, and made Elioneus, son of Cantheras, high priest in his stead.

2. Now when Agrippa had reigned three years over all Judea, he came to the city Cesarea, which was formerly called Strato's Tower; and there he exhibited shows in honour of Cæsar, upon his being informed that there was a certain festival celebrated to make vows for his safety. At which festival, a great multitude was gotten together of the principal persons, and such as were of dignity through his province. On the second day of which shows he put on a garment made wholly of silver, and of a contexture truly wonderful, and came into the theatre early in the morning; at which time the silver of his garment being illuminated by the fresh reflection of the sun's rays upon it, shone out after a surprising manner, and was so resplendent as to spread an horror over those that looked intently upon him; and presently his flatterers cried out, one from one place and another from another, (though not for his good), that "he was a god;" and they added, "Be thou merciful to us; for although we have hitherto revered thee only as a man, yet shall we henceforth own thee as superior to mortal nature." Upon this the king did neither rebuke them, nor reject their impious flattery. But as he presently afterward looked up, he saw an owl * sit-

* We have a mighty cry made here by some critics, as if the great Eusebius had on purpose falsified this account of Josephus, so as to make it agree with the parallel account in the acts of the Apostles; because the present copies of his citation of it, Hist. Eccles. B. II. ch. x. omit the words *βελων—ἐν χοίρῳ τῷ*, i. e. *an owl—on a certain rope*, which Josephus's present copies retain, and only have the explicatory word *ἄγγελον*, or *angel*; as if he meant that *angel of the Lord*, which St. Luke mentions as smiting Herod, Acts xii. 23. and not that owl which Josephus called an *angel* or *messenger formerly of good, but now of bad news* to Agrippa. This accusation is a somewhat strange one in the case of the great Eusebius, who is known to have so accurately and faithfully produced a vast number of other ancient records and particularly not a few out of our Josephus also, without any suspicion of prevarication. Now, not to allege how uncertain we are, whether Josephus's and Eusebius's copies of the fourth century were just like the present in this clause, which we have no distinct evidence of, the following words, preserved still in Eusebius, will not admit of any such exposition. *This [bird] says Eusebius, Agrippa presently perceived to be the cause of ill fortune, as it was once of good fortune to him; which can only belong to that bird the owl, which, as it had for-*

ting on a certain rope over his head, and immediately understood, that this bird was the messenger of ill tidings, as it had once been the messenger of good tidings to him ; and fell into the deepest sorrow. A severe pain also arose in his belly, and began in a most violent manner. He therefore looked upon his friends, and said, " I, whom you call a *god*, am commanded presently to depart this life ; while providence thus reproves the lying words you just now said to me ; and I, who was by you called *immortal*, am immediately to be hurried away by death. But I am bound to accept of what providence allots, as it pleases God ; for we have by no means lived ill, but in a splendid and happy manner." When he said this, his pain was become violent. Accordingly he was carried into the palace ; and the rumour went abroad every where, that he would certainly die in a little time. But the multitude presently sat in sackcloth, with their wives and children, after the law of their country, and besought God for the king's recovery. All places were also full of mourning and lamentation. Now the king rested in a high chamber, and as he saw them below lying prostrate on the ground, he could not himself forbear weeping. And when he had been quite worn out by the pain in his belly for five days, he departed this life, being in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and in the seventh year of his reign ; for he reigned four years under Caius Cæsar, three of them were over Philip's Tetrarchy only, and on the fourth he had that of Herod added to it ; and he reigned, besides those, three years under the reign of Claudius Cæsar. In which time he reigned over the forementioned countries, and also had Judea added to them, as well as Samaria and Cesarea. The revenues that he received out of them were very great, no less than twelve * millions of drachmæ. Yet did he borrow great sums from others ; for he was so very liberal that his expences exceeded his incomes, and his generosity was boundless.†

merly forboded this happy deliverance from imprisonment, Antiq. B. XVII. ch. vi. § 7. Vol. II. so was it then foretold to prove afterward the unhappy forerunner of his death in five days time. If the improper word *αἰτίον*, or *cause*, be changed for Josephus's proper word *ἄγγελον*, *angel* or *messenger*, and the foregoing words, *βεβωνα—ἐπὶ χοίρῃ τινί*, be inserted, Eusebius's text will truly represent that in Josephus. Had this imperfection been in some heathen author, that was in good esteem with our modern critics, they would have readily corrected these, as barely errors in the copies ; but being in an ancient Christian writer, not so well relished by many of those critics, nothing will serve but the ill grounded supposals of *wilful corruption and prevarication*.

* This sum of 12,000,000 drachmæ, which is equal to 3,000,000 shekels, i. e. at 2s 10d. a shekel, equal to 425,000l. sterling, was Agrippa the Great's yearly income, or about three quarters of his grand-father Herod's income ; he having abated the tax upon houses at Jerusalem, ch. vi. § 3. and was not so tyrannical as he had been to the Jews. See the note on Antiq. B. XVII. ch. xi. § 4 Vol. II. A large sum this ! but not, it seems, sufficient for his extravagant expences.

† Reland takes notice here, not improperly, that Josephus omits the reconciliation of this Herod Agrippa to the Tyrians and Sidonians by the means of Blattus

3. But before the multitude were made acquainted with Agrippa's being expired, Herod the king of Chaldis, and Helcias the master of his horse, and the king's friend, sent Aristto, one of the king's most faithful servants, and slew Silas, who had been their enemy, as if it had been done by the king's own command.

C H A P. IX.

What things were done after the Death of Agrippa ; and how Claudius, on account of the Youth and Unskillfulness of Agrippa Junior. Sent Cuspius Fadus to be Procurator of Judea, and of the entire Kingdom.

§ 1. **A**ND thus did King Agrippa depart this life. But he left behind him a son, *Agrippa* by name, a youth in the seventeenth year of his age, and three daughters ; one of which, Bernice, was married to Herod his father's brother, and was sixteen years old ; the other two, Mariamne and Drusilla, were still virgins ; the former was ten years old, and Drusilla six. Now these his daughters were thus espoused by their father, Mariamne to Julius Archelaus Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus, the son of Chelcias, and Drusilla to the king of Commagena. But when it was known that Agrippa was departed this life, the inhabitants of Cesarea and of Sebaſte forgot the kindneſſes he had beſtowed on them, and acted the part of the bittereſt enemies ; for they caſt ſuch reproachs upon the deceaſed as are not fit to be ſpoken of ; and ſo many of them as were then ſoldiers, which were a great number, went to his houſe, and haſtily carried off the ſtatues * of this king's daughters, and all at once carried them into the brothel houſes, and, when they had ſet them on the tops of thoſe houſes, they abuſed them to the utmoſt of their power, and did ſuch things to them as are too indecent to be related. They alſo laid themſelves down in public places, and celebrated general feaſting, with garlands on their heads and with ointments and libations to Charon, and drinking to one another for joy that the king was expired. Nay, they were not only unmindful of Agrippa, who had extended his liberality to them in abundance, but of his grandfather Herod alſo, who had himſelf rebuilt their cities, and had raiſed them havens and temples at vaſt expences.

2. Now Agrippa the ſon of the deceaſed, was at Rome, and

the king's chamberlain, mentioned Acts xii. 20. Nor is there any hiſtory in the world ſo complete, as to omit nothing that other hiſtorians take notice of, unleſs the one be taken out of the other, and accommodated to it.

* Photius, who made an extract out of this ſection, ſays, they were not the ſtatues or images, but the ladies themſelves, which were thus baſely abuſed by the ſoldiers. Cod. CCXXVIII.

brought up with Claudius Cæsar. And when Cæsar was informed that Agrippa was dead, and that the inhabitants of Sebaste and Cesarea had abused him, he was sorry for the first news, and was displeased at the ingratitude of those cities. He was therefore disposed to send Agrippa junior away presently to succeed his father in the kingdom, and was willing to confirm him in it by his oath. But those freed men and friends of his, who had the greatest authority with him, dissuaded him from it, and said, that "it was a dangerous experiment to permit so large a kingdom to come under the government of so very young a man, and one hardly yet arrived at years of discretion, who would not be able to take sufficient care of its administration ; while the weight of a kingdom is heavy enough to a grown man." So Cæsar thought what they said to be reasonable. Accordingly he sent Culpus Fadus to be procurator of Judea, and of the entire kingdom, and paid that respect to the deceased, as not to introduce Marcus, who had been at variance with him, into his kingdom. But he determined in the first place, to send orders to Fadus, that he should chastise the inhabitants of Cesarea and Sebaste for those abuses they had offered to him that was deceased, and their madness toward his daughters that were still alive ; and that he should remove that body of soldiers that were at Cesarea and Sebaste, with the five regiments into Pontus, that they might do their military duty there, and that he should choose an equal number of soldiers out of the Roman legions, that were in Syria to supply their place. Yet were not those that had such orders actually removed ; for by sending ambassadors to Claudius, they mollified him, and got leave to abide in Judea still ; and these were the very men that became the source of very great calamities to the Jews in after times, and sowed the seeds of that war which began under Florus ; whence it was, that when Vespasian had subdued the country, he removed them out of his province, as we shall relate hereafter*.

* This history is now wanting.

B O O K XX.

Containing the interval of twenty-two years.

[From FADUS the Procurator to FLORUS.]

C H A P. I.

A Sedition of the Philadelphians against the Jews; and also concerning the Vestments of the High Priest.

§ 1. UPON the death of king Agrippa, which we have related in the foregoing book, Claudius Cæsar sent Cassius Longinus, as successor to Marcus, out of regard to the memory of king Agrippa, who had often desired of him by letters, while he was alive, that he would not suffer Marcus to be any longer president of Syria. But Fadus, as soon as he was come procurator into Judea, found quarrelsome doings between the Jews that dwelt in Perea, and the people of Philadelphia, about their borders, at a village called Mia, that was filled with men of a warlike temper; for the Jews of Perea had taken up arms without the consent of their principal men, and had destroyed many of the Philadelphians. When Fadus was informed of this procedure, it provoked him very much, that they had not left the determination of the matter to him, if they thought that the Philadelphians had done them any wrong, but had rashly taken up arms against them. So he seized upon three of their principal men, who were also the causes of this sedition, and ordered them to be bound, and afterward had one of them slain, whose name was Hannibal, and he banished the other two Amram and Eleazar. Tholomy also, the arch robber, was, after some time brought to him bound, and slain, but not till he had done a world of mischief to Idumea, and the Arabians. And indeed, from that time, Judea was cleared of robberies by the care and providence of Fadus. He also at this time sent for the high-priests and the principal citizens of Jerusalem, and this at the commands of the emperor, and admonished them, that they should lay up the long garment, and the sacred vestment, which it is customary for nobody but the high priest to wear, in the tower of Antonia, that it might be under the power of the Romans, as it had been formerly. Now the Jews durst not contradict what he had said, but desired Fadus, however, and Longinus,

(which last was come to Jerusalem, and had brought a great army with him, out of a fear that the [rigid injunctions of Fadus should force the Jews to rebel,]) that they might, in the first place, have leave to send ambassadors to Cæsar to petition him, that they may have the holy vestments under their own power, and that, in the next place, they would tarry till they knew what answer Claudius would give to that their request. So they replied, that they would give them leave to send their ambassadors, provided they would give them their sons as pledges [for their peaceable behaviour.] And when they had agreed so to do, and had given them the pledges they desired, the ambassadors were sent accordingly. But when, upon their coming to Rome, Agrippa junior, the son of the deceased, understood the reason why they came, (for he dwelt with Claudius Cæsar, as we said before,) he besought Cæsar to grant the Jews their request about the holy vestments, and to send a message to Fadus accordingly.

2. Hereupon Claudius called for the ambassadors, and told them, That "he granted their request;" and bade them to return their thanks to Agrippa for this favour, which had been bestowed on them upon this intreaty. And, besides these answers of his, he sent the following letter by them: "Claudius Cæsar Germanicus, tribune of the people the fifth time, and designed consul the fourth time, and imperator the tenth time, the father of his country, to the magistrates, senate, and people, and the whole nation of the Jews sendeth greeting. Upon the presentation of your ambassadors to me by Agrippa, my friend, whom I have brought up, and have now with me, and who is a person of very great piety. who are come to give me thanks for the care I have taken of your nation, and to entreat me, in an earnest and obliging manner, that they may have the holy vestments, with the crown belonging to them, under their power; I grant their request, as that excellent person Vitellius, who is very dear to me, had done before me. And I have complied with your desire, in the first place, out of regard to that piety which I profess, and because I would have every one worship God according to the laws of their own country; and this I do also because I shall hereby highly gratify king Herod, and Agrippa junior, whose sacred regards to me and earnest good-will to you, I am well acquainted with, and with whom I have the greatest friendship, and whom I highly esteem, and look on as persons of the best character. Now I have written about these affairs to Cuspius Fadus, my procurator. The names of those that brought me your letter are, Cornelius, the son of Cero, Trypho the son of Theudio, Dorotheus the son of Nathaniel, and John the son of John. This letter is dated before the fourth of the calends of July, when Rufus and Pompeius Sylvanus are consuls.

3. Herod also, the brother of the deceased Agrippa, who was then possessed of the royal authority over Chalcis, peti-

tioned Claudius Cæsar for the authority over the temple, and the money of the sacred treasure, and the choice of the high-priests, and obtained all that he petitioned for. So that after that time this authority continued among * all his descendants till the end of the war. Accordingly Herod removed the last high-priest, called *Cantheras*, and bestowed that dignity on his successor Joseph the son of Camus.

C H A P. II.

How Helena, the Queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates embraced the Jewish religion; and how Helena supplied the poor with corn, when there was a great famine at Jerusalem.

§ 1. **A**BOUT this time it was that Helena, queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates changed their course of life, and embraced the Jewish customs, and this on the occasion following: Monobazus, the king of Adiabene, who had also the name of Bazeus, fell in love with his sister Helena, and took her to be his wife, and begat her with child. But as he was in bed with her one night, he laid his hand upon his wife's belly, and fell asleep and seemed to hear a voice, which bid him take his hand off his wife's belly, and not hurt the infant that was therein, which, by God's providence, would be safely born, and have an happy end. This voice put him into disorder; so he awaked immediately, and told the story to his wife; and when his son was born, he called him *Izates*. He had indeed Monobazus, his elder brother, by Helena also, as he had other sons by other wives besides. Yet did he openly place all his affections on this his only begotten † son Izates, which was the origin of that envy which his other brethren, by the same father, bore to him; while on this account they hated him more and more, and were all under great affliction that their father should prefer Izates before them. Now although their father were very sensible of these their passions, yet did he forgive them, as not indulging those passions out of an ill disposition, but out of a desire each of them had to be beloved by their father. However, he sent Izates, with many presents, to Abennerig, the king of Charax-Spasini, and that out of the great dread he was in about him, lest he should

* Here is some error in the copies, or mistake in Josephus; for the power of appointing high-priests, after Herod king of Chalcis was dead, and Agrippa junior was made king of Chalcis in his room, belonging to him, and he exercised the same all along till Jerusalem was destroyed, as Josephus elsewhere informs us, ch. viii. sect. 8. 11. ch. ix. sect. 1, 4, 6, 7.

† Josephus here uses the word *μωρογενῆν* an only begotten son, for no other than one best beloved, as does both the Old and New Testament, I mean where there were one or more sons besides, Gen. xxii. 2. Heb. xi. 17. See the note on B. I. ch. xiii. sect. 1. Vol. I.

come to some misfortune by the hatred his brethren bore him; and he committed his son's preservation to him. Upon which Abennerig gladly received the young man, and had a great affection for him; and married him to his own daughter, whose name was *Samacha*: He also bestowed a country upon him, from which he received large revenues.

2. But when Monobazus was grown old, and saw that he had but a little time to live, he had a mind to come to the sight of his son before he died. So he sent for him, and embraced him after the most affectionate manner, and bestowed on him the country called *Carraë*; it was a soil that bare ammomum in great plenty: There are also in it the remains of that ark, wherein it is related that Noah escaped the deluge, and where they are still shewn to such as are desirous to see them*. Accordingly Izates abode in that country until his father's death. But the very day that Monobazus died, queen Helena sent for all the grandees, and governors of the kingdom, and for those that had the armies committed to their command; and when they were come she made the following speech to them: "I believe you are not unacquainted that my husband was desirous Izates should succeed him in the government, and thought him worthy so to do. However, I wait your determination; for happy is he who receives a kingdom not from a single person only, but from the willing suffrages of a great many." This she said in order to try those that were invited, and to discover their sentiments. Upon the hearing of which, they first of all paid their homage to the queen, as their custom was, and then they said, That "they confirmed the king's determination, and would submit to it; and they rejoiced that Izates's father had preferred him before the rest of his brethren, as being agreeable to all their wishes: But that they were desirous first of all to slay his brethren, and kinsmen, that so the government might come securely to Izates; because if they were once destroyed, all that fear would be over which might arise from their hatred and envy to him." Helena replied to this, That "she returned them their thanks for their kindness to herself and to Izates; but desired that they would however defer the execution of this slaughter of Izates's brethren till he should be there himself, and give his approbation to it." So since these men had not prevailed with her, when they advised her to slay them, they exhorted her at least to keep them in bonds till he should come, and that for their own security; they also gave her counsel to set up some one whom she could put the greatest trust in, as a governor of the kingdom in the mean time. So queen Helena complied with this counsel of theirs, and set up Monobazus, the eldest son, to be king, and

* It is here very remarkable, that the remains of Noah's ark were believed to be still in being in the days of Josephus. See the note on B. I. ch. 3. sect. 5. Vol. I.

put the diadem upon his head, and gave him his father's ring, with its signet ; as also the ornament which they call *Sampser*, and exhorted him to administer the affairs of the kingdom till his brother should come ; who came suddenly upon his hearing that his father was dead, and succeeded his brother Monobazus, who resigned up the government to him.

3. Now during the time Izates abode at Charax-Spafini, a certain Jewish merchant, whose name was Ananias, got among the women that belonged to the king, and taught them to worship God according to the Jewish religion. He, moreover, by their means, became known to Izates, and persuaded him in like manner to embrace that religion ; he also, at the earnest entreaty of Izates, accompanied him when he was sent for by his father to come to Adiabene : It also happened, that Helena, about the same time, was instructed by a certain other Jew, and went over to them. But when Izates had taken the kingdom and was come to Adiabene, and there saw his brethren, and other kinsmen in bonds, he was displeased at it ; and as he thought it an instance of impiety either to slay or to imprison them, but still thought it an hazardous thing for to let them have their liberty, with the remembrance of the injuries that had been offered them, he sent some of them and their children for hostages to Rome, to Claudius Cæsar, and sent the others to Artabanus, the king of Parthia, with the like intentions.

4. And when he perceived that his mother was highly pleased with the Jewish customs, he made haste to change and to embrace them entirely ; and as he supposed that he could not be thoroughly a Jew unless he were circumcised, he was ready to have it done. But when his mother understood what he was about, she endeavoured to hinder him from doing it, and said to him, that “ this thing would bring him into danger ; and that, as he was a king, he would thereby bring himself into great odium among his subjects when they should understand that he was so fond of rites that were to them strange and foreign ; and that they would never bear to be ruled over by a Jew.” This it was that she said to him, and for the present persuaded him to forbear. And when he had related what she had said to Ananias, he confirmed what his mother had said, and when he had also threatened to leave him, unless he complied with him, he went away from him, and said, that “ he was afraid lest such an action being once become public to all, he should himself be in danger of punishment, for having been the occasion of it, and having been the king's instructor in actions that were of ill reputation ; and he said, that he might worship God without being circumcised, even though he did resolve to follow the Jewish law entirely, which worship of God was of a superior nature to circumcision. He added, that God would forgive him, though he did not perform the operation, while it was omitted out of necessity, and for fear

of his subjects." So the king at that time complied with these persuasions of Ananias. But afterwards, as he had not quite left off his desire of doing this thing, a certain other Jew that came out of Galilee, whose name was Eleazar, and who was esteemed very skilful in the learning of his country, persuaded him to do the thing ; for as he entered into his palace to salute him, and found him reading the law of Moses, he said to him, " Thou dost not consider, O king, that thou unjustly breakest the principal of those laws, and art injurious to God himself, [by omitting to be circumcised ;] for thou oughtest not only to read them, but chiefly to practise what they enjoin thee. How long wilt thou continue uncircumcised ? But if thou hast not yet read the law about circumcision, and dost not know how great impiety thou art guilty of by neglecting it, read it now." When the king had heard what he said, he delayed the thing no longer, but retired to another room, and sent for a surgeon, and did what he was commanded to do. He then sent for his mother, and Ananias his tutor, and informed them that he had done the thing ; upon which they were presently struck with astonishment and tear, and that to a great degree, lest the thing should be openly discovered and censured, and the king should hazard the loss of his kingdom, while his subjects would not bear to be governed by a man who was so zealous in another religion ; and lest they should themselves run some hazard, because they would be supposed the occasion of his so doing. But it was God * himself who hindered what they feared from taking effect ; for he preserved both Izates himself, and his sons when they fell into many dangers, and procured their deliverance when it seemed to be impossible, and demonstrated thereby, that the fruit of piety does not perish as to those that have regard to him, and fix their faith upon him only. But these events we shall relate hereafter.

5. But as to Helena the king's mother, when she saw that the affairs of Izates's kingdom were in peace, and that her son was an happy man, and admired among all men, and even among foreigners, by the means of God's providence over him, she had a mind to go to the city Jerusalem, in order to worship at that temple of God which was so very famous among all men, and to offer her thank-offerings there. So she desired her son to give her leave to go thither : Upon which he gave consent to what she desired very willingly, and made great preparation for her dismissal, and gave her a great deal of money, and she went down to the city Jerusalem, her son conducting her on her journey a great way. Now her coming was of very great advantage to the people of Jerusalem ; for

* Josephus is very full and express in these three chapters, iii. iv. and v. in observing how carefully Divine Providence preserved this Izates, king of Adiabene, and his sons, while he did what he thought was his bounden duty, notwithstanding the strongest political motives to the contrary.

whereas a famine did oppress them at that time, and many people died for want of what was necessary to procure food withal, queen Helena sent some of her servants to Alexandria with money to buy a great quantity of corn, and others of them to Cyprus, to bring a cargo of dried figs. And as soon as they were come back, and had brought those provisions, which was done very quickly, she distributed food to those that were in want of it, and left a most excellent memorial behind her of this benefaction, which she bestowed on our whole nation. And when her son Izates was informed of this famine, he sent great sums of money to the principal men in Jerusalem. However, what favours this queen and king conferred upon our city Jerusalem shall be farther related hereafter *.

C H A P. III.

How Artabanus the King of Parthia; out of fear of the secret contrivances of his subjects against him, went to Izates, and was by him reinstated in his Government; as also how Bardanes, his son denounced war against Izates.

§ I. **B**UT now Artabanus king of the Parthians, perceiving that the governors of the provinces, had framed a plot against him, did not think it safe for him to continue among them, but resolved to go to Izates, in hopes of finding some way for his preservation by his means, and, if possible, for his return to his own dominions. So he came to Izates, and brought a thousand of his kindred and servants with him, and met him upon the road, while he well knew Izates, but Izates, did not know him. When Artabanus stood near him, and, in the first place, worshipped him, according to the custom, he then said to him: "O king, do not thou overlook me thy servant, nor do thou proudly reject the suit I make thee; for as I am reduced to a low estate, by the change of fortune, and of a king am become a private man, I stand in need of thy assistance. Have regard, therefore, unto the uncertainty of fortune, and esteem the care thou shalt take of me to be taken of thyself also; for if I be neglected and my subjects go off unpunished, many other subjects will become the more insolent towards other kings also." And this speech Artabanus made with tears in his eyes, and with a dejected countenance. Now as soon as Izates heard Artabanus's names, and saw him stand as a suppliant before him, he leaped down from his horse immediately, and said to him, "Take courage,

* This farther account of the benefactions of Izates and Helena to the Jerusalem Jews, which Josephus here promises, is, I think, nowhere performed by him in his present works. But of this terrible famine itself in Judea, take Dr. Hudson's note here;—"This (says he) is that famine foretold by Agabus, Acts xi. 28. which happened when Claudius was consul the fourth time; and not that other which

O king, nor be disturbed at thy present calamity, as if it were incurable ; for the change of thy sad condition shall be sudden ; for thou shalt find me to be more thy friend and thy assistant than thy hopes can promise thee ; for I will either re-establish thee in the kingdom of Parthia, or lose my own."

2. When he had said this, he sent Artabanus upon his horse, and followed him on foot in honour of a king whom he owned as greater than himself ; which, when Artabanus saw, he was very uneasy at it, and and sware, by his present fortune and honour, that he would get down from his horse, unless Izates would get upon his horse again, and go before him. So he complied with his desire, and leaped upon his horse ; and, when he had brought him to his royal palace, he shewed him all sorts of respect, when they sat together, and he gave him the upper place at festivals also, as regarding not his present fortune, but his former dignity, and that upon this consideration also, that the changes of fortune are common to all men. He also wrote to the Parthians, to persuade them to receive Artabanus again ; and gave them his right hand and his faith, that he should forget what was past and done, and that he would undertake for this as a mediator between them. Now the Parthians did not themselves refuse to receive him again, but pleaded that it was not now in their power so to do ; because they had committed the government to another person, who had accepted of it, and whose name was Cinnamus, and that they were afraid lest a civil war should arise on this account. When Cinnamus understood their intentions, he wrote to Artabanus himself, for he had been brought up by him, and was of a nature good and gentle also, and desired him to put confidence in him, and to come and take his own dominions again. Accordingly Artabanus trusted him, and returned home ; when Cinnamus met him, worshipped him, and saluted him as king, and took the diadem off his own head, and put it on the head of Artabanus.

3. And thus was Artabanus restored to his kingdom again by the means of Izates, when he had lost it by the means of the grandees of the kingdom. Nor was he unmindful of the benefits he had conferred upon him, but rewarded him with such honours as were of greatest esteem among them ; for he

happened when Claudius was consul the second time, and Cæsina was his colleague, as Scaliger says upon Eusebius, p. 174." Now when Josephus had said a little afterward, ch. v. sect. 2. that "Tiberius Alexander succeeded Culpus Fadus as procurator," he immediately subjoins, That "under these procurators there happened a great famine in Judea." Whence it is plain that this famine continued for many years, on account of its duration under those two procurators. Now Fadus was not sent into Judea till after the death of king Agrippa, i. e. towards the latter end of the 4th year of Claudius ; so that this famine foretold by Agabus, happened upon the 5th, 6th, and 7th years of Claudius, as says Valesius on Euseb. II. 12. Of this famine also, and queen Helena's supplies, and her monument, see Moses Chorenensis, p. 144, 145, where it is observed in the notes, that Paulanias mentions that her monument also.

gave him leave to wear his tiara upright *, and to sleep upon a golden bed, which are privileges and marks of honour peculiar to the kings of Parthia. He also cut off a large and fruitful country from the king of Armenia, and bestowed it upon him. The name of the country is Nisibis, wherein the Macedonians had formerly built that city which they called Antioch of Mygdonia. And these were the honours that were paid Izates by the king of the Parthians.

4. But in no long time, Artabanus died, and left his kingdom to his son Bardanes. Now this Bardanes came to Izates, and would have persuaded him to join him with his army, and to assist him in the war he was preparing to make with the Romans; but he could not prevail with him. For Izates so well knew the strength and good fortune of the Romans, that he took Bardanes to attempt what was impossible to be done; and having besides sent his sons, five in number, and they but young also, to learn accurately the language of our nation, together with our learning, as well as he had sent his mother to worship at our temple, as I have said already, was the more backward to a compliance; and restrained Bardanes, telling him perpetually of the great armies and famous actions of the Romans, and thought thereby to terrify him, and desired thereby to hinder him from that expedition. But the Parthian king was provoked at this his behaviour, and denounced war immediately against Izates: Yet did he gain no advantage by this war, because God cut off all his hopes therein; for the Parthians, perceiving Bardanes's intentions, and how he had determined to make war with the Romans, slew him, and gave his kingdom to his brother Gotarzes. He also, in no long time, perished by a plot made against him and Vologases, his brother, succeeded him, who committed two of his provinces to two of his brothers, by the same father; that of the Medes to the elder, Pacorus, and Armenia to the younger, Tiridates.

C H A P. IV.

How Izates was betrayed by his own Subjects, and fought against by the Arabians: And how Izates, by the Providence of God, was delivered out of their hands.

§ 1. **N**OW when the king's brother Monobazus, and his other kindred, saw how Izates, by his piety to God, was become greatly esteemed by all men, they also had a desire to leave the religion of their country, and to embrace the customs of the Jews; but that act of theirs was discovered by

* This privilege of wearing the tiara upright, or with the tip of the cone erect, is known to have been of old peculiar to [great] kings, from Xenophon and others, as Dr. Hudson observes here.

Izates's subjects. Whereupon the grandees were much displeased, and could not contain their anger at them ; but had an intention, when they should find a proper opportunity, to inflict a punishment upon them. Accordingly they wrote to Abia, king of the Arabians, and promised him great sums of money, if he would make an expedition against their king ; and they farther promised him, that, on the first onset, they would desert their king, because they were desirous to punish him, by reason of the hatred he had to their religious worship : Then they obliged themselves by oaths to be faithful to each other, and desired that he would make haste in this design. The king of Arabia complied with their desires, and brought a great army into the field, and marched against Izates ; and, in the beginning of the first onset, and before they came to a close fight, those grandees, as if they had a panic terror upon them, all deserted Izates, as they had agreed to do. and, turning their backs upon their enemies, ran away. Yet was not Izates dismayed at this ; but when he understood that the grandees had betrayed him, he also retired into his camp, and made inquiry into the matter ; and as soon as he knew who they were that had made this conspiracy with the king of Arabia, he cut off those that were found guilty ; and renewing the fight on the next day, he slew the greatest part of his enemies, and forced all the rest to betake themselves to flight. He also pursued their king and drove him into a fortress called *Arsamus*, and, following on the siege vigorously, he took that fortress. And when he had plundered it of all the prey that was in it, which was not small, he returned to Adiabane : Yet did not he take Abia alive ; because, when he found himself encompassed on every side, he slew himself.

2. But although the grandees of Adiabene had failed in their first attempt, as being delivered up by God into their king's hands, yet would they not even then be quiet, but wrote again to Vologases, who was then king of Parthia, and desired that he would kill Izates, and set over them some other potentate, who should be of a Parthian family ; for they said, That " they hated their own king for abrogating the laws of their forefathers, and embracing foreign customs." When the king of Parthia heard this, he boldly made war upon Izates ; and he had just pretence for this war, he sent to him, and demanded back those honourable privileges which had been bestowed on him by his father, and threatened, on his refusal, to make war upon him. Upon hearing of this, Izates was under no small trouble of mind, as thinking it would be a reproach upon him to appear to resign those privileges that had been bestowed upon him, out of cowardice ; yet because he knew, that though the king of Parthia should receive back those honours, yet would he not be quiet, he resolved to commit himself to God, his protector, in the present danger he was in of his life ; and as he esteemed him to be his principal assistant, he entrusted

his children and his wives to a very strong fortress, and laid up his corn in his citadels, and set the hay and the grass on fire. And when he had thus put things in order, as well as he could, he awaited the coming of the enemy. And when the king of Parthia was come, with a great army of footmen and horsemen, which he did sooner than was expected (for he marched in great haste,) and had cast up a bank at the river that parted Adiabene from Media; Izates also pitched his camp not far off, having with him six thousand horsemen. But there came a messenger to Izates, sent by the king of Parthia, who told him, "How large his dominions were, as reaching from the river Euphrates to Bactria and enumerated that king's subjects: He also threatened him, that he should be punished, as a person ungrateful to his lords; and said, that the God whom he worshipped could not deliver him out of the king's hands." When the messenger had delivered this his message, Izates replied, That "he knew the king of Parthia's power was much greater than his own; but that he knew also that God was much more powerful than all men." And when he had returned him this answer, he betook himself to make supplication* to God, and threw himself upon the ground, and put ashes upon his head in testimony of his confusion, and fasted, together with his wives and children. When he called upon God and said, "O Lord and Governor, if I have not in vain committed myself to thy goodness, but have justly determined that thou only art the Lord and principal of all beings, come now to my assistance, and defend me from my enemies, not only on my own account, but on account of their insolent behaviour with regard to thy power, while they have not feared to lift up their proud and arrogant tongue against thee." Thus did he lament and bemoan himself, with tears in his eyes; whereupon God heard his prayer. And immediately that very night Volcages received letters, the contents of which were these, that a great band of Dahæ and Sabæ, despising him now he was gone so long a journey from home, had made an expedition, and laid Parthia waste; so that he [was forced to] retire back, without doing any thing. And thus it was that Izates escaped the threatenings of the Parthians, by the providence of God.

3. It was not long ere Izates died, when he had completed fifty-five years of his life, and had ruled his kingdom twenty-four years. He left behind him twenty-four sons and twenty-four daughters. However, he gave order that his brother Monobazus should succeed in the government, thereby requiting him, because, while he was himself absent, after their

* This mourning, and fasting and praying used by Izates, with prostration of his body, and ashes upon his head, are plain signs that he was become either a Jew, or an Ebionite Christian, who indeed differed not much from proper Jews. See chap. vi. § 1. However, his supplications were heard, and he was providentially delivered from that imminent danger he was in.

father's death, he had faithfully preserved the government for him. But when Helena, his mother heard of her son's death, she was in great heaviness, as was but natural upon her loss of such a most dutiful son; yet was it a comfort to her, that she heard the succession came to her eldest son. Accordingly she went to him in haste; and when she was come into Adiabene, she did not long outlive her son Izates. But Monobazus sent her bones, as well as those of Izates his brother, to Jerusalem, and gave order that they should be buried at the pyramids*, which their mother had erected; they were three in number, and distant more than three furlongs from the city Jerusalem. But for the actions of Monobazus the king, which he had during the rest of his life, we will relate them hereafter†.

C H A P. V.

Concerning Theudas, and the Sons of Judas the Galilean: As also what Calamity fell upon the Jews on the Day of the Passover.

§ 1. **N**OW it came to pass, while Fadus was procurator of Judea, that a certain magician, whose name was Theudas ‡, persuaded a great part of the people to take their effects with them, and follow him to the river Jordan; for he told them he was a prophet, and that he would, by his own command, divide the river, and afford them an easy passage over it; and many were deluded by his words. However, Fadus did not permit him to make any advantage of his wild attempt, but sent a troop of horsemen out against them; who, falling upon them unexpectedly, slew many of them, and took many of them alive. They also took Theudas alive, and cut off his head, and carried it to Jerusalem. This was what befel the Jews in the time of Cuspius Fadus's government.

2. Then came Tiberius Alexander as successor to Fadus; he was the son of Alexander the Alabarch of Alexandria, which Alexander was a principal person among all his contemporaries, both for his family and wealth: He was also more eminent for his piety than this his son Alexander, for he did not continue in the religion of his country. Under these procurators that great famine happened in Judea, in which

* These pyramids or pillars, erected by Helena, queen of Adiabene, near Jerusalem, three in number, are mentioned by Eusebius, in his Eccles. Hist. B. II. ch. 12. for which Dr. Hudson refers us to Valesius's notes upon that place. They are also mentioned by Paulanias, as hath been already noted, chap. ii § 6. Reland guesses that that now called *Abfatem's pillar* may be one of them.

† This account is now wanting.

‡ This Theudas, who arose under Fadus the procurator, about A. D. 45 or 46, could not be that Theudas who arose in the days of the taxing, under Cyrenius; or about A. D. 7 Acts v 36, 37. Who that earlier Theudas was, see the note on B. XVII. ch. x. § 5. Vol. II.

queen Helena bought corn in Egypt at a great expence, and distributed it to those that were in want, as I have related already. And besides this the sons of Judas of Galilee were now slain, I mean of that Judas who caused the people to revolt, when Cyrenius came to take an account of the estates of the Jews, as we have shewed in a foregoing book. The names of those sons were James and Simon, whom Alexander commanded to be crucified. But now Herod, king of Chalcis, removed Joseph, the son of Camydus, from the high-priesthood and made Ananias, the son of Nebedus his successor. And now it was that Cumanus came a successor to Tiberius Alexander; as also that Herod, brother of Agrippa the great king, departed this life, in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius Cæsar. He left behind him three sons, Aristobulus, whom he had by his first wife, with Bernistanus, and Hircanus, both whom he had by Bernice his brother's daughter. But Claudius Cæsar bestowed his dominions on Agrippa junior.

3. Now while the Jewish affairs were under the administration of Cumanus, there happened a great tumult at the city of Jerusalem, and many of the Jews perished therein. But I shall first explain the occasion whence it was derived. When that feast, which is called the Passover, was at hand, at which time our custom is to use unleavened bread, and a great multitude was gathered together, from all parts to that feast, Cumanus was afraid lest some attempt of innovation should then be made by them; so he ordered that one regiment of the army should take their arms, and stand in the temple cloisters, to repress any attempts of innovation, if perchance any such should begin; and this was no more than what the former procurators of Judea did at such festivals. But on the fourth day of the feast, a certain soldier let down his breeches, and exposed his privy members to the multitude, which put those that saw him into a furious rage, and made them cry out, that this impious action was not done to reproach them, but God himself; nay some of them reproached Cumanus and pretended that the soldier was set on by him, which, when Cumanus heard, he was also himself not a little provoked at such reproaches laid upon him; yet did he exhort them to leave off such seditious attempts, and not to raise a tumult at the festival. But when he could not induce them to be quiet, for they still went on in their reproaches to him, he gave order that the whole army should take their entire armour, and come to Antonia, which was a fortress as we have said already, which overlooked the temple; but when the multitude saw the soldiers there, they were affrighted at them, and ran away hastily; but as the passages out were but narrow, and as they thought their enemies followed them, they were crowded together in their flight, and a great number were pressed to death in those narrow passages; nor indeed was the number fewer

than twenty thousand that perished in this tumult. So instead of a festival, they had at last a mournful day of it; and they all of them forgot their prayers and sacrifices, and betook themselves to lamentation and weeping; so great an affliction did the impudent obsceneness of a single soldier bring upon them*.

4 Now before this their first mourning was over, another mischief befel them also; for some of those that raised the foregoing tumult, when they were travelling along the public road, about an hundred furlongs from the city, robbed Stephanus a servant of Cæsar, as he was journeying, and plundered him of all that he had with him. Which things when Cumanus heard of, he sent soldiers immediately, and ordered them to plunder the neighbouring villages, and to bring the most eminent persons among them in bonds to him. Now as this devastation was making, one of the soldiers seized the laws of Moses that lay in one of those villages, and brought them out before the eyes of all present, and tore them to pieces; and this was done with reproachful language, and much scurrility. Which things when the Jews heard of, they ran together, and that in great numbers, and came down to Cæsarea, where Cumanus then was, and besought him, that he would avenge, not themselves, but God himself, whose laws had been affronted; for that they could not bear to live any longer, if the laws of their forefathers must be affronted after this manner. Accordingly Cumanus out of fear lest the multitude should go into a sedition, and by the advice of his friends also, took care that the soldier who had offered the affront to the laws should be beheaded, and thereby put a stop to the sedition which was ready to be kindled a second time.

CHAP. VI.

How there happened a Quarrel between the Jews and the Samaritans, and how Claudius put an End to their Differences.

§ 1. **N**OW there arose a quarrel between the Samaritans and the Jews on occasion following: It was the custom of the Galileans, when they came to the holy city at the festivals, to take their journeys through the country of the Samaritans†; and at this time there lay, in the road they took, a village that was called *Ginoa*, which was situated in the limits

* This, and many more tumults and seditions, which arose at the Jewish festivals, in Josephus, illustrate that cautious procedure of the Jewish governors, when they said, Matt xxvii. 5. "Let us not take Jesus on the feast-day, lest there be an uproar among the people;" as Reland well observes on this place. Josephus also takes notice of the same thing, Of the War, B. I. ch. iv. § 3 Vol. III.

† This constant passage of the Galileans through the country of Samaria, as they went to Judea and Jerusalem, illustrates several passages in the gospels to the same

of Samaria and the great plain, where certain persons thereto belonging fought with the Galileans, and killed a great many of them. But, when the principal of the Galileans were informed of what had been done, they came to Cumanus, and desired him to avenge the murderer of those that were killed; but he was induced by the Samaritans, with money, to do nothing in the matter: Upon which the Galileans were much displeased, and persuaded the multitude of the Jews to betake themselves to arms, and to regain their liberty, saying, That "slavery was in itself a bitter thing but that, when it was joined with direct injuries, it was perfectly intolerable." And when their principal men endeavoured to pacify them, and promised to endeavour to persuade Cumanus to avenge those that were killed, they would not hearken to them, but took their weapons, and entreated the assistance of Eleazer, the son of Dineus, a robber, who had many years made his abode in the mountains, with which assistance they plundered many villages of the Samaritans. When Cumanus heard of this action of theirs, he took the band of Sebaſte, with four regiments of footmen, and armed the Samaritans, and marched out against the Jews, and caught them, and slew many of them and took a greater number of them alive: Whereupon those that were the most eminent persons at Jerusalem, and that both in regard of the respect that was paid them, and the families they were of, as soon as they saw to what an height things were gone, put on sackcloth, and heaped ashes upon their heads, and by all possible means besought the seditious, and persuaded them that they would set before their eyes the utter subversion * of their country, the conflagration of their temple, and the slavery of themselves their wives and children, which would be the consequences of what they were doing, and would alter their minds, would cast away their weapons, and for the future be quiet, and return to their own homes. These persuasions of theirs prevailed upon them. So the people dispersed themselves, and the robbers went away again to their places of strength; and after this time all Judea was over-run with robberies.

2. But the principal of the Samaritans went to Ummidius Quadratus, the president of Syria, who at that time was at Tyre, and accused the Jews of setting their villages on fire, and plundering them; and said withal, That "they were not so much displeased at what they had suffered, as they were at the

purpose, as Dr. Hudson rightly observes. See Luke xvii. 1. John iv. 4. See also Josephus in his own life, § 52. Vol. II. where that journey is determined to three days.

* Our Saviour had foretold, that the Jews' rejection of his gospel would bring upon them, among other miseries, these three, which they themselves here shew, they expected, would be the consequences of their present tumults and seditious; the utter subversion of their country, the conflagration of their temple, and the slavery of themselves, their wives and children. See Luke xxi. 6—24.

contempt thereby showed the Romans ; while, if they had received any injury, they ought to have made them the judges of what had been done, and not presently to make such devastation, as if they had not the Romans for their governors ; on which account they came to him, in order to obtain that vengeance they wanted." This was the accusation which the Samaritans brought against the Jews. But the Jews affirmed, that the Samaritans were the authors of this tumult and fighting, and that, in the first place, Cumanus had been corrupted by their gifts, and passed over the murder of those that were slain, in silence. Which allegations when Quadratus heard, he put off the hearing of the cause, and promised that he would give sentence when he should come into Judea, and should have a more exact knowledge of the truth of that matter. So these men went away without success. Yet was it not long ere Quadratus came to Samaria, where, upon hearing the cause, he supposed that the Samaritans were the authors of that disturbance. But, when he was informed that certain of the Jews were making innovations, he ordered those to be crucified whom Cumanus had taken captives. From whence he went to a certain village called *Lyddia*, which was not less than a city in largeness, and there heard the Samaritan cause a second time before his tribunal, and there learned from a certain Samaritan, that one of the chief of the Jews, whose name was *Dortus*, and some other innovators with him, four in number, persuaded the multitude to a revolt from the Romans ; whom Quadratus ordered to be put to death : But still he sent away Ananias the high-priest, and Ananus the commander [of the temple], in bonds to Rome, to give an account of what they had done to Claudius Cæsar. He also ordered the principal men both of the Samaritans and of the Jews, as also Cumanus the procurator, and Celer the tribune, to go to Italy to the Emperor, that he might hear their cause, and determine their differences one with another. But he came again to the city of Jerusalem, out of his fear that the multitude of the Jews should attempt some innovations ; but he found the city in a peaceable state, and celebrating one of the usual festivals of their country to God. So he believed that they would not attempt any innovations, and left them at the celebration of the festival, and returned to Antioch.

3. Now Cumanus, and the principal of the Samaritans, who were sent to Rome, had a day appointed them by the emperor, whereon they were to have pleaded their cause about the quarrels they had one with another. But now Cæsar's freed-men, and his friends, were very zealous on the behalf of Cumanus and the Samaritans ; and they had prevailed over the Jews, unless Agrippa junior who was then at Rome, had seen the principal of the Jews hard set, and had earnestly entreated Agrippina, the emperor's wife, to persuade her husband to hear the cause, so as was agreeable to his justice, and to condemn

those to be punished who were really the authors of this revolt from the Roman government. Whereupon Claudius was so well disposed beforehand, that when he had heard the cause, and found that the Samaritans had been the ringleaders in those mischievous doings he gave order, that those who came up to him should be slain, and that Cumanus should be banished. He also gave order, that Celer the tribune should be carried back to Jerusalem, and should be drawn through the city in the sight of all the people, and then should be slain.

C H A P. VII.

Felix is made procurator of Judea ; as also concerning Agrippa junior, and his Sisters.

§ 1. **S**O Claudius sent Felix, the brother of Pallans, to take care of the affairs of Judea ; and, when he had already completed the twelfth year of his reign, he had bestowed upon Agrippa the tetrarchy of Philip, and Batanea, and added thereto Trachonitis, with Abila ; which last had been the tetrarchy of Lyfanius ; but he took from him Chalcis, when he had been governor thereof four years. And, when Agrippa had received these countries as the gift of Cæsar, he gave his sister Drusilla in marriage to Azizus, king of Emesa, upon his consent to be circumcised ; for Epiphanes, the son of King Antiochus, had refused to marry her, because, after he had promised her father formerly to come over to the Jewish religion, he would not now perform that promise. He also gave Mariamne in marriage to Archelaus, the son of Helcias, to whom she had been betrothed formerly by Agrippa her father ; from which marriage was derived a daughter, whose name was *Bernice*.

2. But for the marriage of Drusilla with Azizus, it was in no long time afterward dissolved upon the following occasion ; While Felix was procurator of Judea, he saw this Drusilla, and fell in love with her ; for she did indeed exceed all other women in beauty ; and he sent to her a person whose name was *Simon* *, one of his friends ; a Jew he was, and by birth a Cypriot, and one who pretended to be a magician, and endeavoured to persuade her to forsake her present husband, and

* This Simon, a friend of Felix, a Jew, born in Cyprus, though he pretended to be a magician, and seems to have been wicked enough, could hardly be that famous Simon the magician, in the Acts of the Apostles, viii. 9, &c. as some are ready to suppose. This Simon mentioned in the Acts was not properly a Jew, but a Samaritan, of the town of Gittai, in the country of Samaria, as the Apostolical Constitutions, VI. 7. the Recognitions of Clement, II. 6. and Justin Martyr, himself born in the country of Samaria, Apology, I. 34. informs us. He was also the author, not of any ancient Jewish, but of the first Gentile heresies, as the fore-mentioned authors assure us. So I suppose him a different person from the other. I mean this only upon the hypothesis, that Josephus were not misinformed as to

marry him ; and promised, that, if she would not refuse him, he would make her a happy woman. Accordingly she acted ill, and because she was desirous to avoid her sister Bernice's envy, for she was very ill treated by her on account of her beauty, was prevailed upon to transgress the laws of her forefathers, and to marry Felix ; and, when he had had a son by her, he named him *Agrippa*. But after what manner that young man, with his wife, perished at the conflagration * of the mountain Vesuvius, in the days of Titus Cæsar, shall be related hereafter †.

3. But as for Bernice, she lived a widow a long while after the death of Herod [king of Chalcis,] who was both her husband and her uncle ; but, when the report went that she had criminal conversation with her brother, [Agrippa junior], she persuaded Polemo, who was king of Cilicia, to be circumcised, and to marry her, as supposing, that by this means she should prove those calumnies upon her to be false ; and Polemo was prevailed upon, and that chiefly on account of her riches. Yet did not this matrimony endure long ; but Bernice left Polemo, and, as was said, with impure intentions. So he forsook at once this matrimony, and the Jewish religion : And at the same time Mariamne put away Archelaus, and was married to Demetrius, the principal man among the Alexandrian Jews both for his family and his wealth ; and indeed he was then their alabarch. So she named her son, whom she had by him, *Agrippinus*. But of all these particulars we shall hereafter treat more exactly.‡

his being a Cypriot jew ; for otherwise the time, the name, the profession, and the wickedness of them both, would strongly incline one to believe them the very same. As to that Drusilla the sister of Agrippa junior, as Josephus informs us here, and a jewess, as St Luke informs us, Acts xxiv. 24. whom this Simon mentioned by *Josephus*, persuaded to leave her former husband, Azizus, king of Emesa, a proselyte of justice, and to marry Felix, the Heathen procurator of Judea, Tacitus, Hist. V. 9. supposes her to be an heathen, and the grand-daughter of Antonius and Cleopatra, contrary both to St Luke and Josephus. Now Tacitus lived somewhat too remote both as to time and place, to be compared with either of those Jewish writers, in a matter concerning the Jews in Judea in their own days, and concerning a sister of Agrippa junior, with which Agrippa Josephus was himself so well acquainted. It is probable that Tacitus may say true when he informs us, that this Felix (who had in all three wives, or queens, as Suetonius in Claudius, sect. 28 assures us) did once marry such a grandchild of Antonius and Cleopatra ; and, finding the name of one of them to have been Drusilla, he mistook her for that other wife, whose name he did not know.

* This eruption of Vesuvius was one of the greatest we have in history. See Bianchini's curious and important observations on this Vesuvius, and its seven several great eruptions, with their remains vitrified, and still existing, in so many different strata under ground, till the diggers came to the antediluvian waters, with their proportionable interstices, implying the deluge to have been above 2500 years before the Christian æra, according to our exactest chronology.

† This is now wanting.

‡ This also is now wanting.

C H A P. VIII.

After what manner, upon the Death of Claudius, Nero succeeded in the Government ; as also what Barbarous things he did. Concerning the Robbers, Murderers, and Impostors, that arose, while Felix and Festus were Procurators of Judea.

§ I. **N**OW Claudius Cæsar died when he had reigned thirteen years eight months and twenty days * ; and a report went about, that he was poisoned by his wife Agrippina. Her father was Germanicus, the brother of Cæsar. Her husband was Domitius Ænobarbus, one of the most illustrious persons that was in the city of Rome ; after whose death, and her own long continuance in widowhood, Claudius took her to wife. She brought along with her a son, Domitius, of the same name with his father. He had before this slain his wife Messalina out of jealousy, by whom he had had his children Britannicus and Octavia ; their eldest sister was Antonia, whom he had by Pelina his first wife. He also married Octavia to Nero ; for that was the name that Cæsar gave him afterward, upon his adopting him for his son.

2. But now Agrippina was afraid, lest when Britannicus should come to man's estate, he should succeed his father in the government, and desired to seize upon the principality before hand for her own son [Nero ;] upon which the report went, that she thence compassed the death of Claudius. Accordingly she sent Burrhus the general of the army, immediately, and with him the tribunes, and such also of the freed men as were of the greatest authority, to bring Nero away into the camp, and to salute him emperor. And when Nero had thus obtained the government, he got Britannicus to be so poisoned, that the multitude should not perceive it ; although he publicly put his own mother to death not long afterward, making her this requital, not only for being born of her, but by bringing it so about by her contrivances, that he obtained the Roman empire. He also slew Octavia his own wife, and many other illustrious persons, under this pretence that they plotted against him.

3. But I omit any farther discourse about these affairs ; for there have been a great many who have composed the history of Nero ; some of which have departed from the truth of facts out of favour, as having received benefits from him ; while others, out of hatred to him, and the great ill will which they bore him, have so impudently raved against him with their lies, that they justly deserve to be condemned. Nor do I

* This duration of the reign of Claudius agrees with Dio, as Dr Hudson here remarks ; as he also remarks, that Nero's name, which was at first *L. Domitius Ænobarbus*, after Claudius had adopted him, was *Nero Claudius Cæsar Drusus Germanicus*.

wonder at such as have told lies of Nero, since they have not in their writings preserved the truth of history as to those facts that were earlier than his time, even when the actors could have no way incurred their hatred, since those writers lived a long time after them. But, as to those that have no regard to truth, they may write as they please; for in that they take delight: But as to ourselves, who have made truth our direct aim, we shall briefly touch upon what only belongs remotely to this undertaking, but shall relate what hath happened to us Jews with great accuracy, and shall not grudge our pains in giving an account both of the calamities we have suffered, and of the crimes we have been guilty of. I will now therefore return to the relation of our own affairs.

4. For in the first year of the reign of Nero, upon the death of Azizus, king of Emesa, Soemus * his brother succeeded in his kingdom, and Aristobulus, the son of Herod, king of Chalcis, was intrusted by Nero with the government of Lesser Armenia. Cæsar also bestowed on Agrippa a certain part of Galilee, Tiberias †, and Taricheæ and ordered them to submit to his jurisdiction. He gave him also Julias, a city of Perea, with fourteen villages that lay about it.

5. Now, as for the affairs of the Jews, they grew worse and worse continually; for the country was again filled with robberies, and impostors who deluded the multitude. Yet did Felix catch, and put to death many of those impostors every day, together with the robbers. He also caught Eleazer, the son of Dineas, who had gotten together a company of robbers; and this he did by treachery; for he gave him assurance, that he should suffer no harm, and thereby persuaded him to come to him; but when he came he bound him, and sent him to Rome. Felix also bore an ill-will to Jonathan the high priest, because he frequently gave him admonitions about governing the Jewish affairs better than he did, lest he should himself have complaints made of him by the multitude, since he it was who had desired Cæsar to send him as procurator of Judea. So Felix contrived a method whereby he might get rid of him, now he was become so continually troublesome to him; for such continual admonitions are grievous to those who are disposed to act unjustly. Wherefore Felix persuaded one of Jonathan's most faithful friends, a citizen of Jerusalem, whose name was Doras, to bring the robbers upon Jonathan, in order to kill him; and this he did by promising to give him a great deal of money for so doing. Doras complied with the proposal, and contrived matters so, that the robbers

* This Soemus is elsewhere mentioned [by Josephus in his own Life, sect. 11. Vol. II. as also] by Dio Cassius and Tacitus, as Dr Hudson informs us.

† This agrees with Josephus's frequent accounts elsewhere in his own Life, that Tiberias, and Taricheæ, and Gamala, were under this Agrippa junior, till Justus, the son of Pistus, seized upon them for the Jews upon the breaking out of the war.

might murder him after the following manner: Certain of these robbers went up to the city, as if they were going to worship God, while they had daggers under their garments, and by thus mingling themselves among the multitude, they slew Jonathan*, and as this murder was never avenged, the robbers went up with the greatest security at the festivals after this time, and having weapons concealed in like manner as before, and mingling themselves among the multitude they slew certain of their own enemies, and were subservient to other men for money, and slew others, not only in remote parts of the city, but in the temple itself also; for they had the boldness to murder men there, without thinking of the impiety of which they were guilty. And this seems to me to have been the reasons why God, out of his hatred of these mens wickedness, rejected our city; and as for the temple, he no longer esteemed it sufficiently pure for him to inhabit therein, but brought the Romans upon us, and threw a fire upon the city to purge it, and brought upon us, our wives, and children, slavery, as desirous to make us wiser by our calamities.

6. These works, that were done by the robbers, filled the city with all sorts of impiety. And now these † impostors and deceivers persuaded the multitude to follow them into the

* This treacherous and barbarous murder of the good high-priest Jonathan, by the contrivance of this wicked procurator Felix, was the immediate occasion of the ensuing murders by the Sicarii or ruffians, and one great cause of the following horrid cruelties and miseries of the Jewish nation, as Josephus here supposes; whose excellent reflection on the gross wickedness of that nation, as the direct cause of their terrible destruction, is well worthy the attention of every Jewish, and of every Christian reader. And, since we are soon coming to the catalogue of the Jewish high-priests, it may not be amiss, with Reland, to insert this Jonathan among them, and to transcribe his particular catalogue of the last twenty-eight high-priests, taken out of Josephus, and begin with Ananelus, who was made by Herod the Great. See Antiq. B. XV. ch. ii. sect. 4. Vol. II. and the note there.

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| 1. Ananelus. | 15 Theophilus, his brother, and son of Ananus. |
| 2. Aristobulus. | 16 Simon, the son of Boethus. |
| 3. Jesus, the son of Fabus. | 17. Matthias, the brother of Jonathan, and son of Ananus. |
| 4. Simon, the son of Boethus. | 18. Aljoneus. |
| 5. Matthias, the son of Theophilus. | 19. Josephus, the son of Camydus. |
| 6. Joazar, the son of Boethus. | 20. Ananias, the son of Nebedeus. |
| 7. Eleazar, the son of Boethus. | 21. Jonathas. |
| 8. Jesus, the son of Sic. | 22 Ismael, the son of Fabi. |
| 9. [Annas, or] Ananus, the son of Seth | 23. Joseph Cabi, the son of Simon. |
| 10. Ismael, the son of Fabus. | 24. Ananus, the son of Ananus. |
| 11. Eleazar, the son of Ananus. | 25. Jesus, the son of Damneus. |
| 12. Simon, the son of Camithus. | 26. Jesus. the son of Gameliei. |
| 13. Josephus Caiaphas, the son-in-law to Ananus. | 27. Matthias, the son of Theophilus. |
| 14. Jonathan, the son of Ananus. | 28. Phannias, the son of Samuel. |

As for Ananus, and Joseph Caiaphas, here mentioned about the middle of this catalogue, they are no other than those Annas and Caiaphas, so often mentioned in the four gospels; and that Ananias, the son of Nebedeus, was that high-priest before whom St. Paul pleaded his own cause, Acts xxiv.

† Of these Jewish impostors and false prophets, with many other circumstances

wilderness, and pretended that they would exhibit manifest wonders and signs, that should be performed by the providence of God. And many that were prevailed on by them suffered the punishments of their folly; for Felix brought them back, and then punished them. Moreover, there came out of Egypt * about this time to Jerusalem, one that said he was a prophet, and advised the multitude of the common people to go along with him to the Mount of Olives, as it was called, which lay over against the city, and at the distance of five furlongs. He said farther, that he would shew them from hence, how, at his command, the walls of Jerusalem would fall down; and he promised them, that he would procure them an entrance into the city through those walls, when they were fallen down. Now, when Felix was informed of these things, he ordered his soldiers to take their weapons, and come against them, with a great number of horsemen and footmen, from Jerusalem, and attacked the Egyptian and the people that were with him. He also slew four hundred of them, and took two hundred alive. But the Egyptian himself escaped out of the fight, but did not appear any more. And again the robbers stirred up the people to make war with the Romans, and said, they ought not to obey them at all; and when any person would not comply with them, they set fire to their villages, and plundered them.

7. And now it was that a great sedition arose between the Jews that inhabited Cesarea, and the Syrians who dwelt there also, concerning their equal right to the privileges belonging to citizens, for the Jews claimed the pre-eminence, because Herod their king was the builder of Cesarea, and because he was by birth a Jew. Now the Syrians did not deny what was alledged about Herod; but they said, that Cesarea was formerly called Strato's tower, and that then there was not one Jewish inhabitant. When the presidents of that country heard of these disorders, they caught the authors of them on both sides, and tormented them with stripes, and by that means put a stop to the disturbance for a time. But the Jewish citizens depending on their wealth, and on that account despising the Syrians, reproached them again, and hoped to provoke them by such reproaches. However, the Syrians, though they were inferior in wealth, yet valuing themselves highly on this account, that the greatest part of Roman soldiers that were there, were either of Cesarea or Sebaste, they also for some time used reproachful language to the Jews also; and thus it was, till at length they came to throwing stones at one another, and several were wounded, and fell on both sides, though still the Jews were the conquerors. But when Felix saw that

and miseries of the Jews, till their utter destruction, foretold by our Saviour. See Lit. Accompl of Proph. p. 58—75.

* Of this Egyptian impostor, and the number of his followers in Josephus, see Acts xxii. 38.

this quarrel was become a kind of war, he came upon them on the sudden, and desired the Jews to desist; and when they refused so to do, he armed his soldiers, and sent them out upon them, and slew many of them, and took more of them alive, and permitted his soldiers to plunder some of the houses of the citizens, which were full of riches. Now those Jews that were more moderate, and of principal dignity among them, were afraid of themselves, and desired of Felix that he would found a retreat to his soldiers, and spare them for the future, and afford them room for repentance for what they had done; and Felix was prevailed upon to do so.

8. About this time king Agrippa gave the high priesthood to Ismael, who was the son of Fabi. And now arose a sedition between the high priests and the principal men of the multitude of Jerusalem; each of which got them a company of the boldest sort of men, and of those that loved innovations, about them, and became leaders to them; and when they struggled together, they did it by casting reproachful words against one another, and by throwing stones also. And there was no body to reprove them; but these disorders were done after a licentious manner in the city as if it had no government over it. And such was the impudence * and boldness that had seized on the high priests, that they had the hardness to send their servants into the threshing floors, to take away those tithes that were due to the priests, insomuch that it so fell out that the poorer sort of the priests died for want. To this degree did the violence of the seditious prevail over all right and justice!

9. Now, when Porcius Festus was sent as successor to Felix by Nero, the principal of the Jewish inhabitants of Cesarea went up to Rome to accuse Felix; and he had certainly been brought to punishment, unless Nero had yielded to the importunate solicitations of his brother Pallas, who was at that time had in the greatest honour by him. Two of the principal Syrians in Cesarea persuaded Burrhus, who was Nero's tutor, and secretary for his Greek epistles by giving him a great sum of money, to disannul that equality of the Jewish privileges of citizens which they hitherto enjoyed. So Burrhus, by his solicitations, obtained leave of the emperor, that an epistle should be written to that purpose. This epistle became the occasion of the following miseries that befel our nation; for, when the Jews of Cesarea were informed of the contents of this epistle to the Syrians, they were more disorderly than before, till a war was kindled.

10. Upon Festus's coming into Judea, it happened that Judea was afflicted by the robbers, while all the villages were set

* The wickedness here was very peculiar and extraordinary, that the high-priest should so oppress their brethren the priests, as to starve the poorest of them to death. See the like presently, ch. ix. sect. 2. Such fatal crimes are covetousness and tyranny in the clergy, as well as in the laity, in all ages.

on fire, and plundered by them. And then it was that the Sicarii, as they were called, who were robbers, grew numerous. They made use of small swords, not much different in length from the Persian *acinacæ*, but somewhat crooked, and like the Roman *sicæ* [or sickles], as they were called: And from those weapons these robbers got their denomination; and with those weapons they slew a great many; for they mingled themselves among the multitude at their festivals, when they were come up in crowds from all parts to the city to worship God, as we said before, and easily slew those that they had a mind to slay. They also came frequently upon the villages belonging to their enemies, with their weapons, and plundered them, and set them on fire. So Festus sent forces, both horsemen and footmen, to fall upon those that had been seduced by a certain impostor, who promised them deliverance and freedom from the miseries they were under, if they would but follow him as far as the wilderness. Accordingly those forces that were sent destroyed both him that had deluded them, and those that were his followers also.

II. About the same time king Agrippa built himself a very large dining-room in the royal palace at Jerusalem, near to the portico. Now this palace had been erected of old by the children of Asamoneus, and was situate upon an elevation, and afforded a most delightful prospect to those that had a mind to take a view of the city which prospect was desired by the king; and there he could lie down, and eat, and thence observe what was done in the temple: Which thing, when the chief men of Jerusalem saw, they were very much displeased at it; for it was not agreeable to the institutions of our country or law, that what was done in the temple should be viewed by others, especially what belonged to the sacrifices. They therefore erected a wall upon the uppermost building which belonged to the inner-court of the temple towards the west, which wall, when it was built, did not only intercept the prospect of the dining-room in the palace, but also of the western cloisters that belonged to the outer-court of the temple also, where it was that the Romans kept guards for the temple at the festivals. At these doings both king Agrippa, and principally Festus the procurator, were much displeased; and Festus ordered them to pull the wall down again; but the Jews petitioned him to give them leave to send an ambassage about this matter to Nero; for they said they could not endure to live if any part of the temple should be demolished: And when Festus had given them leave so to do, they sent ten of their principal men to Nero, as also Ismael the high-priest, and Helcias the keeper of the sacred treasure. And when Nero had heard what they had to say, he not only forgave * them what they had already done, but also gave them

* We have here one eminent example of Nero's mildness and goodness in his

leave to let the wall they had built stand. This was granted them in order to gratify Poppea, Nero's wife, who was a religious woman, and had requested these favours of Nero, and who gave order to the ten ambassadors to go their way home ; but retained Helcias and Ismael as hostages with herself. As soon as the king heard this news, he gave the high-priesthood to Joseph, who was called *Cabi*, the son of Simon, formerly high-priest.

CH A P. IX.

Concerning Albinus, under whose Procuratorship James was slain ; as also what Edifices were built by Agrippa.

§ 1. **A**ND now Cæsar, upon hearing the death of Festus, sent Albinus into Judea, as procurator. But the king deprived Joseph of the high-priesthood, and bestowed the succession to that dignity on the son of Ananus, who was also himself called *Ananus*. Now the report goes, that this eldest Ananus proved a most fortunate man ; for he had five sons, who had all performed the office of an high-priest to God, and who had himself enjoyed that dignity a long time formerly, which had never happened to any other of our high-priests. But this younger Ananus, who, as we have told you already, took the high-priesthood, was a bold man in his temper, and very insolent : He was also of the sect of the Sadducees *, who are very rigid in judging offenders above all the rest of the Jews, as we have already observed ; when therefore Ananus was of this disposition, he thought he had now a proper opportunity [to exercise his authority]. Festus was now dead, and Albinus was put upon the road ; so he assembled the sanhedrim of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called *Christ*, whose name was *James*, and some others, [or, some of his companions]. And when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned : But as for those who seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and such as

government towards the Jews, during the first five years of his reign, so famous in antiquity ; we have perhaps another in Josephus's own Life, sect. 3. Vol. II. and a third, though of a very different nature here, in sect. 9 just before. However, both the generous acts of kindness were obtained of Nero by his queen Poppea, who was a religious lady, and perhaps privately a Jewish proselyte, and so were not owing entirely to Nero's own goodness.

* It hence evidently appears, that Sadducees might be high-priests in the days of Josephus, and that these Sadducees were usually very severe and inexorable judges, while the Pharisees were much milder, and more merciful, as appears by Reland's instances in his note on this place, and on Josephus's Life, sect. 34. Vol. II. and those taken from the New Testament, from Josephus himself, and from the Rabbins ; nor do we meet with any Sadducees later than this high-priest in any Josephus.

were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done ; they also sent to the king, [Agrippa], desiring him to send to Ananus that he should act so no more, for that what he had already done was not to be justified : Nay*, some of them went also to meet Albinus, as he was upon his journey from Alexandria, and informed him, that it was not lawful for Ananus to assemble a sanhedrim without his consent. Whereupon Albinus, complied with what they said, and wrote in anger to Ananus, and threatened that he would bring him to punishment for what he had done ; on which king Agrippa, took the high-priesthood from him, when he had ruled but three months, and made Jesus, the son of Damneus, high-priest.

2. Now as soon as Albinus was come to the city of Jerusalem, he used all his endeavours and care that the country might be kept in peace, and this by destroying many of the Sicarii. But as for the high-priest Ananias †, he increased in glory every day, and this to a great degree, and had obtained the favour and esteem of the citizens in a signal manner ; for he was a great hoarder up of money : He therefore cultivated the friendship of Albinus, and of the high-priest [Jesus], by making them presents ; he had also servants who were very wicked, who joined themselves to the boldest sort of the people, and went to the threshing-floors, and took away the tithes that belonged to the priests by violence, and did not refrain from beating such as would not give these tithes to them. So the other high-priests acted in the like manner, as did those his servants, without any one's being able to prohibit them ; so that [some of the] priests, that of old were wont to be supported with those tithes, died for want of food.

3. But now the Sicarii went into the city by night, just before the festival, which was now at hand, and took the scribe belonging to the governor of the temple, whose name was

* Of this condemnation of James the Just, and its causes, as also that he did not die till long afterwards, see Prim. Christ. Revived, Vol. III. ch. 43—46. The sanhedrim condemned our Saviour, but could not put him to death without the approbation of the Roman procurator ; nor could therefore Ananias and his sanhedrim do more here, since they never had Albinus's approbation for the putting this James to death.

† This Ananias was not the son of Nebedeus, as I take it, but he who was called Annas or Ananus the elder, the 9th in the catalogue, and who had been esteemed high-priest for a long time ; and, besides Caiaphas his son-in-law, had five of his own sons high-priests after him, which were those of numbers 11, 14, 15, 17, 24, in the foregoing catalogue. Nor ought we to pass slightly over what Josephus here says of Annas or Ananias, that he was high-priest a long time before his children were so ; he was the son of Seth, and is set down first for high-priest in the foregoing catalogue, under number 9. He was made by Quirinus, and continued till Ilmael, the 10th in number, for about 23 years, which long duration of his high-priesthood, joined to the successions of his son-in-law, and five children of his own, made him a sort of perpetual high-priest, and was perhaps the occasion that former high-priests kept their titles ever afterwards ; for I believe it is hardly met with before him.

Eleazar, who was the son of *Ananus* [*Ananias*] the high-priest, and bound him, and carried him away with them; after which they sent to *Ananias*, and said, that they would send the scribe to him if he would persuade *Albinus* to release ten of those prisoners which he had caught of their party; so *Ananias* was plainly forced to persuade *Albinus*, and gained his request of him. This was the beginning of greater calamities; for the robbers perpetually contrived to catch some of *Ananias's* servants, and when they had taken them alive, they would not let them go, till they thereby recovered some of their own *Sicarii*. And as they were again become no small number, they grew bold, and were a great affliction to the whole country.

4. About this time it was that king *Agrippa* built *Cesarea Philippi* larger than it was before, and in honour of *Nero*, named it *Neronias*. And when he had built a theatre at *Berytus*, with vast expences, he bestowed on them shows, to be exhibited every year, and spent therein many ten thousand [drachmæ]: He also gave the people a largess of corn, and distributed oil among them, and adorned the entire city with statues of his own donation, and with original images made by ancient hands; nay, he almost transferred all that was most ornamental in his own kingdom thither. This made him more than ordinarily hated by his subjects: Because he took those things away that belonged to them, to adorn a foreign city. And now *Jesus* the son of *Gamaliel*, became the successor of *Jesus*, the son of *Damneas*, in the high priesthood, which the king had taken from the other; on which account a sedition arose between the high priests, with regard to one another; for they got together bodies of the boldest sort of the people, and frequently came from reproaches to throwing of stones at each other. But *Ananias* was too hard for the rest, by his riches, which enabled him to gain those that were most ready to receive. *Costobarus* also, and *Saulus* did themselves get together a multitude of wicked wretches, and this because they were of the royal family; and so they obtained favour among them, because of their kindred to *Agrippa*: But still they used violence with people, and were very ready to plunder those that were weaker than themselves. And from that it principally came to pass, that our city was greatly disordered, and that all things grew worse and worse among us.

5. But when *Albinus* heard that *Gessius Florus* was coming to succeed him, he was desirous to appear to do somewhat that might be grateful to the people of *Jerusalem*; so he brought out all those prisoners who seemed to him to be the most plainly worthy of death, and ordered them to be put to death accordingly. But as to those who had been put into prison on some trifling occasions, he took money of them, and dismissed them; by which means the prisons were emptied, but the country was filled with robbers.

6. Now as many of the levites *, which is a tribe of ours, as were singers of hymns, persuaded the king to assemble a sanhedrim. and to give them leave to wear linen garments, as well as the priests ? for they said, that this would be a work worthy the times of his government, that he might have a memorial of such a novelty, as being his doing. Nor did they fail of obtaining their desire ; for the king, with the suffrages of those that came into the sanhedrim, granted the singers of hymns this privilege, that they might lay aside their former garments, and wear such a linen one as they desired ; and as a part of this tribe ministered in the temple, he also permitted them to learn those hymns as they had besought him for. Now all this was contrary to the laws of our country, which, whenever they have been transgressed, we have never been able to avoid the punishment of such transgressions.

7. And now it was that the temple † was finished. So when the people saw that the workmen were unemployed, who were above eighteen thousand, and that they, receiving no wages, were in want, because they had earned their bread by their labours about the temple, and while they were unwilling to keep them by the treasures that were there deposited, out of fear of [their being carried away by] the Romans : And while they had a regard to the making provision for the workmen, they had a mind to expend those treasures upon them ; for if any one of them did but labour for a single hour, he received his pay immediately ; so they persuaded him to rebuild the eastern cloisters. These cloisters belonged to the outer court, and were situated in a deep valley, and had walls that reached four hundred cubits [in length,] and were built of square and very white stones, the length of each of which stones was twenty cubits, and their height six cubits. This was the work of king Solomon ‡, who first of all built the entire temple. But king Agrippa, who had the care of the temple committed to him by Claudius Cæsar, considering that it is easy to demolish any building, but hard to build it up again and that it was particularly hard to do it to these cloisters, which would require a considerable time, and great sums of money, he denied the petitioners their request about that matter ; but he did not obstruct them when they desired the city might be paved with white stone. He also deprived Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, of

* This insolent petition of some of the Levites, to wear the sacerdotal garments, when they sung hymns to God in the temple, was very probably owing to the great depression and contempt the haughty high-priests had now brought their brethren the priests into ; of which see chap. viii. sect. 8. and chap. ix. sect. 2.

† Of this finishing, not of the *Ναός*, or *holy house*, but of the *ἱερόν*, or courts about it, called in general the *temple*, see the note on B. XVII. ch. x. sect. 2. Vol. II.

‡ Of these cloisters of Solomon, see the description of the temple, ch. xiii. They seem, by Josephus's words, to have been built from the bottom of the valley.

the high-priesthood, and gave it to Matthias, the son of Theophilus, under whom the Jews war with the Romans took its beginning.

CH A P. X.

An Enumeration of the High-Priests.

§ 1. **A**ND now I think it proper, and agreeable to this history, to give an account of our high-priests; how they began, and who those are which are capable of that dignity, and how many of them there had been at the end of the war. In the first place, therefore, history informs us, that Aaron, the brother of Moses officiated to God as an high-priest, and that, after his death, his sons succeeded him immediately; and that this dignity hath been continued down from them to all their posterity. Whence it is a custom of our country, that no one should take the high-priesthood of God, but he who is of the blood of Aaron, while every one that is of another stock, though he were a king, can never obtain that high-priesthood. Accordingly, the number of all the high-priests from Aaron, of whom we have spoken already, as of the first of them, until Phanias, who was made high-priest during the war by the seditious, was eighty-three: Of whom thirteen officiated as high-priests in the wilderness, from the days of Moses, while the tabernacle was standing, until the people came into Judea, when king Solomon erected the temple to God: For at the first they held the high-priesthood till the end of their life, although afterward they had successors while they were alive. Now these thirteen, who were the descendants of two of the sons of Aaron, received this dignity by succession one after another; for their form of government was an aristocracy, and after that a monarchy, and in the third place a government was regal. Now the number of years during the rule of these thirteen, from the day when our fathers departed out of Egypt under Moses their leader, until the building of that temple which king Solomon erected at Jerusalem, were six hundred and twelve. After those thirteen high-priests, eighteen took the high-priesthood at Jerusalem, one in succession to another, from the days of king Solomon, until Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon made an expedition against that city, and burnt the temple, and removed our nation into Babylon, and then took Josadek the high-priest captive; the times of these high-priests was four hundred sixty-six years six months and ten days, while the Jews were still under the regal government. But after the term of seventy years captivity under the Babylonians, Cyrus king of Persia, sent the Jews from Babylon to their own land again, and gave them leave to rebuild their temple; at which time Jesus, the son of

Josadek, took the high-priesthood over the captives when they were returned home. Now he and his posterity who were in all fifteen, until king Antiochus Eupator, were under a democratical government for fourteen years; and then the forementioned Antiochus, and Lyfia the general of his army, deprived Onias who was also called Menelaus, of the high-priesthood, and slew him at Berea, and driving away the son [of Onias the third,] put Jacimus into the place of the high-priest, one that was indeed of the stock of Aaron, but not of that family of Onias. On which account Onias, who was the nephew of Onias that was dead, and bore the same name with his father, came into Egypt, and got into the friendship of Ptolemy Philometor, and Cleopatra his wife, and persuaded them to make him the high-priest of that temple which he built to God in the prefecture of Heliopolis, and this in imitation of that at Jerusalem; but as for that temple which was built in Egypt, we have spoken of it frequently already. Now when Jacimus had retained the priesthood three years, he died, and there was no one that succeeded him, that the city continued seven years without an high-priest; but then the posterity of the sons of Asamoneus, who had the government of the nation conferred upon them, when they had beaten the Macedonians in war, appointed Jonathan to be their high-priest, who ruled over them seven years. And when he had been slain by the treacherous contrivance of Trypho, as we have related somewhere, Simon his brother took the high-priesthood; and when he was destroyed at a feast by the treachery of his son-in-law, his own son whose name was Hyrcanus, succeeded him, after he had held the high-priesthood one year longer than his brother. This Hyrcanus enjoyed that dignity thirty years, and died an old man, leaving the succession to Judas who was also called Aristobulus, whose brother Alexander was his heir; which Judas died of a sore distemper, after he had kept the priesthood, together with the royal authority; for this Judas was the first that put on his head a diadem for one year. And when Alexander had been both king and high-priest twenty-seven years, he departed this life, and permitted his wife Alexandra to appoint him that should be high-priest; so she gave the high-priesthood to Hyrcanus, but retained the kingdom herself nine years, and then departed this life. The like duration [and no longer] did her son Hyrcanus enjoy the high-priesthood; for after her death his brother Aristobulus fought against him, and beat him, and deprived him of his principality; and he did himself both reign, and perform the office of high-priest to God. But when he had reigned three years and as many months, Pompey came upon him, and not only took the city of Jerusalem by force, but put him and his children in bonds, and sent them to Rome. He also restored the high-priesthood to Hyrcanus, and made him governor of the nation, but forbade him to wear a diadem.

This Hyrcanus ruled, besides his first nine years, twenty-four years more, when Barzapharnes and Parcorus, the generals of the Parthians, passed over Euphrates, and fought with Hyrcanus and took him alive, and made Antigonus the son of Aristobulus, king; and when he had reigned three years and three months, Scsius and Herod besieged him, and took him, when Antony had him brought to Antioch, and slain there. Herod was then made king by the Romans, but did no longer appoint high-priests out of the family of Asamoneus; but made certain men to be so that were of no eminent families, but barely of those that were priests, excepting that he gave that dignity to Aristobulus; for when he had made this Aristobulus the grandson of that Hyrcanus who was then taken by the Parthians, and had taken his sister Mariamne to wife, he thereby aimed to win the good-will of the people, who had a kind remembrance of Hyrcanus [his grandfather.] Yet did he afterward, out of his fear lest they should all bend their inclinations to Aristobulus, put him to death, and that by contriving how to have him suffocated, as he was swimming at Jericho, as we have already related that matter; but after this man he never intrusted the high-priesthood to the posterity of the sons of Asamoneus. Archelaus also, Herod's son, did like his father in the appointment of the high priests, as did the Romans also, who took the government over the Jews into their hands afterward. Accordingly the number of the high-priests, from the days of Herod until the day when Titus took the temple, and the city, and burnt them, were in all twenty-eight; the time also that belonged to them was an hundred and seven years. Some of these were the political governors of the people under the reign of Herod, and under the reign of Archelaus his son, although after their death the government became an Aristocracy, and the high priests were intrusted with a dominion over the nation. And thus much may suffice to be said concerning our high-priests.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning Florus the Procurator, who necessitated the Jews to take up Arms against the Romans. The conclusion.

§ 1. **N**OW Gassius Florus, who was sent as successor to Albinus by Nero, filled Judea with abundance of miseries. He was by birth of the city Clazomenæ, and brought along with him his wife Cleopatra. (by whose friendship with Poppea, Nero's wife, he obtained this government.) who was no way different from him in wickedness. This Florus was so wicked, and so violent in the use of his authority, that the Jews took Albinus to have been [comparatively] their benefactor; so excessive were the mischiefs that he brought upon

them. For Albinus concealed his wickedness, and was careful that it might not be discovered to all men ; but Gessius Florus, as though he had been sent on purpose to shew his crimes to every body, made a pompous ostentation of them to our nation, as never omitting any sort of violence, nor any unjust sort of punishment ; for he was not to be moved by pity ; and never was satisfied with any degree of gain that came in his way ; nor had he any more regard to great than to small acquisitions, but became a partner with the robbers themselves. For a great many fell then into that practice without fear, as having him for their security, and depending on him, that he would save them harmless in their particular robberies ; so that there were no bounds set to the nation's miseries ; but the unhappy Jews when they were not able to bear the devastations which the robbers made among them. were all under a necessity of leaving their own habitations, and of flying away, as hoping to dwell more easily any where else in the world among foreigners, [than in their own country]. And what need I say any more upon this head ? since it was this Florus who necessitated us to take up arms against the Romans, while we thought it better to be destroyed at once, than by little and little. Now this war began in the second year of the government of Florus. and the twelfth year of the reign of Nero. But then what actions we were forced to do, or what miseries we were enabled to suffer, may be accurately known by such as will peruse those books which I have written about the Jewish war.

2. I shall now, therefore, make an end here of Antiquities ; after the conclusion of which events, I began to write that account of the war ; and these Antiquities contain what hath been delivered down to us from the original creation of man, until the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, as to what hath befallen the Jews, as well in Egypt as in Syria, and in Palestine, and what we have suffered from the Assyrians and Babylonians, and what afflictions the Persians and Macedonians, and after them the Romans, have brought upon us ; for I think I may say that I have composed this history with sufficient accuracy in all things. I have attempted to enumerate those high priests that we have had during the interval of two thousand years : I have also carried down the succession of our kings, and related their actions, and political administration without [considerable] errors, as also the power of our monarchs ; and all according to what is written in our sacred books ; for this it was that I promised to do in the beginning of this history. And I am so bold as to say, 'now I have so completely perfected the work I proposed to myself to do, that no other person whether he were a Jew or a foreigner, had he ever so great an inclination to it, could so accurately deliver these accounts to the Greeks as is done in these books. For those of my own nation freely acknowledge, that I far exceed them in

the learning belonging to Jews; I have also taken a great deal of pains to obtain the learning of the Greeks, and understand the elements of the Greek language, although I have so long accustomed myself to speak our own tongue, that I cannot pronounce Greek with sufficient exactness; for our nation does not encourage those that learn the languages of many nations, and so adorn their discourses with the smoothness of their periods; because they look upon this sort of accomplishment as common, not only to all sorts of free men, but to as many of the servants as please to learn them. But they give him the testimony of being a wise man who is fully acquainted with our laws, and is able to interpret their meaning; on which account, as there have been many who have done their endeavours with great patience to obtain this learning, there have yet hardly been so many as two or three that have succeeded therein, who were immediately well rewarded for their pains.

And now it will not be perhaps an invidious thing, if I treat briefly of my own family, and of the actions of my own life, while there is still living such as can either prove what I say to be false, or can attest that it is true; with which accounts I shall put an end to these Antiquities, which are contained in twenty books and sixty thousand verses. And if God * permit me, I will briefly run over this war again, with what be-

* What Josephus here declares his intention to do, if God permitted, to give the public again an abridgement of the Jewish War, and to add what befel them farther to that very day, the 13th of Domitian, or A. D. 93, is not, that I have observed, taken distinct notice of by any: Nor do we ever hear of it elsewhere, whether he performed what he now intended or not. Some of the reasons of this design of his might possibly be his observation of the many errors he had been guilty of in the two first of those seven books of the war, which were written when he was comparatively young, and less acquainted with the Jewish antiquities than he now was, and in which abridgement we might have hoped to find those many passages which himself, as well as those several passages which others refer to, as written by him, but which are not extant in his present works. However, since many of his own references to what he had written elsewhere, as well as most of his own errors, belong to such early times as could not well come into this abridgement of the Jewish war; and since none of those that quote things not now extant in his works, including himself as well as others, ever cite any such abridgement, I am forced rather to suppose that he never did publish any such work at all; I mean as distinct from his own life, written by himself, for an appendix to these Antiquities, and this at least above seven years after these Antiquities were finished. Nor indeed does it appear to me, that Josephus ever published that other work here mentioned, as intended by him for the public also. I mean the three or four books concerning God and his essence, and concerning the Jewish laws; why, according to them, some things were permitted the Jews, and others prohibited; which last seems to be the same work which Josephus had also promised, if God permitted, at the conclusion of his preface to these Antiquities; nor do I suppose that he ever published any of them. The death of all his friends at court, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, and the coming of those he had no acquaintance with to the crown, I mean Nerva and Trajan, together with his removal from Rome to Judea, with what followed it, might easily interrupt such his intentions, and prevent his publication of those works.

fel us therein to this very day. which is the thirteenth year of the reign of Cæsar Domitian, and the fifty-sixth year of my own life. I have also an intention to write three books concerning our Jewish opinions about God, and his essence, and about our laws; why, according to them some things are permitted us to do, and others are prohibited.

THE
L I F E
OF
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

§ I. **T**HE family from which I am derived is not an ignoble one, but hath descended all along from the priests ; and a nobility among several people is of a different origin. so with us to be of a sacerdotal dignity, is an indication of the splendour of a family. Now I am not only sprung from a sacerdotal family in general, but from the first of the twenty-four * courses ; and as among us there is not only a considerable difference between one family of each course and another, I am of the chief family of that first course also ; nay, farther, by my mother I am of the royal blood ; for the children of Asamoneus, from whom that family was derived, had both the office of the high-priesthood, and the dignity of a king for a long time together. I will accordingly set down my progenitors in order. My grand-father's father was named Simon, with the addition of Psellus : He lived at the same time with that son of Simon the high priest, who first of all the high priests was named Hyrcanus. This Simon Psellus had nine sons, one of which was Matthias, called Ephlias ; he married the daughter of Jonathan the high priest which Jonathan was the first of the sons of Asamoneus, who was high priest, and was the brother of Simon the high priest also. This Matthias had a son called Matthias Curtus, and that in the first year of the government of Hyrcanus ; his son's name was Joseph, born in the ninth year of the reign of Alexandra ; His son

* We may hence correct the error of the Latin copy of the second book against Apion, test. 7, 8. Vol. III (for the Greek is there lost,) which says, there were then only four tribes or courses of priests, instead of twenty-four. Nor is this testimony to be disregarded, as if Josephus there contradicted what he had affirmed here ; because even the account there given, better agrees to twenty-four than to four courses, while he says that each of those courses contained above 5000 men, which multiplied by only four, will make not many more than 20,000 priests ; whereas the number 120,000, as multiplied by 24, seems much the most probable, they being about one-tenth of the whole people, even after the captivity. See Ezra ii. 36—39. Nehem. vii. 39—42. 1 Esd. v. 24, 25. with Ezra ii. 64. Nehem. vii. 66. 1 Esd. v. 41. Nor will this common reading or notion of but four courses of priests, agree with Josephus's own farther assertion elsewhere, Antiq. B. VII. ch. xiv. sect. 2 Vol. I. that David's partition of the priests into twenty-four courses had continued to that day.

Matthias was born in the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus : As was I born to Matthias on the first year of the reign of Caius Cæsar. I have three sons ; Hyrcanus the eldest, was born on the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, as was Justus born on the seventh, and Agrippa on the ninth. Thus have I set down the genealogy of my family as I have found it described * in the public records, and so bid adieu to those who calumniate me, [as of a lower original.]

2. Now my father Matthias was not only eminent on account of his nobility, but had an higher commendation on account of his righteousness, and was in great reputation in Jerusalem, the greatest city we have. I was myself brought up with my brother, whose name was Matthias, for he was my own brother, by both father and mother ; and I made mighty proficiency in the improvements of my learning, and appeared to have both a great memory and understanding. Moreover, when I was a child, and about fourteen years of age, I was commended by all for the love I had to learning ; on which account the high priests and principal men of the city, came then frequently to me together, in order to know my opinion about the accurate understanding of points of the law. And when I was about sixteen years old, I had a mind to make trial of the several sects that were among us. These sects are three ; the first is that of the Pharisees, the second that of the Sadducees, and the third that of the Essens, as we have frequently told you ; for I thought that by this means I might choose the best, if I were once acquainted with them all : So I contented myself with hard fare, and underwent great difficulties, and went through them all†. Nor did I content myself with these trials only ; but when I was informed that one whose name was Banus, lived in the desert, and used no other clothing than grew upon trees, and had no other food than what grew of its own accord, and bathed himself in cold water frequently, both by night and by day, in order to preserve his chastity, I imitated him in those things, and continued with him three years†. So when I had accomplished my desires, I returned

* An eminent example of the care of the Jews about their genealogies, especially as to the priests. See Contr. Ap. B. I. ch. 7.

† When Josephus here says, that from sixteen to nineteen, or for three years he made trial of the three Jewish sects, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essens, and yet says presently, in all our copies, that he stayed besides with one particular ascetick, called Banus, *παρ αὐτῷ, with him*, and this still before he was nineteen, there is little room left for his trial of the three other sects. I suppose therefore, that for *παρ αὐτῷ, with him*, the old reading might be *παρ αὐτοῖς, with them* ; which is a very small emendation, and takes away the difficulty before us. Nor is Dr. Hudson's conjecture, hinted at by Mr. Hall, in his preface to the doctor's edition of Josephus, at all improbable, that this Banus, by this his description, might well be a follower of John the Baptist, and that from him Josephus might easily imbibe such notions, as afterward prepared him to have a favourable opinion about Jesus Christ himself, who was attested to by John the Baptist.

back to the city, being now nineteen years old, and began to conduct myself according to the rules of the sect of the Pharisees which is of kin to the sect of the Stoics, as the Greeks call them.

3 But, when I was in the twenty-sixth year of my age, it happened that I took a voyage to Rome, and this on the occasion which I shall now describe. At the time when Felix was procurator of Judea there were certain priests of my acquaintance, and very excellent persons they were, whom on a small and trifling occasion he had put them in bonds, and sent to Rome to plead their cause before Cæsar. These I was desirous to procure deliverance for, and that especially because I was informed that they were not unmindful of piety towards God even under their afflictions, but supported themselves with figs and nuts†. Accordingly I came to Rome, though it were through a great number of hazards by sea; for, as our ship was drowned in the Adriatic sea we that were in it being about six hundred in number †, swam for our lives all the night; when upon the first appearance of the day, and upon our sight of a ship of Cyrene, I and some others, eighty in all, by God's providence, prevented the rest, and were taken up into the other ship. And when I had thus escaped and was come to Dicearchia, which the Italians call Puteoli, I became acquainted with Aliturus, an actor of plays, and much beloved by Nero but a Jew by birth; and through his interest became known to Poppea, Cæsar's wife, and took care as soon as possible to intreat her to procure that the priests might be set at liberty. And when, besides this favour, I had obtained many presents from Poppea, I returned home again.

4. And now I perceived innovations were already begun, and that there were a great many very much elevated in hopes of a revolt from the Romans. I therefore endeavoured to put a stop to these tumultuous persons and persuaded them to change their minds; and laid before their eyes against whom it was that they were going to fight, and told them that they were inferior to the Romans not only in martial skill but also in good fortune; and desired them not rashly, and after the most foolish manner, to bring on the dangers of the most terrible mischiefs upon their country, upon their families, and upon themselves. And this I said with vehement exhorta-

* We may note here, that religious men among the Jews, or at least those that were priests, were sometimes asceticks also, and like Daniel and his companions in Babylon, Dan. i. 8—16. ate no flesh, but *figs and nuts*, &c. only. This was like the *Σεδοφρυα*, or austere diet of the Christian asceticks in Passion week. Constitut. V. 18.

† It hath been thought the number of Paul and his companions on shipboard, Acts xxvii. 38. which are 276 in our copies, are too many; whereas we find here that Josephus and his companions, a very few years after the other, were about 600

tions, because I foresaw that the end of such a war would be most unfortunate to us. But I could not persuade them; for the madness of desperate men was quite too hard for me.

5. I was then afraid, lest, by inculcating these things so often, I should incur their hatred and their suspicions, as if I were of our enemies party, and should run into the danger of being seized by them and slain; since they were already possessed of Antonia, which was the citadel; so I retired into the inner court of the temple. Yet did I go out of the temple again, after Manahem and the principal of the band of robbers were put to death, when I abode among the high priests and the chief of the Pharisees. But no small fear seized upon us when we saw the people in arms, while we ourselves knew not what we should do, and were not able to restrain their seditions. However, as the danger was directly upon us, we pretended that we were of the same opinion with them, but only advised them to be quiet for the present, and to let the enemy go away, still hoping, that Gessius [Florus] would not be long ere he came and that with great forces, and so put an end to these seditious proceedings.

6. But, upon his coming and fighting he was beaten, and a great many of those that were with him fell. And this disgrace [which Gessius with Castius] received, became the calamity of our whole nation; for those that were fond of the war were so far elevated with this success, that they had hopes of finally conquering the Romans. Of which war another occasion was ministered; which was this, Those that dwelt in the neighbouring cities of Syria seized upon such Jews as dwelt among them, with their wives and children, and slew them, when they had not the least occasion of complaint against them; for they did neither attempt any innovation or revolt from the Romans, nor had they given any marks of hatred or treacherous designs towards the Syrians. But what was done by the inhabitants of Scythopolis was the most impious and most highly criminal of all*; for, when the Jews their enemies came upon them from without, they forced the Jews that were among them to bear arms against their own countrymen, which it is unlawful for us to do†; and when, by their assistance, they had joined battle with those that attacked them, and had beaten them, after that victory they forgot the assurances they had given these their fellow-citizens and confederates, and slew them all, being in number many ten thousands [1; 000]. The like miseries were undergone by those Jews that were the inhabi-

* See Of the War, B. II. ch. xviii. sect. 3.

† The Jews might collect this unlawfulness of fighting against their brethren, from that law of Moses, Levit. xix. 16. "Thou shalt not stand against the blood of thy neighbour;" and that, ver. 17. "Thou shalt not avenge, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people; but thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;" as well as from many other places in the Pentateuch and Prophets. See Antiq. B. VIII. ch. viii. sect. 3. Vol. I.

tants of Damascus. But we have given a more accurate account of these things in the books of the Jewish war. I only mention them now because I would demonstrate to my readers, that the Jews war with the Romans was not voluntary, but that, for the main, they were forced by necessity to enter into it.

7. So when Gessius had been beaten, as we have said already, the principal men of Jerusalem, seeing that the robbers and innovators had arms in great plenty, and fearing lest they, while they were unprovided of arms, should be in subjection to their enemies, which also came to be the case afterward ; and, being informed that all Galilee had not yet revolted from the Romans, but that some part of it was still quiet, they sent me and two others of the priests, who were men of excellent characters, Jozar and Judas, in order to persuade the ill men there to lay down their arms, and to teach them this lesson, that it were better to have those arms reserved for the most courageous men that the nation had, [then to be kept there ;] for that it had been resolved, that those our best men should always have their arms ready against futurity, but still so, that they should wait too see what the Romans would do.

8. When I had therefore received these instructions, I came into Galilee, and found the people of Sepphoris in no small agony about their country, by reason that the Galileans had resolved to plunder it, on account of the friendship they had with the Romans, and because they had given their right-hand, and made a league with Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria. But I delivered them all out of the fear they were in, and persuaded the multitude to deal kindly with them, and permitted them to send to those that were their own hostages with Gessius to Dora, which is a city of Phenicia, as often as they pleased ; though I still found the inhabitants of Tiberias ready to take arms, and that on the occasion following :

9. There were three factions in this city. The first was composed of men of worth and gravity ; of these Julius Capellus was the head. Now he, as well as all his companions. Herod the son of Miarus, and Herod the son of Gamalus, and Compfus, the son of Compeus (for as to Compeus's brother Crispus, who had once been governor of the city under the great king * [Agrippa], he was beyond Jordan in his own possessions) ; all these persons before-named gave their advice, that the city should then continue in their allegiance to the Romans, and to the king. But Pistus, who was guided by his son, Justus, did not acquiesce in that resolution ; otherwise he was himself naturally of a good and virtuous character. But the second faction was composed of the most ignoble persons, and was determined for war. But as for Justus, the son of

* That this Herod Agrippa, the father, was of old called a *Great King*, as here appears by his coins still remaining ; to which Havercamp refers us.

Pistus who was the head of the third faction, although he pretended to be doubtful about going to war, yet was he really desirous of innovation, as supposing, that he should gain power to himself by the change of affairs. He therefore came into the midst of them, and endeavoured to inform the multitude, That "the city Tiberias had ever been a city of Galilee, and that in the days of Herod the tetrarch; who had built it, it had obtained the principal place, and that he had ordered that the city Sephoris should be subordinate to the city Tiberias; that they had now lost this pre-eminence even under Agrippa the father, but had retained it until Felix was procurator of Judea. But he told them, that now they had been so unfortunate as to be made a present by Nero to Agrippa junior; and that, upon Sepphori's submission of itself to the Romans, that was become the capital city of Galilee, and that the royal treasury and the archives were now removed from them." When he had spoken these things, and a great many more against Agrippa, in order to provoke the people to a revolt, he added, That "this was the time for them to take arms; and join with the Galileans as their confederates (whom they might command, and who would now willingly assist them, out of the hatred they bare to the people of Sepphoris, because they preserved their fidelity to the Romans), and to gather a great number of forces in order to punish them." And, as he said this, he exhorted the multitude [to go to war]; for his abilities lay in making harrangues to the people, and in being too hard in his speeches for such as opposed him though they advised what was more to their advantage, and this by his craftiness and his fallacies; for he was not unskilful in the learning of the Greeks, and in dependence on that skill it was, that he undertook to write an history of these affairs, as aiming by this way of harranguing to disguise the truth. But as to this man, and how ill were his character and conduct of life, and he and his brother were, in great measure, the authors of our destruction, I shall give the reader an account in the progress of my narration. So when Justus had by his persuasions, prevailed with the citizen of Tiberias to take arms, nay, and had forced a great many so to do against their wills, he went out, and set the villages that belonged to Gadara, and Hippos on fire; which villages were situated on the borders of Tiberias, and of the region of Scythopolis.

10. And this was the state Tiberias was now in. But as for Gischala, its affairs were thus: When John, the son of Livi, saw some of the citizens much elevated upon their revolt from the Romans, he laboured to restrain them, and entreat them; that they would keep their alliance to them. But he could not gain his purpose, although he did his endeavours to the utmost; for the neighbouring people of Gadara, and Gabara, and Sogana, with the Tyrians, got together a great army, and fell upon Gischala, and took Gischala by force, and set it on fire;

and when they had entirely demolished it, they returned home. Upon which John was so enraged, that he armed all his men, and joined battle with the people forementioned, and rebuilt Gischala after a manner better than before, and fortified it with walls for its future security.

11. But Gamala persevered in its alliance to the Romans for the reason following: Philip the son of Jacimus, who was their governor under king Agrippa, had been unexpectedly preserved when the royal palace at Jerusalem had been besieged; but, as he fled away, had fallen into another danger, and that was of being killed by Manahem, and the robbers that were with him; but certain Babylonians, who were of his kindred, and were then in Jerusalem, hindered the robbers from executing their design. So Philip staid there four days, and fled away on the fifth, having disguised himself with fictitious hair, that he might not be discovered; and when he was come to one of the villages to him belonging, but one that was situated at the borders of the citadel of Gamala, he sent to some of those that were under him, and commanded them to come to him. But God himself hindered that his intention, and this for his own advantage also; for had it not so happened, he had certainly perished. For a fever having seized upon him immediately, he wrote letters to Agrippa and Bernice, and gave them to one of his freed-men to carry them to Varus, who at this time was procurator of the kingdom, which the king and his sister had intrusted them withal, while they were gone to Berytus with an intention of meeting Gessius. When Varus had received these letters of Philip, and had learned that he was preserved, he was very uneasy at it, as supposing that he should appear useless to the king and his sister, now Philip was come. He therefore produced the carrier of the letters before the multitude, and accused him of forging the same; and said, that he spake falsely when he related that Philip was at Jerusalem, fighting among the Jews against the Romans. So he slew him. And when this freed man of Philip did not return again, Philip was doubtful what should be the occasion of his stay, and sent a second messenger with letters, that he might, upon his return, inform him what had befallen the other that had been sent before, and why he tarried so long. Varus accused this messenger also, when he came, of telling a falsehood, and slew him. For he was puffed up by the Syrians that were at Cesarea, and had great expectations; for they said, that Agrippa would be slain by the Romans for the crimes which the Jews had committed, and that he should himself take the government, as derived from their kings; for Varus was by the confession of all, of the royal family, as being a descendant of Sohemus, who had enjoyed a tetrarchy about Libanus; for which reason it was that he was puffed up, and kept the letters to himself. He contrived also that the king should not meet with those writ-

ings, by guarding all the passes, lest any one should escape and inform the king what had been done. He moreover slew many of the Jews, in order to gratify the Syrians of Cesarea. He had a mind also to join with the Trachonites in Batanea, and to take up arms and make an assault upon the Babylonian Jews that were at Ecbatana; for that was the name they went by. He therefore called to him twelve of the Jews of Cesarea, of the best character, and ordered them to go to Ecbatana, and inform their countrymen who dwelt there, that Varus hath heard, that "you intend to march against the king; but, not believing that report, he hath sent us to persuade you to lay down your arms, and that this compliance will be a sign, that he did well not to give credit to those that raised the report concerning you." He also enjoined them to send seventy of their principal men to make a defence for them as to the accusation laid against them. So when the twelve messengers came to their countrymen at Ecbatana, and found that they had no designs of innovation at all, they persuaded them to send the seventy men also; who not at all suspecting what would come, sent them accordingly. So these seventy * went down to Cesarea, together with twelve * ambassadors; where Varus met them with the king's, and slew them all, together with the [twelve] ambassadors, and made an expedition against the Jews of Ecbatana. But one there was of the seventy who escaped and made haste to inform the Jews of their coming; upon which they took their arms, with their wives and children, and retired to the citadel at Gamala, leaving their own villages full of all sorts of good things, and having many ten thousands of cattle therein. When Philip was informed of these things, he also came to the citadel of Gamala; and, when he was come, the multitude cried aloud, and desired him to resume the government, and to make an expedition against Varus, and the Syrians of Cesarea; for it was reported that they had slain the king. But Philip restrained their zeal, and put them in mind of the benefits the king had bestowed upon them; and told them how powerful the Romans were, and said it was not for their advantage to make war with them; and at length he prevailed with them. But now, when the king was acquainted with Varus's design, which was to cut off the Jews of Cesarea, being many ten thousands with their wives and children and all in one day, he called to him Equiculus Modius, and sent him to be Varus's successor, as we have elsewhere related. But still Philip kept possession of the citadel of Gamala, and of the country adjoining to it, which thereby continued in their allegiance to the Romans.

12. Now as soon as I was come into Galilee, and had learned this state of things by the information of such as told me

* The famous Jewish numbers of twelve and seventy are here remarkable.

of them, I wrote to the sanhedrim at Jerusalem about them, and required their direction what I should do. Their direction was, that I should continue there, and that, if my fellow-legates were willing, I should join with them in the care of Galilee. But those my fellow legates having gotten great riches from those tythes which as priests were their dues, and were given to them, determined to return to their own country. Yet when I desired them to stay so long, that we might first settle the public affairs, they complied with me. So I removed, together with them, from the city of Sephoris, and came to a certain village called Bethmaus, four furlongs distant from Tiberias; and thence I sent messengers to the senate of Tiberias, and desired that the principal men of the city would come to me: And when they were come, Justus himself being also with them, I told them, that I was sent to them by the people of Jerusalem as a legate, together with these other priests, in order to persuade them to demolish that house which Herod the tetrarch had built there, and which had the figures of living creatures in it, although our laws have forbidden us to make any such figures; and I desired, that they would give us leave so to do immediately. But for a good while Capellus and the principal men belonging to the city, would not give us leave, but were at length entirely overcome by us, and were induced to be of our opinion. So Jesus the son of Sapphias, one of those whom we have already mentioned as the leader of a seditious tumult of mariners and poor people, prevented us, and took with him certain Galileans, and set the entire palace on fire, and thought he should get a great deal of money thereby, because he saw some of the roofs gilt with gold. They also plundered a great deal of the furniture, which was done without our approbation; for, after we had discoursed Capellus and the principal men of the city, we departed from Bethmaus, and went into the upper Galilee. But Jesus and his party slew all the Greeks that were inhabitants of Tiberias, and as many others as were their enemies before the war began.

13. When I understood this state of things, I was greatly provoked, and went down to Tiberias, and took all the care I could of the royal furniture, to recover all that could be recovered from such as had plundered it. They consisted of candlesticks made of Corinthian brass, and of royal tables, and of a great quantity of uncoined silver: And I resolved to preserve whatsoever came to my hand for the king. So I sent for ten of the principal men of the senate, and for Capellus the son of Antyllus, and committed the furniture to them, with this charge, that they should part with it to nobody else but to myself. From thence I and my fellow legates went to Gischala to John, as desirous to know his intentions, and soon saw that he was for innovations, and had a

mind to the principality ; for he desired me to give him authority to carry off that corn which belonged to Cæsar, and lay in the villages of Upper Galilee ; and he pretended that he would expend what it came to in building the walls of his own city. But when I perceived what he endeavoured at, and what he had in his mind, I said I would not permit him so to do ; for that I thought either to keep it for the Romans, or for myself, now was I intrusted with the public affairs there by the people of Jerusalem. But when he was not able to prevail with me he betook himself to my fellow-legates ; for they had no sagacity in providing for futurity, and were very ready to take bribes. So he corrupted them with money to decree, that all that corn which was within his province should be delivered to him ; while I, who was but one, was outvoted by two, and held my tongue. Then did John introduce another cunning contrivance of his ; for he said, that those Jews who inhabited Cæsarea Philippi, and were shut up by the order of the king's deputy there, had sent to him to desire him, that, since they had no oil that was pure for their use, he would provide a sufficient quantity of such oil that came from the Greeks, and thereby transgress their own laws. Now this was said by John, not out of his regard to religion, but out of his most flagrant desire of gain ; for he knew, that two sextaries were sold with them of Cæsarea for one drachmæ, but that at Gischala four-score sextaries were sold for four sextaries. So he gave order, that all the oil which was there should be carried away, as having my permission for so doing ; which yet I did not grant him voluntarily, but only out of fear of the multitude, since, if I had forbidden him, I should have been stoned by them. When I had therefore permitted this to be done by John, he gained vast sums of money by this his knavery.

14. But when I had dismissed my fellow-legates, and sent them back to Jerusalem, I took care to have arms provided, and the cities fortified. And, when I had sent for the most hardy among the robbers, I saw that it was not in my power to take their arms from them ; but I persuaded the multitude to allow them money as pay, and told them, it was better for them to give them a little willingly, rather than to [be forced to] overlook them when they plundered their goods from them. And when I had obliged them to take an oath not to come into that country, unless they were invited to come, or else when they had not their pay given them, I dismissed them, and charged them neither to make an expedition against the Romans, nor against those their neighbours that lay round about them ; for my first care was to keep Galilee in peace. So I was willing to have the principal of the Galileans, in all seventy, as hostages for their fidelity, but still under the notion of friendship. Accordingly I made them my friends and companions as I journeyed, and set them to judge causes ; and

with their approbation it was that I gave my sentences, while I endeavoured not to mistake what justice required, and to keep my hands clear of all bribery in these determinations.

15. I was now about the thirtieth year of my age ; in which time of life it is a hard thing for any one to escape the calumnies of the envious, although he restrain himself from fulfilling any unlawful desires, especially where a person is in great authority. Yet did I preserve every woman free from injuries ; and, as to what presents were offered me, I despised them, as not standing in need of them. Nor indeed would I take those tithes, which were due to me as a priest, from those that brought them. Yet do I confess, that I took part of the spoils of those Syrians which inhabited the cities that adjoined to us, when I had conquered them, and that I sent them to my kindred at Jerusalem ; although when I twice took Sephoris by force, and Tiberius four times, and Gadara once, and when I had subdued and taken John, who often laid treacherous snares for me, I did not punish [with death] either him or any of the people fore-named, as the progress of this discourse will shew. And on this account I suppose it was that God*, who is never unacquainted with those that do as they ought to do, delivered me still out of the hands of these my enemies, and afterward preserved me when I fell into those many dangers which I shall relate hereafter.

16. Now the multitude of the Galileans had that great kindness for me, and fidelity to me, that when their cities were taken by force, and their wives and children carried into slavery, they did not so deeply lament for their own calamities, as they were solicitous for my preservation. But when John saw this, he envied me, and wrote to me, desiring that I would give him leave to come down, and make use of the hot-baths of Tiberias for the recovery of the health of his body. Accordingly I did not hinder him, as having no suspicion of any wicked designs of his ; and I wrote to those to whom I had committed the administration of the affairs of Tiberias, by name, that they should provide a lodging for John, and for such as should come with him and should procure him what necessaries soever he should stand in need of. Now at this time my abode was in a village of Galilee, which is named *Cana*.

17. But, when John was come to the city of Tiberias, he persuaded the men to revolt from their fidelity to me, and to adhere to him ; and many of them gladly received that invitation of his, as ever fond of innovations, and by nature disposed to changes, and delighting in seditions : But they were

* Our Josephus shews both here and every where, that he was a most religious person, and one that had a deep sense of God and his providence upon his mind, and ascribed all his numerous and wonderful escapes and preservations, in times of danger, to God's blessing him, and taking care of him, and this on account of his acts of piety, justice, humanity, and charity to the Jews his brethren,

chiefly Justus and his father Pistus, that were earnest in their revolt from me, and their adherance to John. But I came upon them, and prevented them ; for a messenger had come to me from Silas, whom I had made governor of Tiberias, as I have said already, and had told me of the inclinations of the people of Tiberias, and advised me to make haste thither ; for that, if I made any delay, the city would come under another's jurisdiction. Upon the receipt of this letter of Silas, I took two hundred men along with me, and travelled all night, having sent before a messenger to let the people of Tiberias know that I was coming to them. When I came near to the city, which was early in the morning, the multitude came out to meet me ; and John came with them, and saluted me, but in a most disturbed manner, as being afraid that my coming was to call him to an account for what I was now sensible he was doing. So he in great haste, went to his lodging. But when I was in the open place of the city, having dismissed the guards I had about me, excepting one, and ten armed men that were with him, I attempted to make a speech to the multitude of the people of Tiberias ; and, standing on a certain elevated place, I entreated them not to be so hasty in their revolt ; for that such a change in their behaviour would be to their reproach, and that they would then justly be suspected by those that should be their governors hereafter, as if they were not likely to be faithful to them neither.

18. But, before I had spoken all I designed, I heard one of my own domestics bidding me come down ; for that it was not a proper time to take care of retaining the good-will of the people of Tiberias, but to provide for my own safety, and escape my enemies there ; for John had chosen the most trusty of those armed men that were about him out of those thousand that he had with him, and had given them orders, when he sent them to kill me, having learned that I was alone excepting some of my domestics. So those that were sent came as they were ordered, and they had executed what they came about, had I not leaped down from the elevation I stood on, and with one of my guards, whose name was James, been carried [out of the crowd] upon the back of one Herod of Tiberias, and guided by him down to the lake where I seized a ship, and got into it, and escaped my enemies unexpectedly, and came to Taricheæ.

19. Now as soon as the inhabitants of that city understood the perfidiousness of the people of Tiberias, they were greatly provoked at them. So they snatched up their arms, and desired me to be their leader against them ; for they said they would avenge their commander's cause upon them. They also carried the report of what had been done to me to all the Galileans, and eagerly endeavoured to irritate them against the people of Tiberias. and desired that vast numbers of them would get together, and come to them, that they might act in

concert with their commander. what should be determined as fit to be done. Accordingly the Galileans came to me in great numbers, from all parts with their weapons, and besought me to assault Tiberias, to take it by force, and to demolish it, till it lay even with the ground, and then to make slaves of its inhabitants, with their wives and children. Those that were Josephus's friends also, and had escaped out of Tiberias, gave him the same advice. But I did not comply with them, thinking it a terrible thing to begin a civil war among them; for I thought, that this contention ought not to proceed farther than words: Nay. I told them that it was not for their own advantage to do what they would have me to do, while the Romans expected no other than that we should destroy one another by our mutual seditions. And by saying this, I put a stop to the anger of the Galileans.

20. But now John was afraid for himself, since his treachery had proved unsuccessful. So he took the armed men that were about him, and removed from Tiberias to Gischala, and wrote to me to apologize for himself concerning what had been done, as if it had been done without his approbation, and desired me to have no suspicion of him to his disadvantage. He also added oaths and certain horrible curses upon himself, and supposed he should be thereby believed in the points he wrote about to me.

21. But now another great number of the Galileans came together again with their weapons, as knowing the man, how wicked and how sadly perjured he was, and desired me to lead them against him, and promised me that they would utterly destroy both him and Gischala. Hereupon I professed, that I was obliged to them for their readiness to serve me, and that I would more than requite that their good will to me. However I entreated them to restrain themselves, and begged of them to give me leave to do what I intended, which was to put an end to these troubles without bloodshed; and when I had prevailed with the multitude of the Galileans to let me do so, I came to Sepphoris.

22. But the inhabitants of this city having determined to continue in their allegiance to the Romans, were afraid of my coming to them, and tried, by putting me upon another action, to divert me, that they might be freed from the terror they were in. Accordingly they sent to Jesus the captain of those robbers who were in the confines of Ptolemais, and promised to give him a great deal of money, if he would come with those forces he had with him, which were in number eight hundred, and fight with us. Accordingly he complied with what they desired, upon the promises they had made him, and was desirous to fall upon us when we were unprepared for him, and knew nothing of his coming before hand. So he sent to me and desired that I would give him leave to come and salute me. When I had given him that leave which

I did without the least knowledge of his treacherous intentions beforehand, he took his band of robbers, and made haste to come to me. Yet did not this his knavery succeed well at last ; for, as he was already nearly approaching, one of those with him deserted him, and come to me, and told me what he had undertaken to do. When I was informed of this, I went into the market-place, and pretended to know nothing of his treacherous purpose. I took with me many Galileans that were armed, as also some of those of Tiberias ; and, when I had given orders that all the roads should be carefully guarded, I charged the keepers of the gates to give admittance to none but Jesus, when he came with the principal of his men, and to exclude the rest ; and in case they aimed to force themselves in, to use stripes [in order to repel them. Accordingly, those that had received such a charge did as they were bidden, and Jesus came in with a few others ; and when I had ordered him to throw down his arms immediately, and told him, that if he refused so to do, he was a dead man, he seeing armed men standing all round about him, was terrified, and complied ; and as for those of his followers that were excluded, when they were informed that he was seized, they ran away. I then called Jesus to me by himself, and told him, that “ I was not a stranger to that treacherous design he had against me, nor was I ignorant by whom he was sent for ; that however, I would forgive what he had done already, if he would repent of it, and be faithful to me hereafter.” And thus, upon his promise to do all that I desired, I let him go, and gave him leave to get those whom he had formerly had with him, together again. But I threatened the inhabitants of Sepphoris, that, if they would not leave off their ungrateful treatment of me, I would punish them sufficiently.

23 At this time it was that two great men, who were under the jurisdiction of the king [Agrippa,] came to me out of the region of Trachonitis, bringing their horses and their arms, and carrying with them their money also ; and when the Jews would force them to be circumcised, if they would stay among them, I would not permit them to have any force put upon them, but * said to them, “ Every one ought to worship God according to his own inclinations, and not to be constrained by force ; and that these men, who had fled to us for protection, ought not to be so treated as to repent of their coming hither.” And when I had pacified the multitude, I provided for the men that were come to us whatsoever it was

* Josephus's opinion is here well worth noting, that every one is to be permitted to worship God according to his own conscience, and is not to be compelled in matters of religion : As one may here observe, on the contrary, that the rest of the Jews were still for obliging all those who married Jews to be circumcised, and become Jews, and were ready to destroy all that would not submit to do so. See sect. 31. and Luke ix. 54.

they wanted, according to their usual way of living, and that in great plenty also.

24. Now king Agrippa sent an army to make themselves masters of the citadel of Gamala, and over it Equiculus Modius ; but the forces that were sent were not enow to encompass the citadel quite round, but lay before it in the open places, and besieged it. But when Ebutius the decurion, who was intrusted with the government of the great plain, heard that I was at Simonias, a village situated in the confines of Galilee, and was distant from him sixty furlongs, he took an hundred horsemen that were with him by night, and a certain number of footmen, about two hundred, and brought the inhabitants of the city Gibeia along with him as auxiliaries, and marched in the night, and came to the village where I abode. Upon this I pitched my camp over against him, which had a great number of forces in it ; but Ebutius tried to draw us down into the plain, as greatly depending on his horsemen ; but we would not come down ; for when I was satisfied of the advantage that his horse would have if we came down into the plain, while we were all footmen, I resolved to join battle with the enemy where I was. Now Ebutius and his party made a courageous opposition for some time ; but when he saw that his horse were useless to him in that place, he retired back to the city Gibeia, having lost three of his men in the fight. So I followed him directly, with two thousand armed men ; and when I was at the city Betsara, that lay in the confines of Ptolemais, but twenty furlongs from Nibea where Ebutius abode, I placed my armed men on the outside of the village, and gave orders that they should guard the passes with great care, that the enemy might not disturb us, until we should have carried off the corn, a great quantity of which lay there : It belonging to Bernice the queen, and had been gathered together out of the neighbouring villages into Betsara : So I loaded my camels and asses, a great number of which I had brought along with me, and sent the corn into Galilee. When I had done this, I offered Ebutius battle ; but when he would not accept of the offer for he was terrified at our readiness and courage, I altered my route, and marched towards Neopolitanus, because I had heard that the country about Tiberias was laid waste by him. This Neopolitanus was captain of a troop of horse, and had the custody of Scythopolis intrusted to his care by the enemy ; and when I had hindered him from doing any farther mischief to Tiberias, I set myself to make provision for the affairs of Galilee.

25. But when John, the son of Levi, who, as we before told you, abode at Gischala, was informed how all things had succeeded to my mind, and that I was much in favour with those that were under me ; as also that the enemy were greatly afraid of me, he was not pleased with it, as thinking my prosperity tended to his ruin. So he took up a bitter envy and

enmity against me ; and hoping, that if he could inflame those that were under me to hate me, he should put an end to the prosperity I was in, he tried to persuade the inhabitants of Tiberias, and of Sepphoris (and for those of Gabara he supposed they would be also of the same mind with the others,) which were the greatest cities of Galilee, to revolt from their subjection to me, and to be of his party ; and told them, that he would command them better than I did. As for the people of Sepphoris, who belonged to neither of us, because they had chosen to be in subjection to the Romans, they did not comply with his proposal ; and for those of Tiberias, they did not indeed so far comply, as to make a revolt from under me, but they agreed to be his friends, while the inhabitants of Gabara did go over to John ; and it was Simon that persuaded them so to do, one who was both the principal man in the city, and a particular friend and companion of John. It is true, these did not openly own the making a revolt, because they were in great fear of the Galileans, and had frequent experience of the good-will they bore to me ; yet did they privately watch for a proper opportunity to lay snares for me ; and indeed I thereby came into the greatest danger, on the occasion following.

26. There were some bold young men of the village Dabaritta, who observed that the wife of Ptolemy, the king's procurator, was to make a progress over the great plain with a mighty attendance, and with some horsemen that followed, as a guard to them, and this out of a country that was subject to the king and queen, into the jurisdiction of the Romans ; and fell upon them on the sudden, and obliged the wife of Ptolemy to fly away, and plundered all the carriages. They also came to me to Taricheæ, with four mules loading of garments, and other furniture ; and the weight of the silver they brought was not small, and there were five hundred pieces of gold also. Now I had a mind to preserve these spoils for Ptolemy, who was my countryman ; and it is prohibited * us by our laws even to spoil our enemies ; so I said to those that brought these spoils, that they ought to be kept in order to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem with them, when they came to be sold. But the young men took it very ill that they did not receive a part

* How Josephus could say here that the Jewish laws forbade them to " spoil even their enemies," while yet, a little before his time, our Saviour had mentioned it as then a current maxim with them, " Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy," Matt. v. 43. is worth our inquiry. I take it that Josephus, having been now for many years an Ebionite Christian, had learned this interpretation of the law of Moses from Christ, whom he owned for the true Messiah, as it follows in the succeeding verses, which, though he might not read in St. Matthew's gospel, yet might he have read much the same exposition in their own Ebionite or Nazarene gospel itself ; of which improvements made by Josephus, after he was become a Christian, we have already had several examples in this his life, sect. 3. 13. 15. 19. 21. 23. and shall have many more therein before its conclusion, as will be seen have them elsewhere in all his latter writings.

of those spoils for themselves, as they expected to have done ; so they went among the villages, in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, and told the people, that I was going to betray their country to the Romans, and that I used deceitful language to them. when I said, that what had been thus gotten by rapine should be kept for the rebuilding of the walls of the city of Jerusalem ; although I had resolved to restore these spoils again to their former owner. And indeed they were herein not mistaken as to my intentions ; for when I had gotten clear of them, I sent for two of the principal men, Daffion, and Janneus the son of Levi, persons that were among the chief friends of the king, and commanded them to take the furniture that had been plundered, and to send it to him ; and I threatened that I would order them to be put to death by way of punishment, if they discovered this my command to any other person.

27. Now when all Galilee was filled with this rumour, that their country was about to be betrayed by me to the Romans, and when all men were exasperated against me, and ready to bring me to punishment, the inhabitants of Taricheæ did also themselves suppose that what the young men said was true, and persuaded my guards and armed men to leave me when I was asleep, and to come presently to the hippodrome, in order there to take counsel against me their commander. And when they had prevailed with them, and they were gotten together, they found there a great company assembled already, who all joined in one clamour, to bring the man who was so wicked to them as to betray them, to his due punishment ; and it was Jesus, the son of Sapphias, who principally set them on. He was ruler in Tiberias, a wicked man, and naturally disposed to make disturbances in matters of consequence ; a seditious person he was indeed, and an innovator beyond every body else. He then took the laws of Moses into his hands, came into the midst of the people, and said, “ O my fellow-citizens, if you are not disposed to hate Josephus on your own account, have regard however to these laws of your country, which your commander in chief is going to betray ; hate him therefore on both these accounts, and bring the man who hath acted thus insolently to his deserved punishment.”

28. When he had said this, and the multitude had openly applauded him for what he had said, he took some of the armed men, and made haste away to the house in which I lodged, as if he would kill me immediately, while I was wholly insensible of all till this disturbance happened ; and by reason of the pains I had been taking, was fallen fast asleep. But Simon, who was intrusted with the care of my body, and was the only person that stayed with me, and saw the violent incursion the citizens made upon me, he awaked me, and told me of the danger I was in, and desired me to let him kill me, that I might die bravely and like a general, before my enemies came

in, and forced me [to kill myself,] or killed me themselves. Thus did he discourse to me ; but I committed the care of my life to God, and made haste to go out to the multitude. Accordingly I put on a black garment, and hung my sword at my neck, and went by such a different way to the hippodrome, wherein I thought none of my adversaries would meet me ; so I appeared among them on the sudden, and fell down flat on the earth, and bedewed the ground with my tears : Then I seemed to them all an object of compassion. And when I perceived the change that was made in the multitude, I tried to divide their opinions, before the armed men should return from my house ; so I granted them, that I had been as wicked as they supposed me to be ; but still I entreated them, to let me first inform them for what use I had kept the money which arose from the plunder, and that they might then kill me if they pleased : And upon the multitude's ordering me to speak, the armed men came upon me, and when they saw me, they ran to kill me ; but when the multitude bid them hold their hands, they complied, and expected that as soon as I should own to them that I kept the money for the king, it would be looked on as a confession of my treason, and they should then be allowed to kill me.

29. When therefore silence was made by the whole multitude, I spake thus to them : " O my countrymen, I refuse not to die, if justice so require. However, I am desirous to tell you the truth of this matter before I die ; for as I know that this city of yours [Taricheæ] was a city of great hospitality, and filled with abundance of such men as have left their own countries, and are come hither to be partakers of your fortune whatever it be, I had a mind to build walls about it, out of this money, for which you are so angry with me, while yet it was to be expended in building your own walls." Upon my saying this, the people of Taricheæ, and the strangers cried out, That " they gave me thanks, and desired me to be of good courage." Although the Galileans, and the people of Tiberias continued in their wrath against me, insomuch that there arose a tumult among them, while some threatened to kill me, and some bid me not to regard them ; but when I promised them that I would build them walls at Tiberias, and at other cities that wanted them, they gave credit to what I promised, and returned every one to his own home. So I escaped the forementioned danger, beyond all my hopes, and returned to my own house, accompanied with my friends, and twenty armed men also.

30. However, these robbers and other authors of this tumult, who were afraid on their own account, lest I should punish them for what they had done, took six hundred armed men, and came to the house where I abode, in order to set it on fire. When this their insult was told me, I thought it indecent for me to run away, and I resolved to expose myself to danger,

and to act with some boldness; so I gave orders to shut the doors, and went up into an upper room, and desired that they would send some of their men in to receive the money [from the spoils]; for I told them they would then have no occasion to be angry with me; and when they had sent in one of the boldest of them all, I had him whipped severely, and I commanded that one of his hands should be cut off, and hung about his neck; and in this case was he put out to those that sent him. At which procedure of mine they were greatly affrighted, and in no small consternation, and were afraid that they should themselves be served in like manner, if they staid there; for they supposed that I had in the house more armed men than they had themselves, so they ran away immediately, while I, by the use of this stratagem, escaped this their second treacherous design against me.

31. But there were still some that irritated the multitude against me, and said, that those great men that belonged to the king, ought not to be suffered to live, if they would not change their religion to the religion of those to whom they fled for safety: They spake reproachfully of them also, and said, that they were wizards*, and such as called in the Romans upon them. So the multitude was soon deluded by such plausible pretences as were agreeable to their own inclinations, and were prevailed on by them. But when I was informed of this, I instructed the multitude again, that those that fled to them for refuge out not to be persecuted: I also laughed at the allegation about witchcraft*, and told them that the Romans would not maintain so many ten thousand soldiers, if they could overcome their enemies by wizards. Upon my saying this, the people assented for a while; but they returned afterward, as irritated by some ill people, against the great men; nay, they once made an assault upon the house in which they dwelt at Tarichæ, in order to kill them; which, when I was informed of, I was afraid lest so horrid a crime should take effect, and nobody else would make that city their refuge any more. I therefore came myself and some others with me to the house where these great men lived, and locked their doors, and had a trench drawn from their house leading to the lake, and sent for a ship, and embarked therein with them, and sailed to the confines of Hippos: I also paid them the value of their horses, nor in such a flight could I have their horses brought to them. I then dismissed them, and begged of them earnestly that they would courageously bear this distress which befel them. I was also myself greatly displeased that I was compelled to expose those that had fled to me to go again into an enemy's country; yet did I think it more eligible that they should perish among the Romans, if it should so happen, than in the

* Here we may observe the vulgar Jewish notions of witchcraft; but that our Josephus was too wise to give any countenance to it.

country that was under my jurisdiction. However they escaped at length, and king Agrippa forgave them their offences. And this was the conclusion of what concerned these men.

32. But as for the inhabitants of the city of Tiberias, they wrote to the king, and desired him to send them forces sufficient to be guard to their country ; for that they were desirous to come over to him : This was what they wrote to him. But when I came to them, they desired me to build their walls, as I had promised them to do ; for they had heard that the walls of Taricheæ were already built ; I agreed to the proposal accordingly. And when I had made preparation for the intire building, I gave order to the architects to go to work ; but on the third day, when I was gone to Taricheæ, which was thirty furlongs distant from Tiberias, it so fell out that some Roman horsemen were discovered on their march, not far from the city, which made it to be supposed that the forces were come from the king ; upon which they shouted, and lifted up their voices in commendations of the king, and in reproaches against me. Hereupon one came running to me, and told me what their dispositions were, and that they had resolved to revolt from me ; upon hearing which news I was very much alarmed ; for I had already sent away my armed men from Taricheæ to their own homes, because the next day was our Sabbath ; for I would not have the people of Taricheæ disturbed [on that day] by a multitude of soldiers ; and indeed, whenever I sojourned at that city, I never took any particular care for a guard about my own body, because I had had frequent instances of the fidelity its inhabitants bore to me. I had now about me no more than seven armed men, besides some friends, and was doubtful what to do ; for to send to recal my own forces I did not think proper, because the present day was almost over, and had those forces been with me, I could not take up arms on the next day, because our laws forbid us so to do, even though our necessity should be very great ; and if I should permit the people of Taricheæ, and the strangers with them, to guard the city I saw that they would not be sufficient for that purpose, and I perceived that I should be obliged to delay my assistance a great while ; for I thought with myself that the forces that came from the king would prevent me, and that I should be driven out of the city. I considered therefore, how to get clear of these forces by a stratagem ; so I immediately placed those my friends of Taricheæ, on whom I could best confide, at the gates, to watch those very carefully who went out at those gates ; I also called to me the heads of families, and bid every one of them to seize upon a ship *, to go on board it, and to take a master with them, and follow him to the city of Tiberias. I also myself went on board one of those

* In this section, as well as sect. 18. and sect. 33. those small vessels that sailed on the sea of Galilee, are called by Josephus Νηες, and Ἰλιαια, and σκαφη, i. e. plainly *ships* ; so that we need not wonder at our Evangelists, who still call them

ships, with my friends, and the seven armed men already mentioned, and sailed for Tiberias.

33. But now, when the people of Tiberias perceived that there were no forces come from the king, and yet saw the whole lake full of ships, they were in fear what would become of their city, and were greatly terrified, as supposing that the ships were full of men on board; so they then changed their minds, and threw down their weapons, and met me with their wives and children, and made acclamations to me, with great commendations; for they imagined that I did not know their former inclinations [to have been against me]; so they persuaded me to spare the city. But when I was come near enough, I gave order to the masters of the ships to cast anchor a good way off the land, that the people of Tiberias might not perceive that the ships had no men on board; but I went nearer to the people in one of the ships, and rebuked them for their folly, and that they were so fickle as, without any just occasion in the world, to revolt from their fidelity to me. However, I assured them, that I would entirely forgive them for the time to come, if they would send ten of the ringleaders of the multitude to me; and when they complied readily with this proposal, and sent me the men forementioned, I put them on board a ship, and sent them away to Taricheæ and ordered them to be kept in prison.

34. And by this stratagem it was, that I gradually got all the senate of Tiberias into my power, and sent them to the city forementioned, with many of the principal men among the populous, and those not fewer in number than the other. But when the multitude saw into what great miseries they had brought themselves, they desired me to punish the author of this sedition: His name was *Clitus*, a young man, bold and rash in his undertakings. Now since I thought it not agreeable to piety to put one of my own people to death, and yet found it necessary to punish them, I ordered Levi, one of my own guards, to go to him, and cut off one of Clitus's hands; but as he that was ordered to do this, was afraid to go out of the ship alone, among so great a multitude, I was not willing that the timorousness of the soldier should appear to the people of Tiberias. So I called to Clitus himself, and said to him, "Since thou deservest to loose both thine hands for thy ingratitude to me, be thou thine own executioner, lest, if thou refuseth so to be, thou undergo a worse punishment." And when he earnestly begged of me to spare him one of his hands, it was with difficulty that I granted it. So in order to prevent the loss of both his hands, he willingly took his sword, and cut off his own left hand; and this put an end to the sedition.

35. Now the men of Tiberias, after I was gone to Taricheæ.

ships; nor ought we to render them *boats*, as some do. Their number was in all 220, as we learn from our author elsewhere, Of the War, B. II. ch. xxi. sect. 8. Vol. III.

perceived what stratagem I had used against them, and they admired how I had put an end to their foolish sedition, without shedding of blood. But now, when I had sent for some of those multitudes of the people of Tiberias out of prison, among whom were Justus and his father Pistus, I made them to sup with me; and during our supper time I said to them, that I knew the power of the Romans was superior to all others, but did not say so [publicly] because of the robbers. So I advised them to do as I did, and to wait for a proper opportunity, and not to be uneasy at my being their commander; for that they could not expect to have another who would use the like moderation that I had done. I also put Justus in mind how the Galileans had cut off his brother's hands, before ever I came to Jerusalem, upon an accusation laid against him as if he had been a rogue, and had forged some letters; as also how the people of Gamala, in a sedition they raised against the Babylonians, after the departure of Philip, slew Chares, who was a kinsman of Philip, and withal how they had wisely punished Jesus, his brother Justus's sister's husband [with death.] When I had said this to them during supper-time, I in the morning ordered Justus, and all the rest that were in prison, to be loosed out of it, and sent away.

36. But before this it happened that Philip, the son of Jacimus, went out of the citadel of Gamala upon the following occasion: When Philip had been informed that Varus was put out of his government by king Agrippa, and that Modius Equiculus, a man that was of old his friend and companion, was come to succeed him, he wrote to him, and related what turns of fortune he had had, and desired him to forward the letters he sent to the king and queen. Now when Modius had received these letters, he was exceeding glad, and sent the letters to the king and queen, who were then about Berytus. But when king Agrippa knew that the story about Philip was false (for it had been given out, that the Jews had begun a war with the Romans, and that this Philip had been their commander in that war,) he sent some horsemen to conduct Philip to him, and, when he was come, he saluted him very obligingly, and shewed him to the Roman commanders, and told them that this was the man of whom the report had gone about as if he had revolted from the Romans. He also bid him to take some horsemen with him, and to go quickly to the citadel of Gamala, and to bring out thence all his domestics, and to restore the Babylonians to Batanea again. He also gave it him in charge to take all possible care that none of his subjects should be guilty of making any innovation. Accordingly, upon these directions from the king, he made haste to do what he was commanded.

37. Now there was one Joseph, the son of a female physician, who excited a great many young men to join with him. He also insolently addressed himself to the principal persons

at Gamala, and persuaded them to revolt from the king, and take up arms, and gave them hopes that they should, by his means, recover their liberty. And some they forced into the service, and those that would not acquiesce in what they had resolved on, they slew. They also slew Chares, and with him Jesus, one of his kinsmen and a brother of Justus of Tiberias, as we have already said. Those of Gamala also wrote to me, desiring me to send them an armed force, and workmen to raise up the walls of their city; nor did I reject either of their requests. The region of Gaulanitis did also revolt from the king, as far as the village Solyma. I also built a wall about Seleucia and Soganni, which are villages naturally of very great strength. Moreover I, in like manner, walled several villages of Upper Galilee, though they were very rocky of themselves. Their names are Jamnia, and Meroth, and Achabare. I also fortified, in the Lower Galilee, the cities Taricheæ, Tiberias, Sepphoris, and the villages, the Cave of Arbelah, Bersobe, Selamin, Jotapata, Caphareccho, and Sigo, and Japha, and Mount Tabor*. I also laid up a great quantity of corn in these places, and arms, withal, that might be for their security afterward.

38. But the hatred that John the son of Levi bore to me grew now more violent, while he could not bear my prosperity with patience. So he proposed to himself, by all means possible to make away with me, and built the walls of Gischala, which was the place of his nativity. He then sent his brother Simon, and Jonathan the son of Sisenna, and about an hundred armed men to Jerusalem to Simon the son of Gamaliel, in order to persuade him to induce the commonality of Jerusalem to take from me the government over the Galileans, and to give their suffrages for conferring that authority upon him. This Simon was of the city Jerusalem, and of a very noble family, of the sect of the Pharisees, which are supposed to excel others in the accurate knowledge, of the laws of their country. He was a man of great wisdom and reason, and capable of restoring public affairs by his prudence, when they were in an ill posture. He was also an old friend and companion of John; but at that time he had a difference with me. When therefore he had received such an exhortation, he persuaded the high priests, Ananus and Jesus the son of Gamala, and some others of the same seditious faction, to cut me down now I was growing so great, and not to overlook me while I was aggrandizing myself to the height of glo-

* Part of these fortifications on Mount Tabor may be those still remaining, and which were seen lately by Mr. Maundrel. See his *Travels*, p. 112.

† This Gamaliel may be the very same that is mentioned by the rabbins in the *Mishna* in *Juchasin* and in *Porta Moris*, as is observed in the Latin notes. He might be also that Gamaliel II. whose grandfather was Gamaliel I. who is mentioned *Acts* v. 34. and at whose feet *St. Paul* was brought up. *Acts* xxii. 3. See *Prod.* at the year 449.

ry ; and he said, that it would be for the advantage of the Galileans, if I were deprived of my government there. Ananus also, and his friends desired them to make no delay about the matter, lest I should get the knowledge of what was doing too soon, and should come and make an assault upon the city with a great army. This was the counsel of Simon ; but Ananus the high priest demonstrated to them, that this was not an easy thing to be done, because many of the high priests and of the rulers of the people bore witness that I had acted like an excellent general, and that it was the work of ill men to accuse one against whom they had nothing to say.

39. When Simon heard Ananus say this, he desired that the messengers would conceal the thing, and not let it come among many ; for that he would take care to have Josephus removed out of Galilee very quickly. So he called for John's brother [Simon,] and charged him, that they should send presents to Ananus and his friends ; for, as he said, they might probably by that means persuade them to change their minds. And indeed Simon did at length thus compass what he aimed at ; for Ananus, and those with him, being corrupted by bribes, agreed to expel me out of Galilee, without making the rest of the citizens acquainted with what they were doing. Accordingly they resolved to send men of distinction as to their families, and of distinction as to their learning also. Two of these were of the populace, Jonathan * and Ananias, by sect of Pharisees ; while the third, Jozar, was of the flock of the priests, and a Pharisee also ; and Simon, the last of them, was of the youngest of the high priests. These had it given them in charge, that, when they were come to the multitude of the Galileans, they should ask them what was the reason of their love to me ? and if they said, that it was because I was born at Jerusalem, that they should reply, that they four were all born at the same place ; and if they should say, it was because I was well versed in their law, they should reply, that neither were they unacquainted with the practices of their country ; but if, besides these, they should say, they loved me because I was a priest, they should reply, that two of these were priests also.

40. Now, when they had given Jonathan and his companions these instructions, they gave them forty thousand [drachmæ] out of the public money : But when they heard that there was a certain Galilean that then sojourned at Jerusalem, whose name was Jesus, who had about him a band of six hundred armed men, they sent for him, and gave him three months pay, and gave him orders to follow Jonathan and his companions, and be obedient to them. They also gave money to three hundred men that were citizens of Jerusalem, to maintain

* This Jonathan is also taken notice of in the Latin notes, as the same that is mentioned by the rabbins in Porta Moïsis.

them all, and ordered them also to follow the ambassadors ; and when they had complied, and were gotten ready for the march, Jonathan and his companions went out with them, having along with them John's brother, and an hundred armed men. The charge that was given them by those that sent them was this, that if I would voluntarily lay down my arms, they should send me alive to the city Jerusalem, but that, in case I opposed them, they should kill me, and fear nothing ; for that it was their command for them so to do. They also wrote to John to make all ready for fighting me, and gave order to the inhabitants of Sepphoris and Gabara, and Tiberias, to send auxiliaries to John.

41. Now as my father wrote me an account of this, (for Jesus the son of Gamala, who was present in that council, a friend and companion of mine, told him of it,) I was very much troubled, as discovering thereby, that my fellow citizens proved so ungrateful to me, as, out of envy, to give order that I should be slain ; my father earnestly pressed me also in his letter to come to him, for that he longed to see his son before he died. I informed my friends of these things, and that in three days time I should leave the country, and go home. Upon hearing this they were all very sorry, and desired me, with tears in their eyes, not to leave them to be destroyed ; for so they thought they should be, if I were deprived of the command over them : But as I did not grant their request, but was taking care of my own safety, the Galileans, out of their dread of the consequence of my departure, that they should then be at the mercy of the robbers, sent messengers over all Galilee to inform them of my resolution to leave them. Whereupon, as soon as they heard it, they got together in great numbers, from all parts, with their wives and children ; and this they did, as it appeared to me, not more out of their affection to me, than out of their fear on their own account ; for, while I staid with them, they supposed that they should suffer no harm. So they all came into the great plain, wherein I lived, the name of which was *Asochis*.

42. But wonderful it was what a dream I saw that very night ; for when I had betaken myself to my bed, as grieved and disturbed at the news that had been written to me, it seemed to me, that a certain person stood by me *, and said, " O Josephus ! leave off to afflict thy soul, and put away all fear ; for what now grieves thee will render thee very considerable, and in all respects most happy ; for thou shalt get over not only these difficulties, but many others, with great success. However, be not cast down, but remember that thou art to fight with the Romans." When I had seen this dream, I got up

* This I take to be the first of Josephus's remarkable or divine dreams, which were predictive of the great things that afterward came to pass : Of which see more in the note on Antiq. B. III. ch. viii. sect. 9. Vol. I. The other is in the War, B. III. ch. viii. sect. 3, 9. Vol. III.

with an intention of going down to the plain. Now when the whole multitude of the Galileans, among whom were the women and children, saw me, they threw themselves down upon their faces, and with tears in their eyes, besought me not to leave them exposed to their enemies, nor to go away and permit their country to be injured by them. But, when I did not comply with their intreaties, they compelled me to take an oath, that I would stay with them : They also cast abundance of reproaches upon the people of Jerusalem, that they would not let their country enjoy peace.

43. When I heard this, and saw what sorrow the people were in, I was moved with compassion to them, and thought it became me to undergo the most manifest hazards for the sake of so great a multitude ; so I let them know I would stay with them. And when I had given order that five thousand of them should come to me armed, and with provisions for their maintenance, I sent the rest away to their own homes ; and, when those five thousand were come, I took them, together with three thousand of the soldiers that were with me before, and eighty horsemen, and marched to the village of Chabolo, situated in the confines of Ptolemais, and there kept my forces together, pretending to get ready to fight with Placidus, who was come with two cohorts of footmen, and one troop of horsemen, and was sent thither by Cestius Gallus to burn those villages of Galilee that were near Ptolemais. Upon whose casting up a bank before the city Ptolemais, I also pitched my camp at about the distance of sixty furlongs from that village. And now we frequently brought out our forces as if we would fight, but proceeded no farther than skirmishes at a distance ; for, when Placidus perceived that I was earnest to come to battle, he was afraid, and avoided it. Yet did he not remove from the neighbourhood of Ptolemais.

44. About this time it was that Jonathan and his fellow-legates came. They were sent as we have said already, by Simon, and Ananus the high-priest. And Jonathan contrived how he might catch me by treachery ; for he durst not make any attempt upon me openly. So he wrote me the following epistle : “ Jonathan and those that are with him, and are sent by the people of Jerusalem, to Josephus, send greeting. We are sent by the principal men of Jerusalem, who have heard that John of Gischala hath laid many snares for thee, to rebuke him, and to exhort him to be subject to thee hereafter. We are also desirous to consult with thee about our common concerns, and what is fit to be done. We therefore desire thee to come to us quickly, and to bring only a few men with thee ; for this village will not contain a great number of soldiers.” Thus it was that they wrote, as expecting one of these two things, either that I should come without armed men, and then they should have me under their power ; or if I came with a great number, they should judge me to be

a public enemy. Now it was an horseman who brought the letter, a man at other times bold, and one that had served in the army under the king. It was the second hour of the night that he came, when I was feasting with my friends, and the principal of the Galileans. This man, upon my servant's telling me, that a certain horseman of the Jewish nation was come, he was called in at my command, but did not so much as salute me at all, but held out a letter, and said, "This letter is sent thee by those that are come from Jerusalem. Do thou write an answer to it quickly; for I am obliged to return to them very soon." Now my guests could not but wonder at the boldness of the soldier. But I desired him to sit down and sup with us; but when he refused so to do, I held the letter in my hands as I received it, and fell talking with my guests about other matters. But a few hours afterwards I got up, and when I had dismissed the rest to go to their beds, I bid only four of my intimate friends to stay, and ordered my servant to get some wine ready. I also opened the letter so, that no body could perceive it; and understanding thereby presently the purport of the writing, I sealed it up again, and appeared as if I had not yet read it but only held it in my hands. I ordered twenty drachmæ should be given the soldier for the charges of his journey; and when he took the money, and said he thanked me for it, I perceived that he loved money, and that he was to be caught chiefly by that means, and I said to him, "If thou wilt but drink with us, thou shalt have a drachmæ for every glass thou drinkest." So he gladly embraced the proposal, and drank a great deal of wine, in order to get the more money, and was so drunk, that at last he could not keep the secrets he was intrusted with but discovered them without my putting questions to him, viz. that a treacherous design was contrived against me, and that I was doomed to die by those that sent him. When I heard this, I wrote back this answer: "Josephus, to Jonathan and those that are with him, sendeth greeting. Upon the information that you are come in health into Galilee, I rejoice, and this especially because I can now resign the care of public affairs here into your hands, and return into my native country; which is what I have desired to do a great while: And I confess I ought not only to come to you as far as Xaloth, but farther, and this without your commands. But I desire you to excuse me, because I cannot do it now, since I watch the motions of Placidus, who hath a mind to go up into Galilee; and this I do here at Chabolo. Do you therefore on the receipt of this epistle, come hither to me. Fare you well."

45 When I had written thus, and given the letter to be carried by the soldier, I sent along with them thirty of the Galileans of the best characters, and gave them instructions to salute those ambassadors, but to say nothing else to them. I also gave orders to as many of those armed men, whom I es-

seemed most faithful to me, to go along with the others, every one with him whom he was to guard, lest some conversation might pass between those whom I sent and those that were with Jonathan. So those men went [to Jonathan]. But when Jonathan and his partners had failed in this their first attempt, they sent me another letter, the contents whereof were as follows : " Jonathan and those with him to Josephus, send greeting. We require thee to come to us to the village Gabaroth, on the third day, without any armed men, that we may hear what thou hast to lay to the charge of John [of Gischala]." When they had written this letter, they saluted the Galileans whom I sent, and came to Japha, which was the largest village of all Galilee, and encompassed with very strong walls, and had a great number of inhabitants in it. There the multitude of men with their wives and children, met them and exclaimed loudly against them, and desired them to be gone, and not to envy them the advantage of an excellent commander. With these clamours Jonathan and his partners were greatly provoked, although they durst not shew their anger openly : So they made him no answer, but went to other villages. But still the same clamours met them from all the people who said, " No body should persuade them to have any other commander besides Josephus." So Jonathan and his partners went away from them without success, and came to Sepphoris, the greatest city of all Galilee. Now the men of that city who inclined to the Romans in their sentiments, met them indeed but neither praised nor reproached me ; and when they were gone down from Sepphoris to Asochis, the people of that place made a clamour against them, as those of Japha had done. Whereupon they were able to contain themselves no longer, but ordered the armed men that were with them to beat those that made the clamour with ther clubs. And when they came to Gabara John met them, with three thousand armed men ; but, as I understood by their letter, that they had resolved to fight against me, I arose from Chabolo, with three thousand armed men also, but left in my camp one of my fastest friends, and came to Jotapata, as desirous to be near them, the distance being no more than forty furlongs. Whence I wrote thus to them : " If you are very desirous that I should come to you, you know there are two hundred and forty cities and villages in Galilee, I will come to any of them which you please, excepting Gabara and Gischala ; the one of which is John's native city, and the other in confederacy and friendship with him."

46 When Jonathan and his partners had received this letter, they wrote to me no more answers, but called a council of their friends together, and taking John into their consultation, they took counsel together by what means they might attack me. John's opinion was, that they should write to all the cities and villages that were in Galilee ; for that there mult

be certainly one or two persons in every one of them that was at variance with me, and that they be invited to come to oppose me as an enemy. He would also have them send this resolution of theirs to the city Jerusalem, that its citizens upon the knowledge of my being adjudged to be an enemy by the Galileans, might themselves also confirm that determination. He said also, that when this was done, even those Galileans who were affected to me, would desert me out of fear. When John had given them this counsel, what he had said was very agreeable to the rest of them. I was also made acquainted with these affairs about the third hour of the night, by the means of one Saccheus, who had belonged to them, but now deserted them and came over to me, and told me what they were about; so I perceived that no time was to be lost. Accordingly I gave command to Jacob, an armed man of my guard, whom I esteemed faithful to me, to take two hundred men and to guard the passages that led from Gabara to Galilee, and to seize upon the passengers, and send them to me, especially such as were caught with letters about them: I also sent Jeremias himself, one of my friends with six hundred armed men, to the borders of Galilee, in order to watch the roads that led from this country to the city Jerusalem, and gave him charge to lay hold of such as travelled with letters about them, to keep the men in bonds upon the place, but to send me the letters.

47. When I had laid these commands upon them, I gave them orders and bid them to take their arms and bring three days provision with them, and be with me the next day. I also parted those that were about me into four parts, and ordained those of them that were most faithful to me to be a guard to my body. I also set over them centurions, and commanded them to take care that not a soldier which they did not know should mingle himself among them. Now on the fifth day following, when I was in Gabaroth, I found the entire plain that was before the village full of armed men, who were come out of Galilee to assist me: Many others of the multitude also, out of the village ran along with me. But as soon as I had taken my place, and began to speak to them, they all made an acclamation, and called me the benefactor and saviour of the country. And when I had made them my acknowledgements, and thanked them [for their affection to me,] I also advised them to fight * with no body, nor to spoil the country; but to pitch their tents in the plain, and be content with their sustenance they had brought with them; for I told them I had a mind to compose these troubles without shedding any blood. Now it

* Josephus's directions to his soldiers here are much the same that John the Baptist gave, Luke iii. 14. "Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely, and be content with your wages." Whence Dr. Hudson confirms this conjecture, that Josephus, in some things, was, even now, a follower of John the Baptist, which is no way improbable. See the note on sect. 2.

came to pass that on the very same day those who were sent by John with letters, fell among the guards whom I had appointed to watch the roads ; so the men were themselves kept upon the place, as my orders were, but I got the letters, which were full of reproaches and lies ; and I intended to fall upon these men, without saying a word of these matters to any body.

48. Now as soon as Jonathan and his companions heard of my coming, they took all their own friends, and John with them, and retired to the house of Jesus, which indeed was a large castle, and no way unlike a citadel ; so they privately laid a band of armed men therein, and shut all the other doors but one, which they kept open, and they expected that I should come out of the road to them, to salute them. And indeed they had given orders to the armed men, that when I came they should let no body besides me come in, but should exclude others ; as supposing that, by this means, they should easily get me under their power : But they were deceived in their expectation ; for I perceived what snares they had laid for me. Now as soon as I was got off my journey, I took up my lodgings over against them, and pretended to be asleep ; so Jonathan and his party thinking that I was really asleep, and at rest, made haste to go down into the plain, to persuade the people that I was an ill governor. But the matter proved otherwise ; for upon their appearance there was a cry made by the Galileans immediately, declaring their good opinion of me as their governor ; and they made a clamour against Jonathan and his partners, for coming to them when they had suffered no harm, and as though they would overturn their happy settlement ; and desired them by all means to go back again, for that they would never be persuaded to have any other to rule over them but myself. When I heard of this, I did not fear to go down into the midst of them ; I went, therefore, myself down presently to hear what Jonathan and his companions said. As soon as I appeared, there was immediately an acclamation made to me by the whole multitude, and a cry in my commendation by them, who confessed their thanks was owing to me for my good government of them.

49. When Jonathan and his companions heard this, they were in fear of their own lives, and in danger lest they should be assaulted by the Galileans on my account ; so they contrived how they might run away. But as they were not able to get off for I desired them to stay, they looked down with concern at my words to them. I ordered therefore the multitude to restrain entirely their acclamations, and placed the most faithful of my armed men upon the avenues, to be a guard to us, lest John should unexpectedly fall upon us ; and I encouraged the Galileans to take their weapons, lest they should be disturbed at their enemies, if any sudden insult should be made upon them. And then, in the first place, I put Jonathan and his partners in mind of their [former] letter, and after what

manner they had written to me, and declared they were sent by the common consent of the people of Jerusalem, to make up the differences I had with John, and how they had desired me to come to them ; and as I spake thus, I publicly shewed that letter they had written, till they could not at all deny what they had done, the letter itself convicting them. I then said, " O Jonathan, and you that are sent with him as his colleagues, if I were to be judged as to my behaviour, compared with that of John's, and had brought no more than two * or three witnesses, good men and true, it is plain you had been forced, upon the examination of their characters beforehand, to discharge the accusations : That therefore you may be informed that I have acted well in the affairs of Galilee, I think three witnesses too few to be brought by a man that hath done as he ought to do ; so I gave you all these for witnesses. Inquire of them † how I have lived, and whether I have not behaved myself with all decency, and after a virtuous manner among them. And I farther conjure you, O Galileans, to hide no part of the truth, but to speak before these men as before judges, whether I have in any thing acted otherwise than well."

50. While I was thus speaking, the united voices of all the people joined together, and called me their benefactor and saviour, and attested to my former behaviour, and exhorted me to continue so to do hereafter ; and they all said, upon their oaths, that their wives had been preserved free from injuries, and that no one had ever been aggrieved by me. After this, I read to the Galileans two of those epistles which had been sent by Jonathan and his colleagues, and which those whom I had appointed to guard the road had taken, and sent to me. These were full of reproaches, and of lies, as if I had acted more like a tyrant than a governor against them, with many other things besides therein contained, which were no better indeed than impudent falsities. I also informed the multitude how I came by these letters, and that those who carried them delivered them up voluntarily ; for I was not willing that my enemies should know any thing of the guards I had set, lest they should be afraid, and leave off writing hereafter.

51. When the multitude heard these things, they were greatly provoked at Jonathan, and his colleagues that were with him, and were going to attack them and kill them ; and this

* We here learn the practice of the Jews, in the days of Josephus, to enquire into the characters of witnesses, before they were admitted, and that their number ought to be three, or two at the least, also exactly as in the law of Moses, and in the Apostolical Constitutions, B. II. ch. 37. See *Horse Covenant Revived*, p. 97, 98.

† This appeal to the whole body of the Galileans by Josephus, and the testimony they gave him of integrity in his conduct, as their governor, is very like that appeal and testimony in the case of the prophet Samuel, 1 Sam. xii. 1—5 and perhaps was done by Josephus in imitation of him.

they had certainly done, unless I had restrained the anger of the Galileans, and said, That "I forgave Jonathan and his colleagues what was past, if they would repent, and go to their own country, and tell those who sent them the truth, as to my conduct." When I had said this, I let them go, although I knew they would do nothing of what they had promised. But the multitude were very much enraged against them, and entreated me to give them leave to punish them for their insolence; yet did I try all methods to persuade them to spare the men; for I knew that every instance of sedition was pernicious to the public welfare. But the multitude was too angry with them to be dissuaded, and all of them went immediately to the house in which Jonathan and his colleagues abode. However, when I perceived that their rage could not be restrained, I got on horse-back, and ordered the multitude to follow me to the village Sogane, which was twenty furlongs off Gabara; and by using this stratagem, I so managed myself, as not to appear to begin civil war amongst them.

52. But when I was come near Sogane, I caused the multitude to make an halt, and exhorted them not to be so easily provoked to anger, and to the inflicting such punishments as could not be afterwards recalled: I also gave order, that an hundred men, who were already in years, and were principal men among them, should get themselves ready to go to the city Jerusalem, and should make a complaint before the people, of such as raised seditions in the country. And I said to them, that "in case they be moved with what you say, you shall desire the community to write to me, and to enjoin me to continue in Galilee, and to order Jonathan and his colleagues to depart out of it." When I had suggested these instructions to them, and while they were getting themselves ready as fast as they could, I sent them on this errand the third day after they had been assembled: I also sent five hundred armed men with them [as a guard]. I then wrote to my friends in Samaria, to take care that they might safely pass through the country: For Samaria was already under the Romans, and it was absolutely necessary for those that go quickly [to Jerusalem], to pass through that country; for in that road you may, in three days time, go from Galilee to Jerusalem. I also went myself, and conducted the old men as far as the bounds of Galilee, and set guards in the roads, that it might not be easily known by any one that these men were gone. And when I had thus done, I went and abode at Japha.

53. Now Jonathan and his colleagues having failed of accomplishing what they would have done against me, they sent John back to Gischala, but went themselves to the city Tiberias, expecting it would submit itself to them; and this was founded on a letter which Jesus, their then governor, had written them, promising, that if they came, the multitude would receive them, and choose to be under their gov-

ernment ; so they went their ways with this expectation. But Silas, who as I said, had been left curator of Tiberias by me, informed me of this, and desired me to make haste thither. Accordingly I complied with his advice immediately, and came thither ; but found myself in danger of my life, from the following occasion ; Jonathan and his colleagues had been at Tiberias, and had persuaded a great many of such as had a quarrel with me to desert me ; but when they heard of my coming they were in fear for themselves, and came to me, and when they had saluted me, they said, that I was an happy man in having behaved myself so well in the government of Galilee ; and they congratulated me upon the honours that were paid me : For they said, that my glory was a credit to them, since they had been my teachers and fellow citizens ; and they said farther, that it was but just that they should prefer my friendship to them rather than John's, and that they would have immediately gone home, but that they staid that they might deliver up John into my power ; and when they said this they took their oaths of it, and those such as are most tremendous amongst us, and such as I did not think fit to disbelieve. However, they desired me to lodge some where else ; because the next day was the Sabbath, and that it was not fit the city of Tiberias should be disturbed [on that day].

54. So I suspected nothing, and went away to Taricheæ ; yet did I withal leave some to make inquiry in the city how matters went, and whether any thing was said about me : I also set many persons all the way that led from Taricheæ to Tiberias, that they might communicate from one to another if they learned any news from those that were left in the city. On the next day, therefore, they all came into the Proseucha * ; it was a large edifice, and capable of receiving a great number of people ; thither Jonathan went in, and though he durst not openly speak of a revolt, yet did he say that their city stood in need of a better governor than it then had. But Jesus who was the ruler, made no scruple to speak out, and said openly, “ O fellow citizens ! it is better for you to be in subjection to four than to one ; and those such as are of high birth, and not without reputation for their wisdom ;” and pointed to Jonathan and his colleagues. Upon his saying this, Justus came in and commended him for what he had said, and persuaded some of the people to be of his mind also. But the multitude were not pleased with what was said, and had certainly gone into a tumult, unless the sixth hour which was now come had dissolved the assembly, at which

* It is worth noting here, that there was now a great Proseucha, or place of prayer in the city Tiberias itself, though such Proseucha used to be out of cities, as the synagogues were within them ; of them see Le Moyne on Polycarp's epistle, page 76. It is also worth our remark, that the Jews in the days of Josephus used to dine at the sixth hour or noon ; and that in obedience to their notions of the law of Moses also.

hour our law requires us to go to dinner on Sabbath days ; so Jonathan and his colleagues put off their council till the next day, and went off without success. When I was informed of these affairs, I determined to go to the city of Tiberias in the morning. Accordingly, on the next day about the first hour of the day, I came to Taricheæ, and found the multitude ready assembled in Proseucha ; but on what account they were gotten together, those that were assembled did not know. But when Jonathan and his colleagues saw me there unexpectedly, they were in disorder ; after which they raised a report of their own contrivance, that Roman horsemen were seen at a place called Union, in the borders of Galilee, thirty furlongs distant from the city. Upon which report Jonathan and his colleagues, cunningly exhorted me not to neglect this matter, nor to suffer the land to be spoiled by the enemy. And this they said with a design to remove me out of the city, under the pretence of the want of extraordinary assistance, while they might dispose the city to my enemy.

55. As for myself, although I knew of their design, yet did I comply with what they proposed lest the people of Tiberias should have occasion to suppose, that I was not careful of their security. I therefore went out ; but when I was at the place, I found not the least footsteps of any enemy, so I returned as fast as ever I could, and found the whole council assembled, and the body of the people gotten together, and Jonathan and his colleagues bringing vehement accusations against me, as one that had no concern to ease them of the burdens of war, and as one that lived luxuriously. And as they were discoursing thus, they produced four letters as written to them from some people that lived at the borders of Galilee, imploring that they would come to their assistance, for that there was an army of Romans, both horsemen and footmen, who would come and lay waste the country on the third day ; they desired them also to make haste, and not to overlook them. When the people of Tiberias heard this, they thought they spake truth, and made a clamour against me, and said, I ought not to sit still, but to go away to the assistance of their countrymen. Hereupon I said, (for I understood the meaning of Jonathan and his colleagues), that I was ready to comply with what they proposed, and without delay to march to the war which they spake of, yet did I advise them, at the same time, that since these letters declared that the Romans would make their assault in four several places, they should part their forces into five bodies, and make Jonathan and his colleagues generals of each body of them, because it was fit for brave men, not only to give counsel, but to take the place of leaders, and assist their countrymen when such a necessity pressed them ; for, said I, it is not possible for me to lead more than one party. This advice of mine greatly pleased the multitude ; so they compelled them to go forth to war. But their

designs were put into very much disorder, because they had not done what they designed to do, on account of my stratagem, which was opposite to their undertakings.

56. Now there was one whose name was Ananias, a wicked man he was, and very mischievous ; he proposed that a general religious fast * should be appointed the next day for all the people, and gave order that at the same hour they should come to the same place without any weapons, to make it manifest before God, that while they obtained his assistance, they tho't all these weapons useless. This he said, not out of piety, but that they might catch me and my friends unarmed. Now I was hereupon forced to comply, lest I should appear to despise a proposal that tended to piety. As soon, therefore, as we were gone home, Jonathan and his colleagues wrote to John, to come to them in the morning and desiring him to come with as many soldiers as he possibly could, for that they should then be able easily to get me into their hands, and to do all that they desired to do. When John had received this letter, he resolved to comply with it. As for myself, on the next day, I ordered two of the guards of my body, whom I esteemed the most courageous, and most faithful, to hide daggers under their garments, and to go along with me, that we might defend ourselves, if any attack should be made upon us by our enemies. I also myself took my breast plate, and gird on my sword, so that it might be, as far as was possible, concealed, and came into the Proseucha.

57. Now Jesus, who was the ruler, commanded that they should exclude all that came with me, for he kept the door himself, and suffered none but his friends to go in. And while we were engaged in the duties of the day, and had betaken ourselves to our prayers, Jesus got up, and enquired of me what was become of the vessels that were taken out of the king's palace, when it was burnt down, [and] of that uncoined silver : And in whose possession they now were ? This he said, in order to drive away time till John should come. I said that Capellus, and the ten principal men of Tiberias had them all ; and I told him that they might ask them whether I told a lie or not. And when they said they had them, he asked me, what is become of those twenty pieces of gold which thou didst receive upon the sale of a certain weight of uncoined money ? I replied, that I had given them to those ambassadors of theirs, as a maintenance for them, when they were sent by them to Jerusalem. So Jonathan and his colleagues said, that I had not done well to pay the ambassadors out of the public money. And when the multitude were very angry at them for this, for they perceived the wickedness of

* One may observe here, That this lay Pharisee Ananias, as we have seen he was, sect. 39 took upon him to appoint a fast at Tiberias, and was obeyed ; tho' indeed it was not out of religion, but knavish policy.

the men, I understood that a tumult was going to arise ; and being desirous to provoke the public to a greater rage against the men, I said, " But if I have not done well in paying our ambassadors out of the publick stock, leave off your anger at me, for I will repay the twenty pieces of gold myself."

58. When I had said this, Jonathan and his colleagues held their peace ; but the people were still more irritated against them, upon their openly shewing their unjust ill-will to me. When Jesus saw this change in the people, he ordered them to depart, but desired the senate to stay ; for that they could not examine things of such a nature, in tumult ; and, as the people were crying out that they would not leave me alone, there came one and told Jesus and his friends privately, that John and his armed men were at hand : Whereupon Jonathan and his colleagues, being able to contain themselves no longer, (and perhaps the providence of God hereby procuring my deliverance ; for, had not this been so, I had certainly been destroyed by John, said, " O you people of Tiberias, leave off this enquiry about the twenty pieces of gold ; for Josephus hath not deserved to die for them : But he hath deserved it by his desire of tyrannizing, and by cheating the multitude of the Galileans with his speeches, in order to gain the dominion over them." When he had said this, they presently laid hands upon me and endeavoured to kill me : But, as soon as those that were with me saw what they did, they drew their swords, and threatened to smite them, if they offered any violence to me. The people also took up stones, and were about to throw them at Jonathan ; and so they snatched me from the violence of my enemies.

59. But, as I was going out a little way, I was just upon meeting John, who was marching with his armed men. So I was afraid of him, and turned aside, and escaped by a narrow passage to the lake, and seized on a ship, and embarked in it, and sailed over to Taricheæ. So beyond my expectation, I escaped this danger. Whereupon I presently sent for the chief of the Galileans, and told them after what manner, against all faith given, I had been very near to destruction from Jonathan and his colleagues, and the people of Tiberias. Upon which the multitude of the Galileans were very angry, and encouraged me to delay no longer to make war upon them, but to permit them to go against John, and utterly to destroy him, as well as Jonathan and his colleagues. However, I restrained them, though they were in such a rage, and desired them to tarry a while, till we should be informed what orders those ambassadors, that were sent by them to the city of Jerusalem, should bring thence ; for I told them, that it was best for them to act according to their determination ; whereupon they were prevailed on. At which time also John, when the snares he had laid did not take effect, returned back to Gischala.

60. Now in a few days those ambassadors whom he had sent came back again and informed us, that the people were greatly provoked at Ananus, and Simon the son of Gamaliel, and their friends; that, without any public determination, they had sent to Galilee, and had done their endeavours that I might be turned out of the government. The ambassadors said farther, that the people were ready to burn their houses. They also brought letters, whereby the chief men of Jerusalem, at the earnest petition of the people, confirmed me in the government of Galilee, and enjoin Jonathan and his colleagues to return home quickly. When I had gotten these letters, I came to the village Arbela, where I procured an assembly of the Galileans to meet, and bid the ambassadors declare to them the anger of the people of Jerusalem at what had been done by Jonathan and his colleagues, and how much they hated their wicked doings, and how they had confirmed me in the government of their country, as also what related to the order they had in writing for Jonathan and his colleagues to return home. So I immediately sent them the letter and bid him that carried it to inquire, as well as he could, how they intended to act [on this occasion].

61. Now when they had received that letter, and were thereby greatly disturbed, they sent for John, and for the senators of Tiberias, and for the principal men of the Gabarens, and proposed to hold a council, and desired them to consider what was to be done by them. However the governors of Tiberias were greatly disposed to keep the government to themselves; for they said it was not fit to desert their city, now it was committed to their trust, and that otherwise I should not delay to fall upon them; for they pretended falsely that so I had threatened to do. Now John was not only of their opinion, but advised them, that two of them should go to accuse me before the multitude [at Jerusalem], that I do not manage the affairs of Galilee as I ought to do; and that they would easily persuade the people, because of their dignity, and because the whole multitude are very mutable. When therefore it appeared that John had suggested the wisest advice to them, they resolved that two of them, Jonathan and Ananias, should go to the people of Jerusalem, and the other two. [Simon and Joazar] should be left behind to tarry at Tiberias. They also took along with them an hundred soldiers for their guard.

62. However, the governors of Tiberias took care to have their city secured with walls, and commanded their inhabitants to take their arms. They also sent for a great many soldiers from John to assist them against me, if there should be occasion for them. Now John was at Gischala. Jonathan therefore, and those that were with him, when they were departed from Tiberias, and as soon as they were come to Dabaritta, a village that lay in the utmost parts of Galilee in the great plain, they about midnight fell among the guards I had set, who

both commanded them to lay aside their weapons, and kept them in bonds upon the place, as I had charged them to do. This news was written to me by Levi, who had the command of that guard committed to him by me. Hereupon I said nothing of it for two days; and, pretending to know nothing about it, I sent a message to the people of Tiberias, and advised them to lay their arms aside, and to dismiss their men, that they might go home. But supposing that Jonathan, and those that were with him, were already arrived at Jerusalem, they made reproachful answers to me; yet was I not terrified thereby, but contrived another stratagem against them, for I did not think it agreeable with piety to kindle the fire of war against the citizens. As I was desirous to draw those men away from Tiberias, I chose out ten thousand of the best of my armed men, and divided them into three bodies, and ordered them to go privately, and lie still as an ambush, in the villages. I also led a thousand into another village, which lay indeed in the mountains, as did the others, but only four furlongs distant from Tiberias, and gave order that when they saw my signal they should come down immediately; while I myself lay with my soldiers in the sight of every body. Hereupon the people of Tiberias, at the sight of me, came running out of the city perpetually, and abused me greatly. Nay, their madness was come to that height, that they made a decent bier for me, and standing about it, they mourned over me in the way of jest and sport; and I could not but be myself in a pleasant humour upon the sight of this madness of theirs.

63. And now being desirous to catch Simon by a wile, and Joazar with him, I sent a message to them, and desired them to come a little way out of the city, with many of their friends to guard them; for I said I would come down to them, and make a league with them, and divide the government of Galilee with them. Accordingly Simon was deluded on account of his imprudence, and out of the hopes of gain, and did not delay to come; but Joazar, suspecting snares were laid for him, staid behind. So when Simon was come out, and his friends with him for his guard, I met him, and saluted him with great civility, and professed that I was obliged to him for his coming up to me: But a little while afterward I walked along with him, as though I would say something to him by himself, and, when I had drawn him a good way from his friends, I took him about the middle, and gave him to my friends that were with me, to carry him into a village; and, commanding my armed men to come down, I with them made an assault upon Tiberias. Now as the fight grew hot on both sides, and the soldiers belonging to Tiberias were in a fair way to conquer me, (for my armed men were already fled away,) I saw the posture of my affairs; and encouraging those that were with me, I pursued those of Tiberias, even when they were already conquerors, into the city. I also sent another

band of soldiers into the city by the lake, and gave them orders to set on fire the first house they could seize upon. When this was done, the people of Tiberias thought that their city was taken by force and so threw down their arms for fear, and implored, they, their wives and children, that I would spare their city. So I was over-persuaded by their entreaties, and restrained the soldiers from the vehemency with which they pursued them ; while I myself, upon the coming on of the evening, returned back with my soldiers, and went to refresh myself. I also invited Simon to sup with me, and comforted him on occasion of what had happened ; and I promised that I would send him safe and secure to Jerusalem, and withal would give him provision for his journey thither.

64. But on the next day I brought ten thousand men with me and came to Tiberias. I then sent for the principal men of the multitude into the public place, and enjoined them to tell me who were the authors of the revolt ; and when they had told me who the men were, I sent them bound to the city Jotapata. But as to Jonathan and Ananias, I freed them from their bonds, and gave them provisions for their journey, together with Simon and Joazar, and five hundred armed men who should guard them, and so I sent them to Jerusalem. The people of Tiberias also came to me again, and desired that I would forgive them for what they had done, and they said they would amend what they had done amiss with regard to me, by their fidelity for the time to come ; and they besought me to preserve what spoils remained upon the plunder of the city, for those that had lost them. Accordingly I enjoined those that had got them to bring them all before us ; and when they did not comply for a great while, and I saw one of the soldiers that were about me with a garment on that was more splendid than ordinary I asked him whence he had it ; and he replied, that he had it out of the plunder of the city. I had him punished with stripes, and I threatened all the rest to inflict a severer punishment upon them unless they produced before us whatsoever they had plundered ; and when a great many spoils were brought together, I restored to every one of Tiberias what they claimed to be their own.

65. And now I am come to this part of my narration, I have a mind to say a few things to Justus, who hath himself written an history concerning these affairs, as also to others who profess to write history, but have little regard to truth, and are not afraid, either out of ill-will or good-will to some persons to relate falsehoods. These men do, like those who compose forged deeds and conveyances ; and because they are not brought to the like punishment with them, they have no regard to truth. When therefore Justus undertook to write about these facts, and about the Jewish war, that he might appear to have been an industrious man, he falsified in what he related about me, and could not speak truth even about his own country :

Whence it is, that being belied by him, I am under a necessity to make my defence; and so I shall say what I have concealed till now. And let no one wonder that I have not told the world these things a great while ago. For although it be necessary for an historian to write the truth, yet is such an one not bound severely to animadvert on the wickedness of certain men; not out of any favour to them, but out of an author's own moderation. How then comes it to pass, O Justus, thou most sagacious of writers (that I may address myself to him as if he were present,) for so thou boastest of thyself, that I and the Galileans have been the authors of that sedition which thy country engaged in both against the Romans and against the king [Agrippa junior]? For before ever I was appointed governor of Galilee by the community of Jerusalem, both thou, and all the people of Tiberias had not only taken up arms, but had made war with Decapolis of Syria. Accordingly, thou hadst ordered their villages to be burnt, and a domestic servant of thine fell in the battle. Nor is it I only who say this; but so it is written in the commentaries of Vespasian the emperor, as also how the inhabitants of Decapolis came clamouring to Vespasian at Ptolemais, and desired that thou, who wast the author [of that war,] mightest be brought to punishment. And thou hadst certainly been punished at the command of Vespasian, had not king Agrippa, who had power given him to have thee put to death, at the earnest entreaty of his sister Bernice, changed the punishment from death into a long imprisonment. Thy political administration of affairs afterward do also clearly discover both thy other behaviour in life, and that thou wast the occasion of thy country's revolt from the Romans; plain signs of which I shall produce presently. I have also a mind to say a few things to the rest of the people of Tiberias on thy account and to demonstrate to those that light upon this history, that you have no good-will, neither to the Romans, nor to the king. To be sure, the greatest cities of Galilee, O Justus, were Sepphoris, and thy country Tiberias. But Sepphoris, situated in the very midst of Galilee, and having many villages about it, and able with ease to have been bold and troublesome to the Romans, if they had so pleased, yet did it resolve to continue faithful to those their masters, and at the same time excluded me out of their city, and prohibited all their citizens from joining with the Jews in the war, and that they might be out of danger from me, they by a wile got leave of me to fortify their city with walls; they also, of their own accord, admitted of a garrison of Roman legions, sent them by Cestius Gallus, who was then president of Syria, and so had me in contempt, though I was then very powerful, and all were greatly afraid of me; and at the same time that the greatest of our cities, Jerusalem, was besieged, and that temple of ours, which belonged to us all, was in danger of falling under the enemy's power, they sent no assistance thither,

as not willing to have it thought they would bear arms against the Romans. But as for thy country, O Justus, situated upon the lake of Gennesareth, and distant from Hippos thirty furlongs, from Gadara sixty, and from Scythopolis, which was under the king's jurisdiction, an hundred and twenty ; when there was no Jewish city near, it might easily have preserved its fidelity [to the Romans,] if it had so pleased them to do ; for the city and its people had plenty of weapons. But, as thou sayest, I was *then* the author [of their revolt.] And pray, O Justus, who was that author *afterwards* ? For thou knowest that I was in the power of the Romans before Jerusalem was besieged, and before the same time Jotapata was taken by force, as well as many other fortresses, and a great many of the Galileans fell in the war. It was therefore then a proper time when you were certainly freed from any fear on my account, to throw away your weapons, and to demonstrate to the king and to the Romans, that it was not of choice, but as forced by necessity, that you fell into the war against them ; but you staid till Vespasian came himself as far as your walls, with his whole army ; and then you did indeed lay aside your weapons out of fear, and your city had for certain been taken by force, unless Vespasian had complied with the king's supplication for you, and had excused your madness. It was not I, therefore, who was the author of this, but your own inclinations to war. Do not you remember how often I got you under my power, and yet put none of you to death ? nay, you once fell into a tumult one against another, and slew one hundred and eighty five of your citizens. not on account of your good-will to the king and to the Romans, but on account of your own wickedness, and this while I was besieged by the Romans in Jotapata. Nay indeed, were there not reckoned up two thousand of the people of Tiberias during the siege of Jerusalem, some of which were slain, and the rest caught and carried captives ? But thou wilt pretend that thou didst not engage in the war since thou didst flee to the king. Yes, indeed, thou didst flee to him ; but I say it was out of fear of me. Thou sayest indeed, that it is I who am a wicked man. But then, for what reason was it that king Agrippa, who procured thee thy life when thou wast condemned to die by Vespasian, and who bestowed so much riches upon thee, did twice afterward put thee into bonds, and as often obliged thee to run away from thy country, and, when he had once ordered thee to be put to death, he granted thee a pardon at the earnest desire of Bernice ? and, when (after so many of thy wicked pranks) he had made thee his secretary, he caught thee falsifying his epistles, and drove thee away from his sight. But I shall not inquire accurately into these matters of scandal against thee. Yet cannot I but wonder at thy impudence, when thou hast the assurance to say, that thou hast better related these affairs [of the war] than have all the others that have written about

them, whilst thou didst not know what was done in Galilee ; for thou wast then at Berytus with the king ; nor didst thou know how much the Romans suffered at the siege of Jotapata, or what miseries they brought upon us ; nor couldst thou learn by inquiry what I did during that siege myself ; for all those that might afford such information were quite destroyed in that siege. But perhaps thou wilt say, thou hast written of what was done against the people of Jerusalem exactly. But how should that be ! for neither wast thou concerned in that war, nor hast thou read the commentaries of Cæsar ; of which we have evident proof, because thou hast contradicted those commentaries of Cæsar in thy history. But if thou art so hardy as to affirm, that thou hast written that history better than all the rest, why didst thou not publish thy history while the emperors Vespasian and Titus, the generals in that war, as well as king Agrippa and his family, who were men very well skilled in the learning of the Greeks, were all alive ? for thou hast had it written these twenty years, and then mightest thou have had the testimony of thy accuracy. But now when these men are no longer with us, and thou thinkest thou canst not be contradicted, thou venturdest to publish it. But when I was not in like manner afraid of my own writing, but I offered my books to the emperors themselves, when the facts were almost under mens eyes ; for I was conscious to myself, that I had observed the truth of the facts ; and as I expect to have their attestation to them, so I was not deceived in such expectation. Moreover, I immediately presented my history to many other persons, some of which were concerned in the war as was king Agrippa and some of his kindred. Now the emperor Titus was so desirous that the knowledge of these affairs should be taken from these books alone, that he subscribed his own hand to them, and ordered that they should be published ; and for Agrippa he wrote me sixty-two letters, and attested to the truth of what I had therein delivered ; two of which letters I have here subjoined, and thou mayest thereby know their contents. “ King Agrippa to Josephus, his dear friend, sendeth greeting. I have read over thy book with great pleasure, and it appears to me, that thou hast done it much more accurately, and with greater care, than have the other writers. Send me the rest of these books. Farewell, my dear friend.” “ King Agrippa to Josephus, his dear friend, sendeth greeting. It seems by what thou hast written, that thou standest in need of no instruction, in order to our information from the beginning. However when thou comest to me, I will inform thee of a great many things which thou dost not know.” So when this history was perfected, Agrippa neither by way of flattery, which was not agreeable to him, nor by way of irony, as thou wilt say, (for he was entirely a stranger to such an evil disposition of mind,) but he wrote this by way of attestation to what was true, as all that read histories may do. And so much shall

he said concerning Justus*, which I am obliged to add by way of digression.

66. Now when I had settled the affairs of Tiberias, and had assembled my friends as a Sanhedrim, I consulted what I should do as to John. Whereupon it appeared to be the opinion of all the Galileans, that I should arm them all, and march against John, and punish him as the author of all the disorders that had happened. Yet was not I pleased with their determination; as purposing to compose these troubles without bloodshed. Upon this I exhorted them to use the utmost care to learn the names of all that were under John; which when they had done, and I thereby was apprised who the men were, I published an edict, wherein I offered security and my right hand to such of John's party as had a mind to repent; and I allowed twenty days time to such as would take this most advantageous course for themselves. I also threatened, that unless they threw down their arms, I would burn their houses, and expose their goods to public sale. When the men heard of this, they were in no small disorder, and deserted John; and, to the number of four thousand, threw down their arms, and came to me. So that no others staid with John but his own citizens, and about fifteen hundred strangers that came from the metropolis of Tyre; and, when John saw that he had been outwitted by my stratagem, he continued alterward in his own country, and was in great fear of me.

67. But about this time it was that the people of Sepphoris grew insolent, and took up arms, out of a confidence they had in the strength of their walls, and because they saw me engaged in other affairs also. So they sent to Cestius Gallus, who was president of Syria, and desired that he would either come quickly to them, and take their city under his protection, or

* The character of this history of Justus of Tiberias, the rival of our Josephus, which is now lost, with its only remaining fragment, are given us by a very able critic, Photius, who read that history. It is in the 33d code of his Bibliotheca, and runs thus. "I have read (says Photius) the chronology of Justus of Tiberias, whose title is this, [*The chronology of*] *the Kings of Judah, which succeeded one another*. This [Justus] came out of the city Tiberias in Galilee. He begins his history from Moles, and ends it not till the death of Agrippa the seventh [ruler] of the family of Herod, and the last king of the Jews; who took the government under Claudius, had it augmented under Nero, and still more augmented by Vespasian. He died in the third year of Trajan, where also his history ends. He is very concise in his language, and slightly passes over those affairs that were most necessary to be insisted on; and being under the Jewish prejudices, as indeed he was himself also a Jew by birth, he makes not the least mention of the appearance of Christ, or of what things happened to him, or of the wonderful works that he did. He was the son of a certain Jew, whose name was *Pistus*. He was a man, as he is described by Josephus, of a most profligate character; a slave both to money and to pleasures. In public affairs he was opposite to Josephus; and it is related, that he laid many plots against him, but that Josephus, though he had this his enemy frequently under his power, did only reproach him in words, and so let him go without farther punishment. He says also, that the history which this man wrote is, for the main, fabulous, and chiefly as to those parts where he describes the Roman war with the Jews, and the taking of Jerusalem."

send them a garrison. Accordingly Gallus promised them to come, but did not send word when he would come : And, when I had learned so much, I took the soldiers that were with me, and made an assault upon the people of Sepphoris, and took the city by force. The Galileans took this opportunity, as thinking they had now a proper time for shewing their hatred to them, since they bore ill will to that city also. They then exerted themselves, as if they would destroy them all utterly, with those that sojourned there also. So they ran upon them, and set their houses on fire, as finding them without inhabitants ; for the men out of fear ran together to the citadel. So the Galileans carried off every thing, and omitted no kind of desolation which they could bring upon their countrymen. When I saw this, I was exceedingly troubled at it, and commanded them to leave off, and put them in mind that it was not agreeable to piety to do such things to their countrymen : But since they neither would hearken to what I exhorted, nor to what I commanded them to do (for the hatred they bore to the people there was too hard for my exhortations to them,) I bid those my friends, who were most faithful to me, and were about me, to give out reports, as if the Romans were falling upon the other part of the city with a great army ; and this I did, that, by such a report's being spread abroad, I might restrain the violence of the Galileans, and preserve the city of Sepphoris. And at length this stratagem had its effect ; for, upon hearing this report, they were in fear for themselves, and so they left off plundering, and ran away ; and this more especially, because they saw me, their general, do the same also ; for, that I might cause this report to be believed, I pretended to be in fear as well as they. Thus were the inhabitants of Sepphoris unexpectedly preserved by this contrivance of mine.

68. Nay indeed Tiberias had like to have been plundered by the Galileans also upon the following occasion : The chief men of the senate wrote to the king, and desired that he would come to them, and take possession of their city. The king promised to come, and wrote a letter in answer to theirs, and gave it to one of his bed-chamber, whose name was *Crispus*, and who was by birth a Jew, to carry it to Tiberias. When the Galileans knew that this man carried such a letter, they caught him, and brought him to me ; but as soon as the whole multitude heard of it, they were enraged, and betook themselves to their arms. So a great many of them got together from all quarters the next day and came to the city Alothis, where I then lodged, and made heavy clamours, and called the city of Tiberias a traitor to them, and a friend to the king ; and desired leave of me to go down, and utterly destroy it ; for they bore the like ill-will to the people of Tiberias, as they did to those of Sepphoris.

69. When I heard this, I was in doubt what to do, and hesi-

itated by what means I might deliver Tiberias from the rage of the Galileans ; for I could not deny that those of Tiberias had written to the king, and invited him to come to them ; for his letters to them in answer thereto, would fully prove the truth of that. So I sat a long while musing with myself, and then said to them, " I know well enough that the people of Tiberias have offended ; nor shall I forbid you to plunder the city. However, such things ought to be done with discretion ; for they of Tiberias have not been the only betrayers of our liberty, but many of the most eminent patriots of the Galileans, as they pretended to be, have done the same. Tarry therefore till I shall thoroughly find out those authors of our danger, and then you shall have them all at once under your power, with all such as you shall yourselves bring in also." Upon my saying this, I pacified the multitude, and they left off their anger, and went their ways ; and I gave orders that he who brought the king's letters should be put into bonds ; but in a few days I pretended that I was obliged, by a necessary affair of my own, to go out of the kingdom. I then called Crispus privately, and ordered him to make the soldier that kept him drunk, and to run away to the king. So when Tiberias was in danger of being utterly destroyed a second time, it escaped the danger by my skilful management, and the care that I had for its preservation.

70. About this time it was that Justus, the son of Pistus, without my knowledge, ran away to the king ; the occasion of which I will here relate. Upon the beginning of the war between the Jews and the Romans, the people of Tiberias resolved to submit to the king, and not to revolt from the Romans ; while Justus tried to persuade them to betake themselves to their arms, as being himself desirous of innovations, and having hopes of obtaining the government of Galilee, as well as of his own country [Tiberias] also. Yet did he not obtain what he hoped for ; because the Galileans bore ill-will to those of Tiberias, and on this account of their anger at what miseries they had suffered from them before the war ; thence it was, that they would not endure that Justus should be their governor. I myself also, who had been entrusted by the community of Jerusalem with the government of Galilee, did frequently come to that degree of rage at Justus, that I had almost resolved to kill him, as not able to bear his mischievous disposition. He was therefore much afraid of me, lest at length my passion should come to extremity ; so he went to the king, as supposing that he should dwell better, and more safely with him.

71. Now when the people of Sepphoris had, in so surprising a manner, escaped their first danger, they sent to Cestius Gallus, and desired him to come to them immediately, and take possession of their city, or else to send forces sufficient to repress all their enemies incursions upon them ; and at the last they did prevail with Gallus to send them a considerable army, both

of horse and foot, which came in the night-time, and which they admitted into the city. But when the country round about it was harrassed by the Roman army, I took those soldiers that were about me, and came to Garisme, where I cast up a bank, a good way off the city Sepphoris; and when I was at twenty furlongs distance, I came upon it by night, and made an assault upon its walls with my forces; and when I had ordered a considerable number of my soldiers to scale them with ladders, I became master of the greatest part of the city. But soon after our unacquaintedness with the places forced us to retire, after we had killed twelve of the Roman footmen, and two horsemen, and a few of the people of Sepphoris, with the loss of only a single man of our own. And when it afterward came to a battle in the plain against the horsemen, and we had undergone the dangers of it courageously for a long time, we were beaten; for upon the Romans encompassing me about, my soldiers were afraid, and fled back. There fell in that battle one of those that had been entrusted to guard my body, his name was *Justus*, who at this time had the same post with the king. At the same time also there came forces, both horsemen and footmen, from the king, and Sylla their commander, who was the captain of this guard; this Sylla pitched his camp at five furlongs distance from Julias, and set a guard upon the roads both that which led to Cana, and that which led to the fortress Gamala, that he might hinder their inhabitants from getting provisions out of Galilee.

72. As soon as I had gotten intelligence of this, I sent two thousand armed men, and a captain over them, whose name was *Jeremiah*, who raised a bank a furlong off Julias, near to the river Jordan, and did no more than skirmish with the enemy; till I took three thousand soldiers myself, and came to them. But on the next day, when I had laid an ambush in a certain valley, not far from the banks, I provoked those that belonged to the king to come to a battle, and gave orders to my own soldiers to turn their backs upon them, until they should have drawn the enemy away from their camp, and brought them out into the field, which was done accordingly; for Sylla, supposing that our party did really run away, was ready to pursue them, when our soldiers that lay in ambush took them on their backs, and put them all into great disorder. I also immediately made a sudden turn with my own forces, and met those of the king's party, and put them to flight. And I had performed great things that day, if a certain fate had not been my hindrance; for the horse on which I rode, and upon whose back I fought, fell into a quagmire, and threw me on the ground, and I was bruised on my wrist, and carried into a village named *Cepharnome*, or *Capernaum*. When my soldiers heard of this, they were afraid I had been worse hurt than I was: And so they did not go on with their pursuit any further, but returned in very great concern for me. I therefore sent for the physicians, and while I was un-

der their hand, I continued feverish that day ; and as the physicians directed, I was that night removed to Taricheæ.

73. When Sylla and his party were informed what happened to me, they took courage again ; and understanding that the watch was negligently kept in our camp, they by night placed a body of horsemen in ambush beyond Jordan, and when it was day they provoked us to fight ; and as we did not refuse it, but came into the plain, their horsemen appeared out of that ambush in which they had lain, and put our men into disorder, and made them run away ; so they slew six men of our side. Yet did they not go off with the victory at last ; for when they heard that some armed men were sailed from Taricheæ to Julias, they were afraid, and retired.

74. It was not now long before Vespasian came to Tyre, and king Agrippa with him ; but the Tyrians began to speak reproachfully of the king, and called him an enemy to the Romans. For they said, that Philip, the general of his army, had betrayed the royal palace, and the Roman forces that were in Jerusalem, and that it was done by his command. When Vespasian heard of this report, he rebuked the Tyrians for abusing a man who was both a king, and a friend to the Romans ; but he exhorted the king to send Philip to Rome, to answer for what he had done before Nero. But when Philip was sent thither, he did not come into the sight of Nero, for he found him very near death on account of the troubles that then happened, and a civil war ; and so he returned to the king. But when Vespasian was come to Ptolemais, the chief men of Decapolis of Syria made a clamour against Justus of Tiberias, because he had set their villages on fire : So Vespasian delivered him to the king, to be put to death by those under the king's jurisdiction ; yet did the king [only] put him into bonds, and concealed what he had done from Vespasian, as I have before related. But the people of Sepphoris met Vespasian, and saluted him, and had forces sent him, with Placidus their commander : He also went up with them, as I also followed them, till Vespasian came into Galilee. As to which coming of his, and after what manner it was ordered and how he fought his first battle with me near the village Taricheæ, and how from thence they went to Jotapata, and how I was taken alive, and bound, and how I was afterward looted, with all that was done by me in the Jewish war, and during the siege of Jerusalem ; I have accurately related them in the books concerning the War of the Jews. However, it will, I think, be fit for me to add now an account of those actions of my life, which I have not related in that book of the Jewish War.

75. For when the siege of Jotapata was over, and I was among the Romans, I was kept with much care, by means of the great respect that Vespasian shewed me. Moreover, at his command, I married a virgin *, who was from among the

* Here Josephus, a priest, honestly confesses that he did that at the command of Vespasian, which he had before told us was not lawful for a priest to do by the law

captives of that country : Yet did she not live with me long, but was divorced, upon my being freed from my bonds, and my going to Alexandria. However, I married another wife at Alexandria, and was thence sent, together with Titus, to the siege of Jerusalem, and was frequently in danger of being put to death ; while both the Jews were very desirous to get me under their power, in order to have me punished. And the Romans also, whenever they were beaten, supposed that it was occasioned by my treachery, and made continual clamours to the emperors, and desired that they would bring me to that punishment, as a traitor to them : But Titus Cæsar was well acquainted with the uncertain fortune of war and returned no answer to the soldiers vehement solicitations against me. Moreover, when the city Jerusalem was taken by force, Titus Cæsar persuaded me frequently to take whatsoever I would of the ruins of my country, and said, that he gave me leave so to do. But when my country was destroyed, I thought nothing else to be of any value, which I could take and keep as a comfort under my calamities ; so I made this request to Titus, that my family might have their liberty : I had also the holy books * by Titus's concession. Nor was it long after that I asked of him the life of my brother, and of fifty friends with him, and was not denied. When I also went once to the temple, by the permission of Titus, where there were a great multitude of captive women and children ; I got all those that I remembered as among my own friends and acquaintance to be set free, being in number about one hundred and ninety ; and so I delivered them without their paying any price of redemption, and restored them to their former fortune. And when I was sent by Titus Cæsar with Cerealius, and a thousand horsemen, to a certain village called *Thecoa*, in order to know whether it were a place fit for a camp, as I came back, I saw many captives crucified, and remembered three of them as my former acquaintance. I was very sorry at this in my mind, and went with tears in my eyes to Titus, and told him of them ; so he immediately commanded them to be taken down, and to have the greatest care taken of them in order to their recovery ; yet two of them died under the physicians hands, while the third recovered.

76. But when Titus had composed the troubles in Judea and conjectured that the lands which I had in Judea would bring me in no profit, because a garrison to guard the country, was afterward to pitch there, he gave me another country in the plain. And when he was going away to Rome ; he made choice of me to sail along with him and paid me great respect : And when we were come to Rome, I had great care

of Moses, Antiq. B. III. ch. xii. sect. 2 Vol. I. I mean, the taking a captive woman to wife. See also against Appian, B. I ch. vii, Vol. III. But he seems to have been quickly sensible that his compliance with the commands of an emperor would not excuse him, for he soon put her away, as Reland justly observes here.

* Of this most remarkable clause, and its most important consequences, see Essay on the Old Testament, page 193—195.

taken of me by Vespasian ; for he gave me an apartment in his own house, which he lived in before he came to the empire. He also honoured me with the privilege of a Roman citizen, and gave me an annual pension ; and continued to respect me to the end of his life, without any abatement of his kindness to me ; which very thing made me envied, and brought me into danger ; for a certain Jew, whose name was Jonathan, who had raised a tumult in Cyrene, and had persuaded two thousand men of that country to join with him, was the occasion of their ruin. But when he was bound by the governor of that country, and sent to the emperor, he told him, that I had sent him both weapons and money. However, he could not conceal his being a liar from Vespasian, who condemned him to die ; according to which sentence he was put to death. Nay, after that, when those that envied my good fortune did frequently bring accusations against me, by God's providence I escaped them all. I also received from Vespasian no small quantity of land, as free gift in Judea ; about which time I divorced my wife also, as not pleased with her behaviour, though not till she had been the mother of three children, two of which are dead, and one, whom I named *Hyrchanus*, is alive. After this I married a wife who had lived at Crete, but a Jew by birth : A woman she was of eminent parents, and such as were the most illustrious in all the country, and whose character was beyond that of most other women, as her future life did demonstrate. By her I had two sons, the elder's name was *Iustus*, and the next *Simonides*, who was also named *Agrippa*. And these were the circumstances of my domestic affairs. However, the kindness of the emperor to me continued still the same ; for when Vespasian was dead, Titus, who succeeded him in the government, kept up the same respect for me, which I had from his father ; and when I had frequent accusations laid against me, he would not believe them. And Domitian, who succeeded, still augmented his respects to me ; for he punished those Jews that were my accusers, and gave command that a servant of mine, who was an eunuch, and my accuser, should be punished. He also made that country I had in Judea, tax-free, which is a mark of the greatest honour to him who hath it ; nay, Domitia the wife of Cæsar, continued to do me kindnesses. And this is the account of the actions of my whole life ; and let others judge of my character by them as they please. But to thee, O Epaphroditus *, thou most excellent of men, do I dedicate all this treatise of our Antiquities ; and so, for the present I here conclude the whole.

* Of this Epaphroditus, see the note on the Preface to the Antiquities

END OF VOLUME SECOND.



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